



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

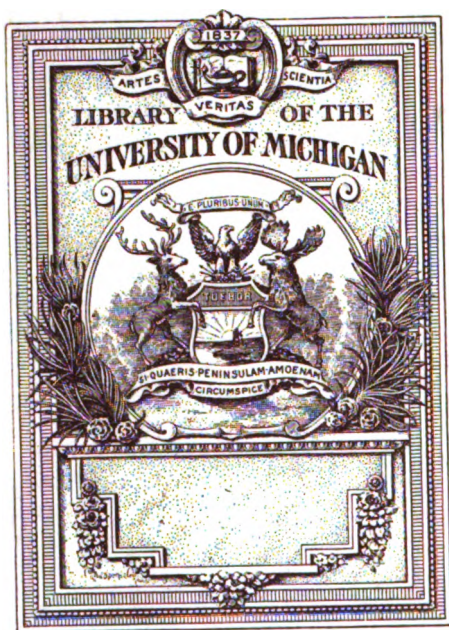
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

A

695,881



A
4
L8

THE
LONDON QUARTERLY
REVIEW.

VOL. II.

PUBLISHED IN

MARCH AND JUNE, 1854.

LONDON:
PARTRIDGE, OAKLEY, AND CO., PATERNOSTER-ROW.
DUBLIN: JOHN ROBERTSON.

MDCCCLIV.

H²²⁰

LONDON:
PRINTED BY WILLIAM NICHOLS,
32, LONDON-WALL.

CONTENTS OF NO. III.

ART.	Page
<p>I. 1. Essay towards the Restoration of the Historical Standpoint for the Criticism of the New Testament Writings. (Versuch zur Herstellung des Historischen Standpuncts für die Kritik der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.) By Heinrich W. J. Thiersch. Erlangen: Heyder. 1845.</p> <p>2. Prelections on Catholicism and Protestantism. (Vorlesungen über Katholicismus und Protestantismus.) By Heinrich W. J. Thiersch. Erlangen: Heyder. 1845 and 1846.</p> <p>3. A Few Words on the Genuineness of the New Testament Writings. (Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.) By Heinrich W. J. Thiersch. Erlangen: Heyder. 1846.</p> <p>4. The Church in the Apostolic Age, and the Origin of the New Testament Writings. (Die Kirche im Apostolischen Zeitalter, und die Entstehung der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.) By Heinrich W. J. Thiersch. Frankfort and Erlangen: Heyder and Zimmer. 1852.....</p>	1
<p>II. The Papers of the London Missionary Society.....</p>	38
<p>III. The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By the Rev. W. Conybeare, M.A., and the Rev. J. S. Howson, M.A. Two Vols. Imperial 4to. London, 1853.....</p>	68
<p>IV. 1. The Book of Mormon: an Account written by the Hand of Mormon, upon Plates taken from the Plates of Nephi. Translated by Joseph Smith, Jun. Third European Edition. 1852.</p> <p>2. The Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: selected from the Revelations of God. By Joseph Smith, President. Second European Edition. 1849.</p>	b

3. The Mormons : or, Latter-Day Saints. With Memoirs of the Life and Death of Joseph Smith, the "American Mahomet." (Understood to be prepared by Mr. H. Mayhew.) Office of the "National Illustrated Library."
 4. The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: a History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, present Condition, and Prospects, derived from personal Observation, during a Residence among them. By Lieut. J. W. Gunnison, of the Topographical Engineers. London: S. Low and Co. 1852.
 5. Mormonism and the Mormons. A Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Sect self-styled Latter-Day Saints. By David P. Kidder. New York: Lane and Scott. 1852.
 6. A Series of Pamphlets. By Orson Pratt, one of the twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Liverpool: Franklin and Richards. 1852.
 7. Principles and Practices of Mormons, tested in Two Lectures. By the Rev. J. H. Gray, M.A. M. P. Barkwell, Douglas, Isle of Man; Nisbet and Co., and Wertheim and Macintosh, London. 1853 95
- V. 1. Elements of Meteorology: being the Third Edition, revised and enlarged, of "Meteorological Essays." By the late John Frederick Daniel, D.C.L., Oxon., &c., &c.
2. Annales de l'Observatoire Royale de Bruxelles, Publiés aux Frais de l'Etat. Par le Directeur A. Quetelet, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, &c., &c. Tom. VII.
 3. Quarterly Reports on the Meteorology of England, the South of Scotland, and Parts of Ireland. By James Glaisher, F.R.S., Secretary of the British Meteorological Society. (Published with the "Quarterly Reports" of the Registrar-General.)
 4. Observations in Magnetism and Meteorology, made at Makerstoun, in Scotland, in the Observatory of General Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, Bart., &c., &c., in 1844. Edinburgh, 1848.
 5. Observations made at the Magnetical and Meteorological Observatory at Toronto, in Canada. Printed by order of Her Majesty's Government, under the Superintendence of Col. Edward Sabine. Vol. II., 1843, 1844, 1845. London, 1853.
 6. Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles. Observations des Phénomènes Périodiques 127

ART.

Page.

VI. 1. Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petrea: a Journal of Travels in the Year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography: drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations. By Edward Robinson, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, &c., &c. In Three Vols. 8vo. With Maps. London, 1841.

2. Reise in das Morgenland, u.s.w. (Travels in the East, in the Years 1836 and 1837. By Dr. G. H. Von Schubert. With a Map, and a Ground Plan of Jerusalem. Three Vols. 8vo. Erlangen, 1840. London: Nutt.)
3. Reise in Europa, Asien, und Africa, u.s.w. (Travels in Syria, forming part of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa; undertaken with special Reference to the Natural History of the Lands visited, in the Years 1835 to 1841. By Joseph Russegger. With an Atlas. Three Vols. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1846-1849.)
4. Die Erdkunde. (Universal Comparative Geography. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Parts: Western Asia. By Carl Ritter. Three Vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1848-1852.)
5. Atlas von Palästina. (Atlas of Palestine and of the Peninsula of Sinai; intended to accompany Ritter's "Erdkunde," Vols. XIV-XVI. By C. Zimmermann. Large Folio. Berlin, 1850.)
6. Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea. By W. F. Lynch, U.S.N., Commander of the Expedition. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. One Vol. Crown 8vo. London, 1849.
7. Voyage autour de la Mer Morte. (Journey around the Dead Sea and in the Lands of the Bible; executed from December, 1850, to April, 1851. By F. De Sauley, formerly a Pupil in the Polytechnic School, and now a Member of the Institute. Published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction. With Maps and Plates. Two Vols. Small 4to. Paris, 1852. London: Nutt.)
8. Reisebilder. (Travelling Pictures from the East. By Dr. F. Dietrich. Two Vols. 12mo. Berlin, 1853.)
9. Sinai and Golgotha; or, Journey in the East. By F. A. Strauss. Translated from the German. With an Introduction by Henry Stebbing, D.D., F.R.S. One Vol. 12mo. London: Blackwood. 1849.
10. Wanderings in the Land of Israel, and through the Wilderness of Sinai, in 1850 and 1851; with an Account of the Inscriptions in Wady Mokatteb, or "the Written Valley." By the Rev. John Anderson. One Vol. 12mo. London: Collins. 150

ART.	Page.
VII. 1. Canada in 1848. By Captain Henry Millington Syngé, R.E. London: Effingham Wilson.	
2. The Isthmus of Darien in 1852. By Lionel Gisborne, C.E. London: Saunders and Stanford.	172
VIII. The Works of the Rev. Richard Watson: with Memoirs of his Life and Writings. By the Rev. Thomas Jackson. In Twelve Volumes. 8vo. London: John Mason.	185
IX. 1. Poems. By Alexander Smith. Third Edition. London, 1854.	
2. Balder: a Poem. By the Author of "The Roman." London, 1854.	288
X. Report of the Census of the United States for 1850.	257

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES:—

Oliphant's Russian Shores of the Black Sea, and Shirley Brooks' Russians of the South—Medway's Memoirs of Dr. J. Pye Smith—May Fair to Marathon—Sainte Beuve's *Causeries du Lundi*—Victor Cousin's *Madame de Longueville*—Sayous' *Histoire de la Littérature Française à l'Etranger*—Chalybäus's *Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy*—Sketches from Sacred History—Finlay's *History of the Byzantine Empire*—Harbaugh's *Will we know our Friends in Heaven?*—Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* and *Last Fruit off an Old Tree*—Thodey's *Life in Death*—Smith's *Gentile Nations*—*The Leisure Hour*—Farrar's *Ecclesiastical Dictionary*—Hufeland's *Art of Prolonging Life*—Young's *Complete Works, Poetry and Prose*—Flagg's *Venice, the City of the Sea*—*Struggles for Life: or, The Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister* 277

CONTENTS OF NO. IV.

ART.	Page.
I. 1. <i>La Russie Contemporaine.</i> Par L. Léouzon le Duc. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1853.	
2. <i>Progress of Russia, West, North, and South.</i> By David Urquhart. London: Trübner and Co. 1853.	
3. <i>The Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East.</i> London: Murray.	
4. <i>Annuaire de la Revue des Deux Mondes pour 1852-3.</i> Paris.	
5. <i>Geschichte des Russischen Reichs.</i> Von N. M. Karam- sin. 11 Bände. Leipzig. 1820-1833.	
6. <i>Religious History of the Slavonians.</i> By Count Valerian Krasinski. 1853.....	297
II. 1. <i>Homiletics; or, The Theory of Preaching.</i> By A. Vinet. Translated from the French. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1853.	
2. <i>A Letter to a Junior Methodist Preacher, concern- ing the general Course and Prosecution of his Studies in Christian Theology.</i> By John Hannah, D.D. Third Edition. London: John Mason. 1853.	
3. <i>An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times.</i> By John Angell James. Fifth Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1841.....	349
III. 1. <i>Histoire des Ducs d'Orleans.</i> Par M. Laurentié. Quatre Tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1850.	
2. <i>Histoire de la Vie Politique et Privée de Louis Phi- lippe.</i> Par A. Dumas. Deux Tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1854.	
3. <i>The History of the House of Orleans.</i> By W. Cooke Taylor, LL.D. Three Vols. 8vo. London: Bent- ley. 1853.....	374

ART.	Page.
IV. 1. The Works of William Harvey, M.D., Physician to the King, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College of Physicians. Translated from the Latin, with a Life of the Author, by Robert Willis, M.D. London: Printed for the Sydenham Society. 1847.	
2. The Genuine Works of Hippocrates. Translated from the Greek, with a Preliminary Discourse and Annotations, by Francis Adams, LL.D., Surgeon. London: Printed for the Sydenham Society. 1849.	
3. Memorials of John Ray: (consisting of his Life, by Dr. Derham; Biographical and Critical Notices, by Sir J. E. Smith, Cuvier, and Dupetit Thouars;) with his Itineraries, &c. Edited by Edwin Lankester, M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Printed for the Ray Society. 1846.	
4. Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. (Medical Biographies, contributed by William Alexander Greenhill, M.D., Trinity College, Oxford.) Edited by William Smith, LL.D. Three Vols. London: Taylor, Walton, and Maberly; and John Murray. 1843.....	412
V. 1. The Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell. Edited by Andrew R. Scoble. London: George Routledge and Co. 1852.	
2. The Golden Legend. By H. W. Longfellow. Second Edition. London: David Bogue. 1852.	
3. The Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe. London: Addey and Co. 1853.	
4. Poe's Tales of Mystery and Imagination; and Poems. First and Second Series. London: Clarke, Beeton, and Co. 1852	440
VI. 1. The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry; with a particular Reference to the Controversy on the Subject between Romanists and Protestants. By Edward Arthur Litton, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Stockton Heath, Cheshire, &c. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1851.	
2. The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and the Church. By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Fourth Edition. London: John Murray. 1852.	
3. The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. By Robert Isaac Wilberforce, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Second Edition. London: John and Charles Mozley. 1853.	

ART.	Page.
4. The Sacramental and Priestly System examined; or, Strictures on Archdeacon Wilberforce's Works on the Incarnation and Eucharist. By Charles Smith Bird, M.A., F.L.S., Canon of Lincoln, &c. London: Seeleys. 1854.	
5. The Principles of Church Government, and their Application to Wesleyan Methodism. With Appendices. By George Steward. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853.	
6. The Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church: viewed in their Scriptural and Theological Aspects; and in Relation to Principles professed by the Wesleyan Methodists. By the Rev. Alfred Barrett. London: John Mason. 1854.....	459
VII. 1. State Papers published under the Authority of Her Majesty's Commission.—King Henry the Eighth. Eleven Vols. 4to. London. 1830–1852.	
2. Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain, from the Commencement of the Twelfth Century to the Close of the Reign of Queen Mary. Edited chiefly from the Originals in the State-Paper Office, the Tower of London, &c. By Mary Anne Everett Wood. Three Vols. London: Colburn. 1846.	
3. Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the Lord's Supper. Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. John Edmund Cope, M.A. Two Vols. 8vo. Cambridge. 1844.	
4. Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester. Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. George Elwes Corrie, B.D. 8vo. Cambridge. 1845.	
5. Remains of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter. Edited for the Parker Society by the Rev. George Pearson, D.D. 8vo. Cambridge. 1846.....	501
VIII. 1. The Resources of New Granada. By General Mosquera. New York: Dwight. 8vo.	
2. History of Yucatan: from its Discovery to the Close of the Seventeenth Century. By Charles St. John Fancourt, Esq. London: John Murray. 8vo.	
3. Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro. By A. R. Wallace. London: Reeve and Co. 8vo.	536

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES:—

Macaulay's Speeches, Corrected by Himself—Webb's Sensibility of Separate Souls—Leatham's Discovery: a Poem—Gerald Massey's Ballad of Babe Christabel—Marsland's Musings of a Spirit—Morbida; or, Passion Past

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES *continued*.

—Miss Parkes's Summer Sketches—Head's Ultimate and Proximate Results of Redemption—Miller's My Schools and Schoolmasters—Mignet's Notices et Portraits Historiques et Littéraires—Mémoires d'Alexandre Dumas—Véron's Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris—Alphonse Karr's Les Guêpes: Mœurs Contemporaines—Dr. Cumming's The Tent and the Altar, The Comforter, The Great Sacrifice, and Signs of the Times—Wallace's Portraiture of the Rev. William Jay—Morgan's Brief Memoir of the Rev. W. Howels—The Works of Oliver Goldsmith—Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire—Upham's Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life—Williams's The Incarnate Son of God—Ruskin's Lectures on Architecture and Painting—Ephraem Syrus's Repentance of Nineveh, and Smaller Pieces—Bigg's Night and the Soul—Vanderkiste's Six Years' Mission among the Dens of London—Gell's Revelation Historically and Critically Interpreted—Davis's Evenings in my Tent—Janeway's Holy Life and Triumphant Death of Mr. John Janeway—Gardner Wilkinson's Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians—Shrewsbury's Life, Experience, and Character—Steel's Life and Labours of the Rev. Hodgson Casson—James's War with Russia, Imperative and Righteous—Heighway's Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of Leila Ada—Amicus's Friendships of the Bible—Bruce's Biography of Samson.	566
--	-----

THE
LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

MARCH, 1854.

- ART. I.—1. *Essay towards the Restoration of the Historical Stand-point for the Criticism of the New Testament Writings.* (*Versuch zur Herstellung des Historischen Standpuncts für die Kritik der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.*) By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Erlangen: Heyder. 1845.
2. *Prelections on Catholicism and Protestantism.* (*Vorlesungen über Katholicismus und Protestantismus.*) By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Erlangen: Heyder. 1845 and 1846.
3. *A Few Words on the Genuineness of the New Testament Writings.* (*Einige Worte über die Aechtheit der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.*) By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Erlangen: Heyder. 1846.
4. *The Church in the Apostolic Age, and the Origin of the New Testament Writings.* (*Die Kirche im Apostolischen Zeitalter, und die Entstehung der Neutestamentlichen Schriften.*) By HEINRICH W. J. THIERSCH. Frankfort and Erlangen: Heyder and Zimmer. 1852.

“THE Apostolic Age,” the last production of Thiersch’s pen, merits an extended notice; not only because of the importance of the subject, but also because of the position occupied by the author in the religious and literary world,—a theologian of eminence, one of the great champions of Christianity against the most recent school of German infidelity, and, of late years, a convert to Irvingism. To be properly appreciated, however, there is required a review of his previous writings, of the discussions that drew them out, and of the general attitude of Christian apologists and of their adversaries at the time when he became enrolled among the former.

The appearance of the celebrated Strauss’s “Life of Christ,” in
VOL. II. NO. III. B

1835, has certainly done good service to the cause of Christianity. It annihilated the old Rationalism; it substituted open hostility for the insidious approaches of a concealed enemy: above all, it was a confession wrung from infidelity, that the religion of Redemption cannot be got rid of, without accounting for the character of the Redeemer; thus bringing the controversy to fasten upon the vital and essential point,—the one of all others upon which the Christian should wish to concentrate it,—the august person of the Lord himself. However, as a bold attempt to explain the way in which, according to its author, the Gospels could have been invented, the attack surprised and startled even the Germans, used as they are to all sorts of alarms and excursions upon the field of theological strife. It seemed to them the more formidable, from its applying to the history of our Lord principles which had been already applied, by a too general consent, to parts of the Old Testament history. Numerous answers appeared, and, in most cases, they were able and satisfactory. The venerable Neander, in his “Life of Jesus,” (1837,) showed the wondrous consistency of the Redeemer’s words and works with his professed being and mission, refuting in detail the heartless cavils of a mind uninfluenced by those religious wants and aspirations, which ought to be common to the whole human race. Ullmann, of Heidelberg, (*Historisch oder Mythisch?* 1838,) called attention to the mightily suggestive import of the simple fact, that the Church was founded by a Crucified One, and showed the absurdity of making the character and works of Jesus a mythic invention of the Church, while there was nothing on this hypothesis to explain the existence of the Church itself. He exhibited the real nature of myths, and their utter dissimilarity to the evangelical history; so that every pagan legend, and, still more, every apocryphal legend of Christian antiquity, is, from the very contrast, a means of rendering the historical character of our sacred records more manifest. Tholuck produced his masterly “Credibility of the Gospel History;” (1839;) Ebrard, of Erlangen, his “Scientific Criticism of the Gospel History,” (1841–2,) uniting a thorough investigation of the origin and distinguishing characteristics of each of the Gospels, with a harmonized recapitulation and justification of their contents. We do not mention the crowd of less eminent, though often useful, writers, nor many excellent articles which appeared in the Theological Reviews. Lange’s “Life of Jesus” was a few years later, and had not yet exercised any influence when Thiersch entered upon the arena. The effect produced by those, in essential respects, unanswerable apologies was, to force the assailants of Christianity to change their ground. Strauss had occupied himself solely with what he considered the internal indications of fable in the Gospel history. He had tried to show how the wonders narrated might, one after another, arise from the exaggeration natural to men who idolized their departed

master, and would fain adorn his history with the counterpart of every legend treasured up in their national traditions. But, while thus decomposing the *facts*, he had abstained from all criticism of the *documents* as such; he did not attempt to form any conception of their respective origins and authors, or of their immediate purpose, and allowed us to suppose that the Gospels in their present form were as old as the apostolical Epistles, and as the generation that had immediately succeeded Jesus. Five years, however, had not elapsed from the publication of Strauss's book, before the admirers of the mythic hypothesis had to confess it was impossible to maintain it, if so short a time were left for the formation of the myths. They felt they must either sacrifice the system, or else show that the Gospels were written later than the first century, and that the whole commonly received history of primitive Christianity was fabulous. Without paying over-much attention to the facts to be gathered from Heathen and Jewish historians and men of letters, Tacitus, Suetonius, Josephus, and Pliny, they proceeded to cut at the root of primitive Christian history, by applying the axe of destructive criticism to its own documents. Gfroerer, in his "*History of Early Christianity*," (*Urchristenthum*,) and in his "*Century of Redemption*," (*Das Jahrhundert des Heils*,) tried to give a less indefinite shape to Strauss's theory, by attributing the Messianic *legends* to the influence of the theology of the Mishna, and of sundry apocryphal writings, which he quietly antedated by some two or three centuries, to serve his hypothesis. Schweigler led the way for his own future attacks, and those of others, upon the Acts of the Apostles, by his "*Montanism, and the Christian Church of the Second Century*," (Tübingen, 1841.) The Gospel of John, as the testimony of one who had eaten and drunk with Jesus after his resurrection, and who was a prominent actor in the early Christian history, was especially obnoxious to all who wished either to get rid of that history altogether, or to reconstruct it speculatively. Hence, in the years 1840 and 1841, there appeared no less than four elaborate attempts to criticize away the work of the Beloved Disciple. They were from the pens of Luetzelberger, Weisse, Bruno Baur, and Schweitzer, writers differing in their views, in their objects, in their estimate of the synoptical Gospels, and in their degree of hostility to revelation, but agreeing in one essential point,—the unsettling of the historical basis of the Christian religion. They were cheered on and aided in the work of destruction by Ferdinand Christian Baur, and the other writers in Zeller's "*Theological Register*," published at Tübingen.

This preliminary sketch prepares the reader for the title of Thiersch's first work: "*An Essay towards the Restoration of the Historical Stand-point for the Criticism of the New Testament Writings*," (Erlangen, 1845.) Our author, then already known to the public as the son of a celebrated philologist, and as him-

self Professor of Theology at the University of Marbourg, protested against the method as well as the results of the reigning sceptical criticism, its disregard of historical testimony, its exclusive attention to internal *data*, and its arbitrary treatment of these. He tried to find some firm ground in which to anchor amid a troubled sea, casting up mire and dirt, to determine landmarks of positive fact, enough to protect biblical criticism from the caprices of wild or hostile imaginations. After an able chapter on the language and style of the New-Testament writings, he proceeds to investigate the origin and object of the Gospels in such a way as to combine the internal and external evidences for their authenticity, and that of the New Testament generally; bringing together into one picture the state of minds,—the religious needs in the first Christian society,—and the apostolical literature which resulted from that state, and supplied those needs.

Without dwelling upon the infinite distance between the tone and spirit of the Epistles, and the earliest patristic writings, there are peculiarities which even the irreligious critic is capable of appreciating, and which render it impossible honestly to attribute the former to any period later than the first or second generation of Christians. They are throughout pervaded, for instance, by a conception of justification, which is almost totally absent from the theology of the second century. Again, though distinctly declaring that the times and the seasons were not revealed, they repeatedly betray an expectancy of the Lord's immediate second coming, and consequently absence of thought for a distant future; while there existed among the Christians of the second century, on the contrary, a clear consciousness that they formed a society which would require a long period to accomplish its mission. Most of the books of the New Testament bear the unmistakeable impress of having originated in the struggles of the founders of the religion to preserve it pure from the corrupting influences of Judaism on one side, and of heathenism on the other. The didactic writings are so totally free from allusion to the historical, or even from repetition of what is contained in the latter, that the independence of the two classes of documents has never been denied: yet the Epistles everywhere pre-suppose the great facts related in the Gospels, and they confirm the historical truthfulness of the Acts by the most minute and least-to-be-suspected coincidences. Thiersch gives satisfactory reasons why the contents of the Gospels should be so seldom re-produced in the Epistles, and at the same time shows that the allusions to our Lord's words are more frequent than is generally thought, recurring especially in the eschatological passages of St. Paul. He very judiciously makes the Acts the key-stone of his critical edifice: for, as Jerome had already remarked, the close of the book evidently shows that it

was written before Paul's martyrdom, and about the year 63. But, since it professes to be a continuation of the Gospel of Luke, that Gospel must have been written in or before A.D. 63: and it is easy to conclude that Matthew, at least, is not later than Luke; for he was not acquainted with the work of his fellow-Evangelist. A late critic, Credner, tried to account for the way in which the Acts leave the Apostle in prison, without giving any sequel of the history or telling us of his fate, by the supposition that the work was interrupted for some unknown reason, and that the author never finished it; but Thiersch shows that the concluding paragraph of the Acts is wound up in such a way as to be parallel to the concluding paragraph of the Gospel of Luke. The book is duly finished, though the reader is left in suspense as to the issue of events, at a most interesting moment. Moreover, in all the later chapters the author accompanies the Apostle from Greece to Palestine, and from Palestine to Italy, so evidently sharing his master's presentiment that it was a last voyage, that we must assume that nothing can have occurred meanwhile to change the solemn anticipation. The account of the farewell scenes at Ephesus, at Tyre, at Cæsarea, (Acts xx. 22-25, 37, 38; xxi. 4, 5, 11, 13,) must have been written before Paul's release, if he ever was released,—in any case, before the expectation of release he expresses in the Epistles to the Philippians, (i. 25, 26; ii. 24,) and to Philemon. (22.)

The New Testament writings contain abundant internal indications, not only of the time at which they were written, but even of the order in which they succeeded each other. Thus the first appearance of thought for the future circumstances of the Church in this world is to be found in the later Epistles. In Paul's earlier letters, Romans and Galatians especially, he has to do with the Pharisaic tendency,—the first and simplest form of Judæo-Christianity. In Ephesians and Colossians we see traces of the beginning of a false Gnosticism, and in the writings of John traces of its maturity. Similarly the Second Epistle of Peter predicts evils which Jude recognises as already present. In Paul's time, and even in that of Jude, (verse 12,) the heretics tried to remain in the bosom of the Church: in that of John, they had already separated. (1 John ii. 19.) The different tendencies combated in the Epistles have suggested to the school of Tübingen the suspicion, that most of them were forged in the second century, to meet the heresies that were then striving for the mastery. Thiersch proves that admitted facts lead to precisely the opposite conclusion: the Epistles *do not* notice the prominent characteristics of the heresies of the second century, while they *do* dwell upon incipient stages of those heresies, or upon those very shapes of wild speculation or practical evil, which we might on psychological grounds expect to find, as the result of the contact of the religion of Redemption with the elements which, we

know, existed immediately before, or contemporaneously with, its appearance in both the Jewish and the Gentile world. The great and ever-recurring feature of the Gnosticism of the second century, in all its varieties, is the attempt to distinguish between the Creator of the sensible world and the highest and true God, preached by Jesus Christ. Now, not a vestige of this idea appears among the heretics combated in the apostolic writings. Again, the adversaries of Paul and John invariably gave themselves out to be Apostles and Prophets: their successors of the second century advanced no claims of the kind. They either professed, like Marcion, to be reformers and restorers of the true faith, which had been spoiled by the current traditions of the Church, or else, like Valentinus, to be in possession of a holy secret tradition, derived from Christ and the Apostles. They were pretenders to learning, in opposition to the beginnings of human science and of a Christian literature among the early Fathers, instead of being false Apostles in opposition to the true.

With respect to external testimony, our author, following in the steps of Hug, lays stress on the recognition, by the heretics of the middle of the second century, of every document of the New Testament, except one or two of the smallest and least important, as the universally acknowledged standard of truth among all who claimed to be Christians. Surely, the different Gnostic sects would not have taken such pains to explain away and allegorize writings fundamentally opposed to their doctrines, unless they found those writings pre-existing, as a supreme authority in the Christian Church, which they could not set aside, without giving up their own pretensions to be the proper representatives and interpreters of the primitive Church. The Essay divides the interval between St. Paul and St. Jerome into three periods, in relation to the recognition of the canon. From A.D. 70 to 100 is the first period, during which the organization of the Christian Church was developed under the fostering hand of John; the latest writings of the New Testament were produced, and the original canon—the *ὁμολογούμενα* of Eusebius—universally received and read along with the Old Testament. The second period, comprising the second and third centuries, bears a thoroughly conservative and traditional character, in contrast with the productive character of the first period; the smaller and more private documents—the *ἀντιλεγόμενα* of Eusebius*—which had not been included in the primitive canon, becoming gradually known, yet distinguished from the other Scriptures by the somewhat narrow-minded traditionalism, and scrupulous fear of innovation, which characterized the time. The productive character re-appears in the third period, extending over the fourth century,

* Comprising properly the Epistle of James, the Second Epistle of Peter, Jude, and the two last Epistles of John. The authority of the Apocalypse and Hebrews was also controverted, but more partially.

that is to say, re-appears in the spheres of Church organization and legislation. Ecclesiastical arrangements were made to correspond with the civil order of the Roman Empire; local irregularities were done away with; synods and councils bound the religious edifice together; the bringing together the representatives of the churches from distant countries, admitted of an examination into the claims of the *antilegomena*; the scruples of the Churches which did not possess them were removed, and they were received into the canon. This conception of the history is justified by all the remains of the second and third centuries; it is the only one which can explain the facts of the early universal reception of the *homologoumena*, the reverential jealousy with which they were kept apart from the intrusion of other writings, and yet the later easy reception of the *antilegomena* without their being recommended by any controversial or sectarian interest.

Thiersch dwells particularly upon the opportunities of Eusebius, who had before him so many writers now lost, many of whose names he mentions, some of whom had expressly occupied themselves with this subject; and yet he never, in the whole circle of early Christian literature, found a single doubt breathed against the authority and authenticity of any one of the *homologoumena*. To the objection that some of the oldest Christian apologists do not refer to so many of the New Testament writings as might be expected, and that Justin Martyr, in particular, does not quote St. Paul, the Essay first urges the usual reply,—that the subjects treated by those writers, and the *public* to which they addressed themselves, did not call for much biblical quotation. It next makes the novel and probably sound suggestion,—that the oldest apologists borrowed very largely from the anti-pagan polemics of Jewish writers who had preceded them, and that from this was derived the predominance of the abstract monotheistic over the properly Christian element in their works. Great use had been made by recent adversaries of Christianity of the fact, that writings no longer looked upon as parts of the canon, as the first Letter of Clement of Rome, and the “Shepherd” of Hermas,—some of them even spurious, as the “Apocalypse of Peter,”—were yet read along with the present New Testament Scriptures in sundry Churches, or were cited with great respect by some of the Fathers. Thiersch replies, in the first place, that it was natural the strong traditional spirit of the middle and end of the second century should set a high value upon the few writings which served to bridge over the chasm between the apostolic age and their own time of nascent Christian literature: in the second place, that expressions of respect for extra-canonical writings, of the kind alluded to, are almost exclusively confined to Clement of Alexandria, a man of extremely speculative tendencies; and even he shows a clear consciousness of the distinction between his favourite authors and the apostolic writings. The reading of the

books referred to in some of the Churches seems to have been associated with local remembrances. Thus the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians was read for some generations in the midst of that particular Church, and in it only; the Acts of Martyrs were sometimes read on the festival of their martyrdom; and what Jerome says of the Works of Ephrem Syrus,—that they were read in some of the Syrian Churches “*after the reading of the Scriptures*,”—may suggest what was done in similar cases, where the order observed is not explicitly mentioned.

Thus, every thing we can learn of the religious ideas and controversies of the three centuries during which Christianity, grappling with Paganism in front, and heresy from behind, marched on to the conquest of the Roman world,—every additional light thrown upon those memorable ages confirms the internally demonstrated impossibility of the collection called the New Testament having been written by any others than the immediate founders of the Christian Church, and in the very crisis of its earliest existence. At the same time, it remains an unshaken fact of history, that those writings were distinguished from all others as a final authority on religious matters, and received as such by every contending sect, even those who were the farthest from the spirit and letter of their contents.

With respect to the origin of the books of the New Testament taken separately, the *Essay* distinguishes three periods. The earlier Epistles, before A.D. 60, are remembrances of Paul’s labours and travels, elicited by the pressing necessities of the Churches, and chiefly by the controversy with Judaizing Christians. From A.D. 60 to 70, is the period of transition from the first stage of primitive Christianity to a more permanent shape and establishment; and to it are to be referred the synoptical Gospels, and all the rest of the Epistles, except those of John. After A.D. 70, we have the writings of the Beloved Disciple during that closing period of his long life, in which he impressed upon the Church the doctrine and the organization which are prominent in the two following centuries. The deaths or dispersion of the Apostles, and the dawn of a heathen Gnosticism, disposed to ignore the historical reality of the incarnation and life of Christ, led to the issue of official versions of the Apostles’ remembrances of their Divine Master, some time about or after A.D. 60. Jesus had prepared his disciples to rehearse his words and doings, after his resurrection, as part of their mission. (John xiv. 26; xv. 27.) Matthew’s is the Palestine version of this common apostolic tradition, behind which the individuality of the compiler is in a great measure effaced. Luke, who had probably collected his materials during the two years that he was detained in Palestine by Paul’s imprisonment, must have written his Gospel for Gentile Christians at nearly the same time with Matthew; for neither saw the work of the other. It is written from the

point of view that might be expected from Paul's companion and yoke-fellow. Mark is a version of the Palestine tradition, prepared for the Christians of the west; the substance taken down from the lips of Peter at Rome, and afterwards arranged in order by being compared with the Gospel of Luke. In this view of the synoptics, Thiersch endeavoured to combine fact and tradition: on the one hand, the fact of Mark's remarkable coincidence with Matthew in matter, and with Luke in arrangement and connexion,—the fact, moreover, of Mark's strict and consistent chronological order: on the other hand, the tradition of Clement of Alexandria, that the Gospels containing the genealogies were written first; and the tradition of Papias, that Mark wrote under Peter's dictation at Rome, but not in exact order. Our author, it will be observed, steers midway between the idea of Townson, Hug, and the older critics generally, that the Evangelists saw and copied from each other, and the idea of Gieseler, that the verbal coincidences of the first three Gospels arose from their drawing from the common source of a tradition stereotyped by repetition. The later Epistles of Paul, contemporaneous, as has been already said, with the synoptical Gospels, are not quite as polemical as the earlier, and are written rather with a view to complete the instruction and edification of the Churches. Peter wrote for the express purpose of sustaining the hands of his brother Apostle, and showing the harmony which existed between them; thus disavowing the Judaizing zealots, who used his venerated name as a watchword in their attempts to discredit the Apostle of the Gentiles. The reminiscences of the Epistle to the Ephesians, and other writings of Paul, which led De Wette to reject the authenticity of the First Epistle of Peter, are just so many corroborative indications of the object of the Epistle. John's Gospel supposes the others well known: they were, doubtless, already publicly read in the churches. His Epistles, and the early chapters of the Apocalypse, serve to complete our view of the internal history of the Church, to mark its progress in the appropriation of Divine truth, and the changing forms of error with which it had to contend. We can trace, thinks Thiersch, through following centuries, the agency of John, overlying without destroying that of Paul, in the permanently ordered hierarchy, in the place given to the person of Christ, and in the relative subordination of the doctrine of justification.

The appearance of the *Essay* served to place its author at once in the first rank of orthodox critics. The work was distinguished by earnestness, perspicuity, a judicious selection among the facts and arguments already employed by Christian apologists, and a combination of them with observations new, original, and weighty. It turned the weapons of the adversaries against themselves; using, to strengthen the evidence of the authenticity of the New Testament, the very facts to which they had attracted attention. It

was not merely an able refutation of the objections of sceptics in detail, and in a negative, defensive way, but a positive reconstruction of the origin of the New Testament as a whole; its several parts confirming, as well as completing, each other; corresponding, like the separate members of a perfect organism; and leaving upon the mind a conviction of the reality of the circumstances under which they profess to be written, and of their having actually originated in connexion with those circumstances. This was really to raise biblical introduction to the dignity of a science whereas, it had hitherto been but an assemblage of scraps of information relative to the literary history of the Bible: and results which, if considered isolatedly, might be questioned, now participated in the certainty of the facts with which they were associated. The great champions of Infidelity and Christianity, Strauss and Neander, having, both of them, as has been said, neglected the criticism of sources, and confined themselves to that of facts, measuring the latter, moreover, by a standard often arbitrary and personal, it had become all the more important to unite the study of early Christian history with that of the New Testament documents, to exhibit the books as growing out of the history, and the several men of God who wrote them, as the organs of Divine revelation, in response to the successive wants of a society, of whose origin, development, dangers, and struggles, there is an imperishable monument in their own pages.

However, the germs of Thiersch's subsequent weakness, both as a critic and as a theologian, can be detected in this work:—a pride of high belief,—a somewhat fierce contempt of adversaries, indicating, perhaps, an undue predominance of the intellectual over the religious element in his convictions,—and an exaggerated respect for patristic tradition. When considering the external evidence of the authenticity of the New Testament, it is most important to distinguish between the general consent of the Churches, and the statements made by individual Fathers, with respect to the authorship of particular books and the circumstances attendant on their origin. No historical testimony can be stronger than the former. That the whole dispersed Christian community, in Europe, in North Africa, and in the East, should agree in receiving certain books as the supreme rule of faith,—books that they refused to give up to their persecutors at the peril of their lives, and this while morbidly jealous of innovation,—is a phenomenon that can only be accounted for by the fact, that those books were esteemed sacred from the time that the whole community was under the direction of its first founders. The accounts with which individual Fathers favour us are, on the contrary, a very weak foundation upon which to build any part of the apologetical structure. They sometimes bear an unequivocally legendary character, conflicting with each other or with internal indica-

tions: they rarely exhibit the exercise of sound judgment in controlling, or selecting from among, the elements floating at random on the sea of tradition. Those respective sources of knowledge bear to each other the same relation that the legends of some primitive people—about their earliest chiefs, the country from which they came, and their successive migrations—bear to the indisputable indications afforded by their language, their usages, and their physical characteristics. It is only when those universal, and enduring, and *uninventable* elements, confirm the tradition, that they are of any value for history. Of course, it is through the writings of the Fathers that we know the consent of the Churches; but it is not the less true that those writings are useful, as the organs and monuments of the common tradition, rather than on account of the particular details they add. Now, Thiersch, unfortunately, confounds those two very dissimilar kinds of testimony; he lays the same stress upon the loose plank, and upon the good ship. As an instance of his servility, may be quoted his attempt to show that the assertion, so unhesitatingly made by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and others, that our Lord's ministry lasted but one year, was not without some foundation, since the most active part of it was confined within the year that, according to one system of Gospel chronology, elapsed between the death of John the Baptist and that of Christ. A more grave symptom of an unsound hierarchical tendency is the suggestion, that the reason why the Second Epistle of Peter was not universally received in the primitive Church was, that those to whom it was intrusted wisely communicated it only in cases where the extremes of error and dissoluteness combated therein were already known, and otherwise kept it from publicity, as a deposit for future ages,—an "*apocryphum*, in the higher sense of the word." If Thiersch could prove that there was, during the first three centuries, any reserve in the communication of the Christian sacred writings,—any thing approaching to a withholding from the people of documents known only to the Priest, or a subsequent promulgation of them on the sole authority of the Priest,—he would inflict an irreparable injury indeed on the external evidence of the New Testament. It would be both possible and easy for a priesthood, in such circumstances, to impose forged scriptures on the community, or to alter pre-existing scriptures. The resistless weight of the universal consent of the early Church consists in the fact, that there was nothing esoteric in its faith or in its practice, and that every source of knowledge was open to all its members alike. When Romanists or Romanizers taunt us with having received the Scriptures through the Fathers, it is well to remind them, not only that heretical and Pagan authors have largely contributed to the proofs of the authenticity of the letter of the New Testament, but also that the consent of the ancient Church is a satis-

factory historical authority, only because the Scriptures were freely read, after the Protestant fashion, to the whole congregation, and because they were in the hands of all persons who were able to procure them.

No sooner had our author become known as a critic, than he hastened to appear as a theologian, publishing his "Prelections on Catholicism and Protestantism," (Erlangen, 1845 and 1846,) which he had previously delivered at the University. "Our epoch," said he, "requires a deeper understanding of the essence of Catholicism and Protestantism in themselves, as well as that of their respective relations to the primitive Church. The controversy which began three centuries ago must be revised: our age is better qualified to solve this great problem than any previous one, and, therefore, under greater obligations to do so." He does not despair of a reconciliation between those long disunited sisters (?): so he proceeds forthwith to reconcile them upon paper,—certainly the easiest procedure of the two, and thoroughly Germanic. He compares the two systems, in their different conceptions of the Church, of the doctrine of salvation, and of sacraments; registers their points of agreement and of difference; investigates, as from a higher and impartial stand-point, the measure of truth in each; and tries to find some proposition, which, admitted by both, would modify and transform them, and, in bringing them nearer to the truth, bring them nearer to each other.

It would be but thankless labour to analyse in detail a work necessarily condemned to remain a sterile speculation. We need only characterize its general tendencies and affinities. Thiersch insists very strongly upon the ideal of a holy, catholic, and apostolic Church, embracing all the baptized world in one visible organization. The Church of Rome has the merit of retaining the theory; but, lacking religious life, it is obliged falsely to pretend that the actual facts correspond to the theory: it is but the shadow of the past. Protestantism, more sincere and more earnest, has been wanting in holy ambition, and, sensible of the humiliating reality, has given up the ideal. The recovery of the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit would, he thinks, be the true means of restoring the long-lost intensity of Christian life, and open the way to the desired reconciliation; it would render primitive discipline possible once more, and Priests could give absolution with complete knowledge, at least for the moment, of the heart of the penitent! With respect to the great questions of sin and grace, repentance and justification, faith and works, the lecturer resigns himself to lean to Protestant doctrine, but attempts to demonstrate, with much ingenuity, and more success than one would have expected, that Protestant doctrine sometimes dwells *incognito* in Romish creeds: instance the following language of the Council of Trent, from which Thiersch concludes, it is only in an improper sense of the word that the Church of

Rome calls works "meritorious:"—" *Absit tamen, ut Christianus homo in seipso vel confidat vel gloriatur, et non in Domino, cuius tanta est erga omnes homines bonitas, ut eorum velit esse merita quæ sunt ipsius dona.*"* All pious members of the Church of Rome have ever rested for salvation upon the Redeemer's merits alone. The essential difference is, that while the Protestant confesses this truth openly, and all his life long, the pious Catholic is afraid of it, and only applies it to himself at the hour of death, when nothing else can stand him in stead. With respect to sacraments, of course our author holds baptismal regeneration, and a sort of transubstantiation; treats the reformed doctrine with asperity, and appropriates the words of Menzel,— "It is only from out of the depths of the Lutheran faith that can issue a reconciliation with our Catholic brethren."

As was to be expected, with Thiersch's evident tenderness towards the Church of Rome, he utterly fails in accomplishing one of the principal objects proposed, *viz.*, the giving a deeper insight into the essence of Catholicism. He shows, indeed, that it is the perpetual tendency of Rome to mingle truth and error; but he does not ask the reason of such a phenomenon; one would almost think he supposed it accidental; and he never seems to suspect that there are cases where the truth merely serves to recommend the error. He analyses the difference between the two communions, without telling us why they exist, and without inquiring into the common ground and character of Romish peculiarities. The fact is, that the tendency to substitute the form for the reality, the visible and palpable for the spiritual, the mere talisman for moral principle,—that leaven of religious materialism, in short, which runs through all Thiersch's own conceptions, is itself the essence of Roman Catholicism, as it was the essence of Paganism before. The spiritual life that took but three centuries to overthrow Paganism in open conflict, has had to struggle for fifteen centuries with the far more deadly influences of its old enemy, professing Christianity and filling the temple of God. As George Herbert says,—

"Sin, not being able to extirpate quite

The Churches here, bravely resolved one night

To be a Churchman too, and wear a mitre."

We need no laborious speculations on the origin of pagan idolatry in the dark and forgotten twilight that preceded history. Its counterpart is exhibited in the gradual development of the modern Roman saint-worship; and the processes by which the higher forms of polytheism degenerated into fetichism, can be illustrated by the descending scale from the Roman Catholic of intelligence to the victim of superstition, by no means confined to the poorer ranks, who thinks that one image of the same saint

* Sess. vi. cap. 16.

has more power than another, though carved of the same wood, and daubed with the same paint.

Thiersch protests strongly against State Christianity, as it is understood in Germany,—the religious despotism of a bureaucracy. He says, it is founded on a lie, and that, though the complete separation of the temporal and spiritual spheres may have terrible effects during the time of transition, and be the signal of great calamities for the nations, it will end nevertheless in the triumphant advent of personal and individual religion. But what right has he to speak of personal religion, who would only make men change masters, and hand them over, regardless of their inalienable responsibilities, to be the subjects of a miraculously-appointed Hierarchy, ready on all matters to think, believe, and decide for them? The *Prelections* profess to pursue no end of immediate execution, to keep upon the ground of theory, and only influence opinion: but, while commenting and comparing creeds, speaking against Confessional prejudices, and assuming the attitude of a peacemaker, it is easy to see the author's aspirations had a more practical character than he dared to avow. He wished, at heart, for another Church to absorb the two rival communions. Terrified at the unchristianization and demoralization of Germany, he believed it impossible to effect a reformation without supernatural means. Had he seen Christian charity at work in his country, laboriously, prayerfully, and patiently making use of ordinary means to accomplish those moral miracles before which all others fade away, he would, perhaps, have felt greater confidence in the simple message of pardon, as the power of God unto salvation.

The *Prelections* appealing to many instincts of the German mind,—its love of novelty, its spirit of conciliation, its aspirations after external unity, its favourite weakness, of balancing arguments, and remaining in erudite suspense between *pro* and *con*,—they attracted much attention at first: but when it was discovered that they had been written under the influence of Irvingite ideas, and when the author professed he had actually found the apostolate of which he had proclaimed the necessity, the charm was broken, and the book fell from the hands of theologians: it is now seldom referred to, and less read. Irvingism has, indeed, made some progress in Germany, and will, perhaps, make more: but that disgust at, and fear of, the spirit of the age, and that yearning after authority, which pervade the higher classes of Germany, lead the majority of its victims to the great time-honoured apostolate of Rome, rather than to its mimicry in a petty sect. It was not until the spring of 1848, that Thiersch formally declared his adhesion to the Irvingites, and went to Berlin to hold conferences upon the subject there. He is now Pastor of a congregation, we believe, at Frankfort-on-the-Mayne.

F. C. Baur, the head of the Tübingen school of sceptical

critics, wrote an answer to Thiersch's "Essay," in 1846, with the title, "The Critic and the Fanatic in the Person of Mr. H. W. J. Thiersch;" and our author replied in the course of the same year in a pamphlet of about a hundred pages: "A Few Words," &c. Baur and his disciples pretend that the Christianity which appears in the pages of Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, and the other religious writers of the close of the second century, and which has come down to us, was a system just then recently developed, a sort of compromise between hostile Jewish and Gentile communities, a *cross* between the Ebionites and the Gnostics. Three-fourths of the New Testament, according to the same theory, must have been written about the middle of the second century, during the controversies which were to issue in this compromise. The Gospels and Acts, among the rest, were no authentic histories; and the only remains of the earliest Christian antiquity—that of the first century—are the Apocalypse, and four principal Epistles,—Romans, First and Second Corinthians, and Galatians. Baur recognised the existence and labours of St. Paul, but imagined he must have failed to overcome the resistance of his Judæo-Christian enemies. The Apocalypse, it may be added for the reader's information, is unanimously attributed by this school to the Apostle John, in order to draw reasons from its style for denying the authenticity of the Gospel. The four Epistles above mentioned are uncontested, because of their frequent and vivid allusions to local and personal interests, and to events then passing. In our days of practised analysis and psychological research, no man of any critical tact or literary pretensions could bring himself to doubt that we have in them a faithful transcript of the workings of an ardent, powerful, and original mind, grappling with the difficulties incidental to the founding of a religion, and determining its doctrinal tenets. But it is wonderful how any one can recognise the authenticity of those letters, and not see that the whole Christian history is implied in them. Strauss himself, believing 1 Cor. xv. to have proceeded from the pen of Paul, owns that, within about twenty-nine (it were more correct to say, twenty-seven) years from the death of Jesus, there were still alive more than half the "five hundred" persons, who were persuaded they had seen him after he was risen from the dead. That whole impulse of a new life communicated by the Lord from heaven, which brought the Christian religion and Church into being, stands confessed in those four letters, upon which the sceptical critic has not dared to lay his hand. Strange, moreover, and painfully significant, is the fact, that the same men own Paul to be one of those characters that cannot be invented, and yet believe Jesus Christ a myth. The reason is, that in the one case the appeal is made to their literary and critical sagacity, and in the other to their susceptibility of religious impression. We know Paul

to be a real man, because, though we have never seen his equal, we have seen those who are more or less like him: the proportions are colossal, and stand out with a vigour and life-impress which no imagination could have created; but the type is natural. On the other hand, mere experience cannot help us to feel, that the moral features of the Son of Man are faithfully taken from a real being who dwelt and suffered amongst us. What observations men can make among their fellows could never have suggested that Divine character in human conditions, and can as little confirm its reality when presented. It is to higher faculties than those of observation and memory,—it is to the remaining traces, or, rather, to the Holy Spirit's gracious renewal of our original capacity of taking delight in the Divine excellences, and of reflecting them, in a measure, in our sphere,—that the life of Jesus Christ commends itself, as a real manifestation of "the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth." It is the innate consciousness of what God is in relation to us, and of what we ought to be in relation to Him, that forces us to recognise the holy reality of both relations at once in the same person. It was for this reason, doubtless, that Jesus repeatedly presented his *words* as an evidence of his being and mission, that ought to weigh more, with hearts disposed to seek God, than even his *works* of power and mercy; (John iv. 48; x. 38; xiv. 10, 11;) and it is for this reason that we who read his words need not envy those who witnessed his miracles. The poor heartless critic who can bring himself to believe the Gospels an invention, confesses thereby that the highest susceptibilities surviving in the rest of fallen humanity are obliterated in him; and even in his own lower sphere of literary criticism he involves himself in inextricable difficulties: for if, by his own admission, Paul's character can be no myth because of its wonderful vigour and originality, how can *He* be a creature of imagination, who rises above Paul, and all men, and generations of men, in solitary sacredness? Where were the materials found with which to fashion such a character? and how comes He to be as *unlike* the creations of imagination, as He is *superior* to other actors in human history?

To return to the subject of this notice. Baur's attack upon Thiersch turned chiefly on the relation of the early Church to the principal heresies of the second century,—the sphere in which each of them had added original contributions to the arguments used on their respective sides. On this ground, the defender of revelation found it an easy task to show, that his rival violated all rules of criticism in his endeavour to sustain the most monstrous romance, with which it had ever been attempted to throw history into confusion. Both parties agree, that Gnosticism arose from the contact of pagan speculation with Jewish ideas, whether directly or indirectly, through the Christian movement: they

differ as to the time at which this reciprocal influence began to be exerted. Baur assumes, that there never existed any kind of Gnosticism previous to that of the second century; and therefore argues, that those books of the New Testament, which refer to Gnostic tendencies, must have been written a century later than they profess to be. Thiersch maintains, that the allusions, referred to in the New Testament, indicate an earlier form of Gnosticism than those which prevailed in the beginning and middle of the second century; and, consequently, that those allusions alone are sufficient to prove, that the books in question must have been written earlier. Baur admits, that later heathenism, about or before the time of Christ, reflecting upon the popular mythology, produced a philosophy of religion and nature: he admits, at the same time, that Saul founded Churches in Asia Minor. Surely this is equivalent to admitting, that the elements from which Gnosticism proceeded, were contemporaneous with St. Paul,—a Gentile philosophy in contact with Jewish speculation in Egypt, and with a popular Jewish asceticism in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. "Is it not incredible," asks Thiersch, "that all those elements should be brought together in the first century, and not act upon one another until the second; that the train should hang fire for a hundred years after the match was applied to it?" It is in human nature, that an intense religious excitement, like that of which we have the evidence in Paul's undisputed Epistles, must have acted upon such minds as were predisposed to speculation, rather than to earnest religion, so as to produce an incipient Gnosticism. Now, this is just the state of which we find the vestiges in the Epistles: the New Testament supplies the historical link between the oriental theosophies, immediately preceding the Christian era, and the heresies of the second century; and this is the case with documents, the authenticity of which the Tübingen critics admit, as well as with those which they reject. Baur is bound to explain why there are such clear indications, in the earlier chapters of the Apocalypse, of the prevalence of Gnostic errors and immoralities among the Christians of Asia Minor. If Christianity be the product of a compromise between contending sects of Jewish and Gentile origin, and that so late as the first half of the second century, it follows, the two sects must have maintained their distinctive characters until that period, and primitive Christianity must be sought among one of these extremes,—most naturally, the Jewish: a difficult conclusion this, when the remains of the earliest period, even reducing them to the Apocalypse and four Epistles of Paul, are the opposite of Ebionitism. Nothing discouraged, Baur stoutly affirms, Paul and his party must have been crushed, and that his adversaries gave a predominantly Jewish character to that Church of the first century, which afterwards coalesced with Gentile elements to form the Church of

Irenæus and Tertullian. Further still, his theory not allowing him to admit the complete rupture between the Church and the Synagogue, he actually supposes Pilate alone to have been guilty of the crucifixion, and that the writers of the Gospels unjustly accused the Jews of concurring in the deed! A reconstruction of the early Christian history, which is driven to such expedients as these, stands self-convicted. One may hardly affirm, that it contradicts every remaining indication, whether found in the New Testament, or elsewhere, of the facts that occurred, and the state of things that existed, in the first hundred and fifty years after the crucifixion. It could only be made plausible by supposing every one of those indications exactly the reverse of what they are. We have admitted monuments of the foundation and spread and doctrinal development of the early Christian Church, in Gentile lands, by Paul of Tarsus; and Baur supposes the tendencies and doctrines of the Christian Church of the time to be directly opposite to those of its most gifted and energetic leader. We have the statement, at the close of the first century, by the eminent Pagan, Pliny, that the Christians worshipped Christ as God; and Baur makes them Ebionites, who owned him only as a human Messias. We have the testimony of universal antiquity to the hatred of the Jews to the person of Christ, their principal share in his death, and the final rupture of the Church and the synagogue, coincident with, or previous to, the destruction of Jerusalem; and Baur must, for very consistency, express doubt of both. Others invent hypotheses to account for facts; but here is a writer who invents one set of hypotheses to sustain another, and this last in direct contradiction to facts. We have, in the last half of the second century, on the part of the Christian leaders, a decided leaning to Jewish ideas in ecclesiastical polity and doctrine; this was a natural re-action against Gnosticism: but, at this very time, on Baur's theory, we ought to find the current setting away from Judaism, men's minds showing the traces of a recent rupture, and Paul honoured as one emerging from obscurity,—his labours at length appreciated! Only compare the writers of the second century with those of the sixteenth, when the Apostle was *really* restored to the Church, and his works in some sort re-discovered. History exhibits, in the first century, a period of excitement and creative power in the religious sphere, such as the world had never witnessed, while the first two-thirds of the second century were a period of collapse. The Professor of Tübingen's romance, on the contrary, makes the first century a time of silent preparation, and transfers to the second the time of action and creative impulse: the labours of a Paul, a Peter, a John, were comparatively unproductive; and the world owes the Christianity it possesses to some obscure zealots of the second century, whose names it has forgotten,—nay, whose names were forgotten or

ignored by the very generation that followed them!! The only argument brought forward by Baur, which is not in audacious contrast with the reality, is the fact, first discovered by himself, that Paul is held up to reprobation, under the name of Simon Magus, in the apocryphal books called the "*Clementines*." This confirms Paul's writings, so far as to his having bitter adversaries, and their professing to be Peter's disciples; but that it should serve the purpose for which it is adduced, Baur must prove the "*Clementines*" to represent the feelings of the universal Church at one stage of its existence, instead of being the production of some obscure sectary. That Paul should be vituperated, under a false name, and so covertly, that it required the critical sagacity of the nineteenth century to discover it, shows that the *Clementines* can only have been an impotent effort of sectarian malice against an Apostle generally honoured. Clement of Rome is, of all the primitive Fathers, the one whose genuine remains show him to have been an intelligent disciple of St. Paul; so that the author of the attack, in order to get his book into circulation, was obliged to attribute it falsely to an illustrious follower of the Apostles! "*The Apostolical Canons and Constitutions*," forged in the third century, were also written in the name of Clement; another proof of the consideration in which he was held, and, indirectly, of the continued supremacy of the disciples of Paul at the close of the first, and beginning of the second, century.

Thiersch, whose arguments we have ventured to supplement by some additional considerations, shows, from the example of the apocryphal Epistle of the Corinthians to Paul, and the Apostle's apocryphal answer, what would have been the real attitude, with respect to the Gnostic controversy, of forgeries made in the second century. Those documents are both extant in Armenian; and they make Paul assert the unity of the Creator and the Redeemer, repelling blasphemies uttered from a dualistic stand-point against the Creator of the world. Baur attributes about five-sevenths of the New Testament to the first half of the second century. Now, how comes it to pass that the genuine remains of this period are so few in number and so poor in matter, while the pretended suppositions are so inconceivably rich? An age which had no tolerable writer in his own name must be peopled with pseudo-Pauls, pseudo-Peters, pseudo-Johns! All its great geniuses and religious minds had a passion for writing under false names, and most unaccountable success in imposing their forgeries upon the Christian public! More wonderful still, the genuine remains of this period leave the doctrines of grace and justification by faith altogether in the background, while its forgeries are identical in doctrine and spirit with the acknowledged writings of Paul! It is easy to question the authenticity of document after document on arbitrary grounds; but the more books you attribute to the second century,

the more you are obliged to account for their origin by the circumstances of the Church; and even if that were done satisfactorily, their universal reception would still remain an insoluble enigma. The strife about the celebration of Easter shows how little disposed the Churches were to take things on each other's credit. Their really conservative, rather than productive, character made them particularly careful of receiving too readily books claiming a Divine authority. Thus it was no dislike to the contents of the *antilegomena*, that kept them from being universally acknowledged until so late as the fourth century, but simply jealousy for the purity of the canon. Thus again, Tertullian relates how the authors of the "Acts of Paul and Thecla" were, during this same second century, degraded from the Priesthood, for attempting to impose that religious romance as a real history. The work has come down to us, and we can see that it contains nothing to displease the Hierarchy of the time, except that it was not true. Baur tries to explain away Tertullian's very plain and positive Latin, and to make out that the culprits voluntarily resigned their charge: his laboured comment just proves how strongly the fact tells against sceptical criticism. It is to be remembered, that, if Irenæus is the oldest writer against the Gnostics now extant, he had predecessors, the controversy was already old, and his opponents allegorized in their wild way, to escape those statements of the New Testament, which his predecessors had urged against them; so that we must carry back, at least a generation higher than Irenæus, the recognition of the authenticity of the New Testament writings by the great heretical sects, including the Valentinians, who were not afraid to accuse the Apostles and Jesus himself of error.

Baur dexterously tries to soften as much as possible the charge of wilful fraud, which his system lays at the door of the authors of all the historical, and most of the didactic, books of the New Testament. He says, for instance, that the pseudo-John invented all sorts of personages and facts, as types of his theological intuitions, but without intending them to be taken for historical realities, his walk lying altogether in the region of ideas. Thiersch quotes the Apostle's solemn asseveration of the fact, that the blood and water gushed from the side of Jesus, (John xix. 35,) to show that he meant to convey, as positively as language enabled him to do so, the objective reality of even the most evidently symbolical facts; so that it is idle to attempt to escape from the conclusion, to which the critical determinations of the school of Tübingen lead:—namely, that those writers to whose influence upon humanity modern society owes its sense of truth and abhorrence of deceit, were themselves deceivers.

The only part of the controversy in which our author appears somewhat lame and unsatisfactory, is his attempt to vindicate the critical discernment of the Fathers. Baur urges that the most

eminent of the early Christian writers, from Justin Martyr onward, quote, as genuine, passages from the Sibylline books, and sentences from Orpheus, Linus, Homer, and Hesiod, which are now universally acknowledged to be forgeries, so that they must have been extremely weak and credulous men. Thiersch observes, in the first place, that, with the exception of a few passages in Clement of Alexandria, the forgeries or forged interpolations in question do not bear the mark of Christian hands, but of Jewish, and were older than the Christian era; in the next place, it is no wonder that the Christian Fathers were deceived, since erudite and intelligent Pagans were so. Even a Marcus Terentius Varro allowed himself to be imposed upon by some of those falsified Sibylline utterances. He adds that the spheres of mere literature and of Church tradition are not to be compared. This last observation, which drops as it were carelessly from Thiersch's pen, is really the point upon which stress should be laid. It is a mistake to suppose that the evidence of Irenæus, as to the writings held sacred and authoritative among Christians, is to have its importance measured by his personal penetration. He did not give the Scriptures to, but received them from, the Church; and the importance of his testimony consists in its acquainting us with the practice and convictions of his Christian contemporaries as a body. There can be no comparison between the degree of certainty which may be attained about the authorship of a book existing in rare copies in the cabinets of the learned, and that which attends books received by multitudes as the law of their faith and life, and publicly read in their weekly assembly. No sort of publicity that existed throughout the old world can be compared with that given to the writings of the New Testament; for the sacred books of all idolatrous religions were in the hands of the Priests only, while those of the early Christians were written for, addressed to, and confided to, the people. They are not memorials of a venerable antiquity, shrouded in mystery at their origin. The Christian society was already in existence, and had been rapidly spreading, for more than twenty years before the earliest of them appeared; nor are they scattered over a long period, but confined to one generation. That society, by whose wants they were elicited, was competent to undertake their guardianship. As for the literary acumen of the Fathers, who does not recognise powers of a high order, and native critical sagacity, in an Origen, a Eusebius, a Jerome? But the criticism which weighs external evidences of authorship, comparing them with internal indications, and controlling both by their consistency with each other, and with known facts,—criticism, as a science, in short, did not and could not exist, before the discovery of printing afforded unlimited facilities of comparison, and brought the co-operation of the whole learned world to bear upon individual effort. A sort of critical procedure, of course, attended

the formal determinations of the canon by different Councils in the course of the fourth century; but it was such as to confirm the idea just expressed. We have no record of the debates, if any, that took place at Laodicea, at Hippo, at Carthage; but we can judge, from the invaluable work of Eusebius, what were the materials on which the decisions were grounded. The external evidence of the *antilegomena*, when formally received into the canon, did not consist of individual testimonies;—it was the tradition of the whole Church in those countries to which those minor writings were first addressed, that overcame the scruples of distant Churches: and their internal evidence was of that higher kind which commends itself to the moral man. To say that there was little critical discernment, in the modern sense of the word, in either Christian or pagan antiquity, is not to weaken, but immeasurably to strengthen, the argument for the authenticity of the Scriptures: for the reasons which made the commission of literary frauds easy *then*, make their detection easy *now*; the same sort of simplicity, which let forged Sibylline oracles pass without suspicion, executed the forgery without art. An age little careful to collate manuscripts, to compare dates, to note peculiarities of style,—an age unobservant of local colours, or the nicer proprieties of scenes, times, and persons,—is, in the same proportion, incapable of imitating them. So that, while the essential contents of the New Testament Scriptures recommend themselves to all ages alike, as a Revelation of grace, which it could never have entered into the heart of man to conceive, there are also secondary characters of authenticity, which, so far from being artificially contrived, could not even have been appreciated in the age that produced them, or in any other, until the modern period of analysis and scientific criticism. The evidences of Revelation have increased with the lapse of centuries; they have literally grown with the development of mankind.

Several years passed, after the controversy with Baur, without the appearance of any new work from Thiersch's pen; and he was supposed to have withdrawn from the walks of sacred science, until last year gave evidence to the contrary. "The Church in the Apostolic Age, and the Origin of the New Testament Scriptures," (Frankfort and Erlangen, 1852,) is the first book of an ecclesiastical history, which the author proposes to continue in future volumes to the time of Leo the Great and the Council of Chalcedon. After the usual introduction, on the aspect presented by Heathenism and Judaism at the coming of our Lord, the book is divided into three chapters, devoted, respectively, to Peter, Paul, and John, considered as the successive agents of God in the foundation, extension, and organization of the Christian Church. The chapter on Peter's agency is an historical comment on the first twelve chapters of the Acts; that on Paul embraces the last sixteen chapters of Acts, with his own Epistles

and those of Peter and Jude; the materials of that on John are found in his writings and in sundry traditions. The transition between the first and second period is marked by the persecution under the first Herod Agrippa. The Jews having once more a ruler of their own nation, armed with the power of life and death, and he using it to persecute the Church, the Apostle of the Circumcision ceased to be the principal actor in Christian history: then Antioch, at first,—Ephesus afterwards,—became the metropolis of the Christian community. The supernatural powers given to Paul were at their height at Ephesus, as those of Peter had been at Jerusalem in the beginning. (Acts xix. 12; v. 15.) The Apostle evidently felt that Asia Minor, and Ephesus in particular, was the great centre of his activity; and for this reason, among others, he foresaw,—as we learn from the affecting farewell to the Elders of that city,—that the irruption of the heathenish false *gnosis* would take place there. Moreover, when, in his captivity, he occupied his thoughts with the heavenly being and calling of the Church, it is to Ephesus he addresses his instructions, as the place where Christendom had reached the consciousness of what it was. The transition between the second and third periods is the great Roman persecution, under the impure, cruel, and popularity-hunting Nero; a persecution which Thiersch supposes, from the expressions of Tacitus, to have been provoked by a sudden spread of Christianity in the Imperial City, such as Luke had not anticipated when he brought the Acts to a close. John, more calculated for building up, than for founding, Churches, subsequently took up his residence at Ephesus; and his agency there was so long-continued, and so powerful, as practically to supplant the remembrances of Paul in the churches of Asia Minor, as we see to be the case in the following century. At the time of his writings, the Church had attained that independence of Judaism for which Paul had so long struggled.

Our author has not forgotten his old adversaries of Tübingen. He tells them, that the essence of Heathenism is not polytheism, but creature-worship, whether the object of adoration be the spirit of nature itself, as in pantheism; or else, a giant rock, a white elephant, a beetle from the mud of the Nile, or a spear stuck in the ground. He reminds them, that the primitive Christians were so far from being Ebionites, that, in Trajan's time, as Ignatius lets us perceive, they had rather to struggle with the Docetic heresy,—the denial of the real humanity of Jesus. Hence the stress laid by John upon the incarnation, and his warning against idols, that is, imaginary Christs. When, at the close of the second century, Artemon, at Rome, asserted that faith in the Godhead of Christ was a novelty, he was refuted by the language of the old hymns and doxologies. The Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians is another irrefragable testimony: it

shows, that the Christians of Rome held the Godhead of Christ at the close of the first century; and the genuineness of the Epistle is undeniable. Dionysius of Corinth, writing eighty years afterwards, tells us, it was still read in that Church. Nor can this be alleged to be confined to those regions where the Christian faith was developed under the personal influence of Paul. The Churches of Egypt and Ethiopia, of Syria, Kurdistan, and India, were evangelized by other Apostles, or their disciples, and still retain the traces of their origin in numerous Jewish usages, unknown to the Greek and Latin Churches; yet we find them in the second century as far from Ebionitism as the Christians of the West, and agreeing in the common doctrine without a semblance of hesitation; showing, that the founders of the Christian Church in general must have held, along with Paul, the Deity of Christ, and the free calling of the Gentiles.

As the attempt to account for Christianity as a variety of the sect of the Essenes, was revived in England, a few years ago, by Mr. Hennel, in his "*Origin of Christianity*," it may be well to borrow a few notes on that subject from Thiersch. He observes, that Josephus, in describing the three Jewish sects, had evidently the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Platonists before his eyes, and may, intentionally, or unintentionally, have made his picture conform to the analogy, even more than the reality did. We may add, the desire to raise the character of his countrymen in the eyes of foreign philosophers, seems to have made him exaggerate the importance of the Essenes: we hear so little from other writers about those of Judea and Syria, at least. John the Baptist might, far more readily than our Lord, be treated as a representative of those ascetics; yet, Josephus himself never dreamed of confounding him with them. The history of Paul, the sayings attributed to Jesus about the Scribes and Pharisees, and the long perseverance of the Jewish Christians in the usages of the law,—all show that Christianity arose on the ground of orthodox Judaism, and not of Essenism. The Jewish mystics dwelt upon the Mosaic, rather than the Davidic, character of Messias; they never attempted to reconcile the contemplative and active life. Both the Essenes and the mystic school of Alexandria denied the resurrection, because of their ideas about matter. Philo's conception of the creation is infected with pantheism; his spirits are emanations; matter, the principle of evil; and the doctrine of pre-existence deprived the fall of its significance. In short, there was nothing in common between Jewish mysticism and Christian realism; and the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians is the judgment of the primitive Church upon the former. We have a distinct historical notice of the relations of the Essenes with the Christians at a later period: Hegesippus mentions them as one of the Jewish sects who helped to disunite the original Church of Jerusalem, after the

reign of Adrian. We can understand, that the second destruction of Jerusalem helped to separate finally from the Synagogue the majority of a party whose connexion with it was already but feeble, and who found in the Ebionite section of the Judæo-Christians elements with which they had some affinity. Thiersch suggests, that the Jewish Kabbalists were probably the successors of those among the Essenes who remained faithful to the Synagogue. As for their fellows, the Therapeutæ of Lake Moeris, he thinks they must have gone over to Christianity, with arms and baggage. We know the Jewish temple at Leontopolis in Egypt was shut up soon after the destruction of that at Jerusalem.* The Therapeutæ are never heard of after Philo; and he himself had no successor. That Eusebius should have confounded them with Christians, may have arisen from imperfect notices of the fact, that they were absorbed by the Church. Other indications of it, and of the influence they exerted, are the connexion of the ascetic Gnostics with Egypt and Syria, and the subsequent rise of Christian monasticism in the same regions; its chosen seat being those very caverns of the Thebais, where the Therapeutæ had dwelt. Thiersch considers the apocryphal Epistle of Barnabas a monument of this movement of Jewish ascetics Christianward, and makes it older than the second Jewish war under Trajan and Adrian.

"The Apostolic Age" defends the great Pentecostal miracle satisfactorily from some popular objections. It is often asked, for instance, how the twelve spoke all at once, without confusion? and how those Jewish devotees, who heard them speak each in his *own* tongue, could discover that they appeared to others to speak in *their* tongues? Thiersch says, "We have only to suppose that groups, consisting each of them of natives of the same country, were upon their way to the temple together, at the hour of the morning sacrifice, and that the speaker who attached himself to each group, addressed them in their own language. The nations mentioned in Acts ii. 9, 11, did not all speak different languages, nor even different dialects; they are mentioned, because they were all really represented by the devotees living at Jerusalem, and were precisely those among whom the Church developed itself in the apostolic age; so that the historian probably took them as pledges of the work that was shortly after accomplished among their countrymen." Our author is not so happy in his reconciliation of the description of the gift of tongues in the second of Acts, with that given in the fourteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians, some five or six-and-twenty years later. "In Acts," he says, "there is no need of an interpreter; at Corinth, no mortal can understand the tongues without an interpreter, nor interpret without the Holy Ghost. In the former,

* JOSEPHI *Bel. Jud.* vii. 37 (30).

the hearer is profited; in the latter, the speaker: the one is given for the untaught, and the other is useless to them." His way of solving the difficulty is to say, that the Pentecostal gifts consisted of tongues of men, and the Corinthian of tongues of angels. This is, if we mistake not, the solution given "by the Spirit" among the Irvingites, when the uncouth sounds, uttered by the persons supposed to be in the Spirit, after passing for Chinese, were discovered not to be any human language at all. For our own part, we are inclined to doubt that there is any thing in the matter which needs reconciliation. The hearers at Jerusalem required no interpreter, apparently because they could all interpret; those at Corinth required one, apparently in cases where the language spoken was understood by a small minority of the assembly;—let us suppose, traders, or seamen, from a distance;—the speaker at the latter place could not always himself interpret, because that involved a collectedness and calm control over oneself, even in a state of ecstasy, which belonged only to the highest form of the gift. However, even if we were to suppose that the Pentecostal gift of tongues was but momentary, and that the term came afterwards to be applied to some other mysterious spiritual manifestations, we should much prefer leaving the matter obscure, to accepting Thiersch's explanation. It would present no handle to the adversary of revelation, but rather the reverse; for the obscurity of the allusions in the Epistle to the Corinthians results from the writer's consciousness that the phenomenon was perfectly well known to his immediate readers; so that, in the most natural and artless way, he makes the whole Corinthian Church witnesses that some wonderful manifestations of the kind did really take place among them. The gift of tongues, while serving a purpose of direct utility, as enabling men to speak languages they had not learned, seems to have been essentially designed as a sign of the present power of God, and a mighty symbol of the restoration of a principle of unity to mankind. Man's apostasy after the flood had been punished by a confusion of languages; the builders of the city of pride were made not to understand each other, because, in forgetting their relation to God, they had lost the real principle of unity among men: the builders of the city of God, on the contrary, were enabled to make themselves understood of all men, because they were sent to restore the lost secret of union. Hence, the gift was more important as a *sign*, than as a power of communicating thought. Cornelius and his household spoke "with tongues, and magnified God," even when there were no strangers present; (Acts x. 44-47;) and the impression left by what we read of the Pentecostal effusion, and in Corinthians, is that of short hymns and prayers, rather than discourses,—of a predominance of the emotional over the intellectual element.

We observed that the "Essay" had brought the history of

the first and second generation of Christians to illustrate inquiries into the origin of the apostolic writings. "The Apostolic Age" does the converse, and brings the writings to illustrate the history. Both works have the great merit of treating those two subjects as inseparably connected; but, in the one, criticism occupies the principal place, and, in the other, history. Thus the author goes over nearly the same ground as before, and enables us to see in what particulars his ideas have been confirmed, or changed, or modified, during the interval. He judiciously continues to reckon the Epistle of James the earliest, referring the oppression and blasphemy of rich men, spoken of in the second chapter, to the persecutions directed against the Christians by the Sadducean rulers of the day, to whom also is addressed the terrible apostrophe in the fifth chapter. The controversy with those who trusted in a dead faith, is not the result of any antagonism to Paul, or even to those who abused Paul's doctrine; for, if there were no other reason, Paul's doctrine was not yet public: but James had in view the dry orthodox Pharisees, who thought believing in the unity of God would save them, and pleaded for that idea the examples of Abraham and Rahab. The identity of that visit of Paul to Jerusalem, mentioned in Gal. ii., with the Council of Jerusalem, mentioned Acts xv., which is hesitatingly adopted by Neander, and controverted by Wieseler, in his "*Chronology of the Apostolic Age*," (Goettingen, 1848,) is maintained by Thiersch, and justified by the one simple reason, that the visit in question could neither be later nor earlier than the Council. Not later,—because Barnabas and Paul were still associated: (compare Gal. ii. 1 with Acts xv. 39:) not earlier,—for we see that the older Apostles only gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul, because his apostolical calling had already been exhibited by successful labour: (Gal. ii. 7-9:) his first missionary tour in Cyprus and Asia Minor must have preceded the interview. The question in Acts is about the rights of heathen Christians: in Galatians it is about the Apostleship of Paul, and was settled comparatively in private.

Perhaps there may be a little exaggeration in the way in which our author makes all the instances of faith chosen in the eleventh of Hebrews to bear, each of them separately, upon the circumstances of the Christians of Palestine, at the time that Epistle was written. However, he succeeds in making it very probable, that it was a time when the Hebrew Christians were shut out from participation in the ordinances of the temple-service, and were obliged thereby to come to a final decision between the Church and the Synagogue. Hegesippus implies, that James the Just was put to death shortly before the Jewish war; and, without building too much on the genuineness of the well-known passage in Josephus about the death of James, the context in which that passage appears, compared with the indications in

Hebrews, leads to the supposition, that there was a new, cruel, and systematic persecution of the Christians by the relentless Sadducee Ananus, after the death of Festus, about A.D. 63. This Epistle, then, exhibits the last words of instruction and warning addressed to the Hebrew Christians, by one who bore them upon his heart in that agonizing crisis of their religious history, in which, after having for thirty years united faith in Christ with zeal for the institutions of their fathers, they were at last obliged to give up one or the other. Is Paul the writer? Thiersch replies, The question is a secondary one. If some admirable picture attributed to Raphael were proved not to be his, we should not have a work of art the less, but a great painter the more; and if this letter were proved not to be Paul's, we should not have an inspired writing the less, but an apostolic writer the more. The Eastern Church attributed it to Paul from the outset; the Western had it not at first in their canon, and were afterwards, perhaps, slow to receive it, because the sixth chapter offered a handle to the exaggeratedly severe discipline of the Montanists and Novatians. It is hard, he continues, to find Paul in such language as that of chapter ii. 3, 4: it is hard not to recognise him in the last paragraph of the Epistle. Probably the thoughts were those of Paul, and the close written with his own hand. Tertullian's attributing the Epistle to Barnabas may be an indication that he was the immediate author under Paul's direction; thus introducing the Apostle to the Jews for the last time, as he had done at the commencement of his ministry. (Acts ix. 27.) It was no violation of the compact made between the Apostles as to the distribution of their labours, that Paul should write to the Hebrews, because altered circumstances had now superseded old arrangements, and Peter was actually at this time labouring among the heathen Christians. We must differ from Thiersch as to its being hard to find Paul in Heb. ii. 3, 4. It seems, on the contrary, worthy of his large heart, which made itself all things to all men, that he should leave in abeyance his own independent revelations connected with his Gentile Apostleship, and humbly take his place along with his readers, speaking of Christianity upon those grounds only on which they had received it. This is but the same condescending abdication of personal pretension to authority over them, which is implied by the absence of the usual apostolic exordium, and by the tone of the whole letter:—"I beseech you, brethren, suffer the word of exhortation." (xiii. 22.) We must also contest the supposition that the western Church had not the Epistle in their canon at an early period. The Epistle of Clement gives evidence of the contrary, and obliges us to suppose that the scruples felt at Rome, at the close of the second and in the third century, originated after the Epistle had been already received. As to the fact, noted by all competent judges since Origen, that the style of the Epistle is more finished than

that of Paul's undoubted letters, it can be accounted for by the elaborate character of the book, the only production of the Apostle assuming the character of a regular essay. That, in this Epistle alone, of all the books in the New Testament, the quotations never vary from the Septuagint, implies that this translation was held in peculiar estimation among the Hebrew Christians: a suggestion sustained by a fact which we do not remember to have seen insisted upon by any biblical critic,—that the Epistle of James and the Gospel of Matthew are among those New Testament writings which come nearest to the Hebrews in their use of the letter of the Septuagint.

The Rev. A. P. Stanley, in his "Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age," acknowledges himself largely indebted to Thiersch's "Essay;" and in treating of the three Apostles, as marking the respective phases of the primitive Church, he took nearly the same course which Thiersch pursues in the volume before us. We do not know whether the German critic is acquainted with the work of his English fellow-labourer; for he is somewhat negligent in noticing contemporaries: but certainly, had he borrowed largely in turn, his work would have gained by it. We may instance that part which treats of the First Epistle of Peter. Both writers agree in thinking Peter wished to identify his teaching with that of Paul, and discountenance the party that would have made him the Apostle of a counterfeit Christianity; but Stanley looks upon the Epistle as dated (v. 13) from the literal Babylon of Mesopotamia, addressing the Churches of Asia Minor in order, from east to west, from the hills of Pontus to the cities on the Ægean Sea. Thiersch, with the Fathers, takes Babylon for a mystic name of Rome, applies the term *διασπορά* (i. 1) to Gentile Christians, and overlooks, throughout the Epistle, the many indications that the writer considered himself as addressing Jewish converts in the first place. He accounts for the use of the metaphorical name, by supposing Nero's persecution had already begun, and extended to the provinces; (v. 8, 9;) but the way in which the Apostle speaks of his readers' trials, is much more like one sympathizing from a distance, than one actually writing from the centre from which the persecution had emanated, and where it still raged. Why, for instance, does he not ask for their prayers? Why is there nothing explicit about the suffering or patience of the Roman martyrs? The secret of our author's opinion is his leaning to everything that puts Peter in connexion with Rome. In the "Essay," he had already expressed himself convinced by Windischmann, that Peter had founded the Church at Rome; placing this event between the years 44 and 50, that is, between Peter's escape from Herod's prison, (Acts xii.,) and his re-appearance at Jerusalem, at the great conference about circumcision. (Acts xv.) Why Luke should leave the Apostle in the street, (Acts xii. 17,) without

saying a word of an event so important as his journey to the metropolis of the world, while he notices Paul's desire to see Rome, for years before he got there, (xix. 21; xxiii. 11,) is a the difficulty which does not seem to have suggested itself. Since publication of the "Essay," this vexed question had been most thoroughly investigated by Wieseler, in a dissertation appended to his Chronology. The learned professor of Goettingen showed that there are good reasons to suppose that Peter was put to death at Rome, but that the legend of his having founded the Church in that city had no historical foundation: and, as it makes him Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years before his martyrdom, it contradicts everything that we know of apostolic history. No serious historian on the other side has a right to overlook Wieseler's arguments; yet Thiersch does not condescend to mention, much less to reply to, them; and he thinks it a valid plea for the tradition, to say, that when once Peter had to leave Jerusalem, he had no other sphere for his labours than Rome! as if the Apostle of the Circumcision had nothing to attract him towards those Jewish populations in the heart of Western Asia, whose numbers were so great that it was a well-known saying, "Whosoever dwells in Babylon, is as though he dwelt in the land of Israel."

Thiersch now connects the date of Mark's Gospel with his theory about Peter: he so far adopts the ideas of Wilke's *Urevangelist*, as to make Mark the earliest of the Gospels, and a foundation text for both Matthew and Luke, whom he still supposes to have written independently of each other, and at about the same time. The Gospel of Mark is therefore placed at about A.D. 44, to answer to the date of Peter's supposed visit to Rome. With a singular deference to sceptical criticism on the one hand, and to patristic tradition on the other, he admits that the last thirteen verses of Mark's Gospel were probably added later, and by another hand; and yet he tries to save Clement of Alexandria's assertion that the Gospels with the genealogies were written first, by suggesting that the Gospel may have remained a private manuscript until the death of Peter, and that the addition coincided with its public recognition. It is not so easy to associate criticism and tradition in the case of the Apocalypse. Here, decidedly, external evidence preponderates for the reign of Domitian; and Thiersch, in the "Essay," had professed himself satisfied on the subject by the labours of J. C. R. Hofman; yet the idea that it was written in the reign of Galba, and under the impression of Nero's persecution, is becoming more and more prevalent. Thiersch does not now venture to conclude peremptorily against the former date, but thinks it more probable that the heavenly Jerusalem was exhibited just as the earthly was about to disappear. At least he so expresses himself when discussing the subject directly. Whenever he has occasion to revert to it after-

wards, he always takes the earliest date as a settled thing ; so that his hesitations in the first instance were no more than a tribute of respect to the Fathers,—a sort of reluctance to differ with them, until out of sight. Some fifty pages off, he even builds his argumentation about the ecclesiastical government of the first century, in a great measure, upon the supposition that the office of *Angel* of the Church was created during the life-time of several of the Apostles ; and, indeed, we shrewdly suspect, that it was the possibility of making this polemical use of the Angels of the Seven Churches, that turned the balance with him in favour of the earlier date. He suggests that the difference in tone between the historical and prophetic parts of Isaiah, illustrates that difference between the styles of the Apocalypse and the Gospel of John, which has been such a stumbling-block to the learned.

It appeared in the "Essay," though but incidentally, that the author held the common opinion of St. Paul's having been twice in prison. "The Apostolical Age" gives it up. The "Essay" hesitated about the time when the pastoral Epistles were written ; "The Apostolical Age" propounds a positive, but most infelicitous, theory. It places the Epistle to Titus after the Apostle's second journey, the Nicopolis of chap. iii. 12 being the city of that name in Cilicia ; the First Epistle to Timothy during some unimportant absence that interrupted Paul's three years' stay at Ephesus ; the Second Epistle to Timothy, with Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and Philemon, during the two years' confinement at Cæsarea. So that the Apostle's solemn presentiment, "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand," (2 Tim. iv. 6,) was an illusion. His exclamation, "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith : henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness," &c., (7, 8,) is no longer the calm triumph of the aged soldier of Christ on the eve of martyrdom. The general desertion of which he complains, (16,) standing alone under the shadow of impending death, ceases to be a last lesson not to reckon overmuch on the courage and sympathies of others. Thiersch does not tell us how Onesiphorus came to find the Apostle in Rome, (i. 17,) when he was in Cæsarea ! but he does tell us that Cæsar's house (Phil. iv. 22) must mean the family of the royal freed-man Felix ! and that the prætorium (i. 13) may mean Herod's palace in Cæsarea ! One's first impression, on reading such determinations as these, is unmixed astonishment, that a man who has hitherto displayed a sound critical judgment, and a vivid sense of historical reality, should thus trifle with the plainest evidence, in favour of a theory which has not one solitary element of probability to recommend it, the suggestion of which is even, at first sight, unaccountable. However, the enigma is speedily resolved : in the same person, the

critic has been sacrificed to the theologian: it is in the interests of Thiersch's hierarchical system to carry as high up as possible the institution of the system of Church-government which appears in the pastoral Epistles; and so that whole order of the development of the New Testament Scriptures, to the determination of which he had himself so much contributed, must be thrown into confusion, in order to have Presbyters and Deacons a few years earlier!

To resume the modifications which the chronology of the "Essay" receives as a whole in the present work: they consist in the earlier date and in the character of a foundation text attributed to the Gospel of Mark, in the earlier date of the Apocalypse, and in the referring to the time of the imprisonment at Cæsarea those Epistles which belong to the imprisonment at Rome.

The great blots upon Thiersch's labours as a critic are,—in the first place, his putting facts to the torture in order to serve doctrinal purposes; and, in the second place, his servility wherever patristic tradition is concerned. He carries this so far, that, while recognising the Epistle of Jesus Christ to Abgarus, King of Edessa, to be a forgery, he intimates there may really have been a correspondence, now lost! He suspects the Creed to be of apostolic origin. He dwells, for pages long, on the puerile legends about Mark's arranging the details of the ecclesiastical constitution of Egypt, as it existed ages afterwards; the consecration of the Bishop of Alexandria by twelve Elders, &c. The utterly contradictory traditions about the succession of the Bishops of Rome, that we find in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Eusebius, he tries to explain by supposing that there were at first separate episcopal jurisdictions in that great city, instead of learning from such a startling fact not to depend upon the Fathers for ecclesiastical traditions of minor importance. Stanley has well observed, in the work above referred to, that the most positive and circumstantial appeal to tradition in all Christian antiquity, is that which accompanies Irenæus's statement, that the most active part of the Lord's ministry was between the fortieth and fiftieth years of his age. Thiersch knows that Tertullian and Cyprian, Cyril of Alexandria, Gregory, Jerome, and Chrysostom, could maintain that the dispute between the two Apostles at Antioch was a mere preconcerted collusion. He himself tells us that Augustine and other Latins thought the First Epistle of John was addressed to the Parthians, because they mistook *Πρὸς Παρθένους*, an old heading of the Second Epistle, for a proper name. Yet all this, and much more like this, does not shake his respect for the utterances of antiquity. At the same time there are important points on which "The Apostolic Age" is unduly influenced by contemporaneous sceptical criticism: *e. g.* "Undeniably Luke wrote the history (Acts)

with a view to reconcile the Jewish Christians to Paul ;" and, in accordance with this, he represents Luke as purposely silent about Paul's rebuke of Peter, and the recognition of Paul's apostleship by the three pillars of the Jerusalem Church. The objections of the sceptic acting upon the spirit of the hierarchist, he attributes Mark's silence about the incarnation and ascension to a Jesuitical tendency, which he calls a "holy reserve."

We are told in the preface, "This undertaking is not a part of my new calling as Pastor in the apostolical Churches; it is rather an echo of my early labours as teacher of theology." Yet, he attributes to his present experience clearer light as to what the Church was at the first, and the influence of Irvingism is manifest in all his doctrinal and ecclesiastical conceptions. He puts the question, whether the Holy One assumed the nature of the present, or that of the paradisiacal, man, as if there were two human natures, instead of one, and the same nature in an original, or in a fallen and corrupt, state; and he resolves the question in these words: "The Son assumed into the unity of his person that human nature which was fallen and smitten with the curse." (*Vom Fluch getroffene.*) Again, he believes that as Christ, so also the Church, was called to exhibit practically, that there can be such a thing as a human development without sin; but in this he owns there has been hitherto failure. In general he takes the low and materialist—what the Germans call the *five-finger*—side of things, giving Divine intervention in human history a mechanical character. Thus he supposes the various races at Babel were suddenly changed in their physical characteristics,—that the Caucasian became a Negro by a degrading transformation, previous to all climatic influences. Like the Fathers, he is so jealous of lay agency in religious matters, that when he finds in the New Testament any private Christian distinguished by his zeal and activity, he sets him down at once among the seventy disciples, or else the hundred and twenty; and for the same reason the believing men and women, greeted at the close of the Romans, must needs be all of them Church officers. When the Apostle John, speaking of that sound, divinely-taught discernment, which would keep the humble believer from the proud speculations of Gnosticism, says, "Ye have an unction from the Holy One, and ye know all things;" (xi. 20;) this means, in our author's opinion, that the proper official organization would keep them safe; the hierarchical staff was complete! If Paul rebuked Peter at Antioch, it was because he was in the field of his own apostleship: he would not have done so at Jerusalem! If Luke speaks in the first person, from Acts xvi. 10 onward, it is not because he joined the Apostle at Troas, but, doubtless, he was there ordained to be an Evangelist, and so, from being nobody, became somebody, and had a right to reckon himself one of the apostolic band. The scenes in the Apocalypse

(iv. and v.) show that the order of the ancient Christian *basilica* is as old as John, with the Bishop's throne behind, and the Elders round the altar. The Second Epistle of John is addressed not to an elect lady, but to a Church; and since she has daughters, it follows that metropolitanism is apostolical! Thiersch accounts for the absence of a Christian altar and Priesthood at the first, only by the prolonged existence of the Jewish: they could not co-exist, since both were of God; but the New Testament Hierarchy was introduced as soon as the old was gone; and if Israel had entered into the New Covenant, far more of the peculiarities of Mosaism would have been retained in it: the Bishop of Jerusalem would have been "a kind of Christian High Priest,"—a legitimate Pope, in fact. Instead of understanding the Jewish festivals as shadows of the *substance* of the spiritual blessings of the New Covenant, he seems to represent them as shadows of its *forms*. The unity and solidity of the old Catholic Church, with her Bishops and Metropolitans, her discipline, festivals, fasts, liturgies, &c., all must be attributed to the authority of John. He forgets, what he had himself observed in the "Essay," that the famous controversy about Easter, between the Churches of the West and those of Asia Minor, proves that there had been no apostolic order established about the festival that was esteemed the most important of all. "The Greek and Latin Mass," he exclaims, "would never, during thousands of years, have developed itself out of a Protestant preaching meeting." This is possibly true. The deep and earnest religious feeling of the primitive Christians, and their fervent sympathies with each other, as members of one family, animated by one spirit, led them to celebrate the Lord's Supper oftener than we do, and made that holy ordinance occupy a more central place in their worship than in ours, so as to give occasion in subsequent ages to a form of evil different from that which a degenerate Protestantism would take: but, let us ask, which is most in harmony with the spirit of primitive Christian worship,—the Protestant preaching,—or the Mass, be it Greek, Latin, Puseyite, or Irvingite?

Notwithstanding the supreme importance he attaches to the subject, Thiersch is not very clear in exposing the chronological development of that primitive organization, which is with him an essential condition of collective religious life. The Apostles first, of course; Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, or Teachers, were also from the beginning; Elders appear after a few years. With almost all modern writers, he holds that "Bishop" and "Elder" designated the same office. He allows that Paul seems to have delayed establishing the system of local government by Elders in most of the Gentile Churches for some years after their formation. Timothy and Titus are not Bishops, in the modern sense of the word, but apostolical Legates, receiving powers at once more extended and more temporary than the modern Bishop. The

first examples of episcopacy, properly so called, are those of St. James, at Jerusalem, and St. Peter, at Rome: then the Angels of the seven Churches exhibit the system established in Asia Minor under the eyes of John, and just as the Jewish temple with its institutions had perished, or was about to perish. The Angel was overseer of the Elders, as the latter were of the laity; and the way in which he is reproached (Rev. ii. 3) for the unfaithfulness of the Church, proves that both it and its Ministers were bound to obey him; he was no *primus inter pares*. The Bishops are not successors of the Apostles; for they existed under the Apostles; so there was no interregnum between the apostolic government and the episcopal. Paul was not a thirteenth Apostle, but the first of a new set which ought to have continued; and the ancient legend that John did not die, with the expectation still extant in the Greek liturgy that he is to return, are symptoms of the Church's instinctive aspiration after continuous apostolic government. The present book enters into no explanations as to how the Church became widowed of Apostles: that is probably reserved for the following volume. Whatever is peculiar in the author's system evidently rests upon the supposition, that the Angels of the Asiatic Churches are *bona fide* men,—flesh, blood, and mitre,—not personifications of the Churches; this is the point on which the whole theory depends, the apex of the inverted pyramid. Mr. Stanley believes the Angels of the Churches to be as figurative as those of the trumpets, the vials, the winds, and the waters, in the same book; adding that this was the interpretation of the passage by Origen, and the popular view of it in the middle ages.

Thiersch tries to account for the absence of any stress upon forms and hierarchical institutions in the Epistles, by their being written to Churches already organized. Assuming this reason to be satisfactory, there are other troublesome questions in reserve: How comes the only authentic historical record of those times to be so very meagre in its details about organization? And when it does furnish any notices of these matters, why are they mentioned only incidentally, and left in the back-ground, as of secondary importance? Thus we come to know that there were Elders in the Churches of Judea, merely because the Christians of Antioch sent them the money they had collected; (Acts xi. 30;) but of their institution there is no account. Again, if the Angels of the seven Churches be Bishops, then this order was instituted as silently, and is noticed as incidentally, as the order of Presbyters had previously been. Our author assures us that the Elders of the Churches of Judea, introduced upon the scene with so little pomp and circumstance, must have been of the hundred and twenty, or of the great number of Jewish Priests who had embraced the faith. It were but trifling to discuss the merits of this conjecture; but the stubborn fact remains, that the general conception of Christian feeling and Christian activity

which we find in the historical and doctrinal parts of the New Testament, is something very different from what it ought to be according to the theories of "The Apostolical Age." As to that strongly constituted and life-dispensing Hierarchy, which floats before the eyes of Thiersch with radiant halo,—instead of showing it to us in the Bible, he is perpetually giving specious reasons why it does not happen to be there. He thinks he can detect vestiges of it here and there, but does not pretend to exhibit the history of its institution as a whole, nor of the greater part of it in detail. He cannot produce any explicit doctrinal statement of its authority, or historical reference to its exercise; and that, though the relations of Paul with his fellow-Apostles, and his conflicts with false teachers, especially at Corinth, were calculated to draw out the theory of such a system, if it existed, and to exhibit it practically at work. The way taken by Romanists and Irvingites to escape the difficulty is, boldly to affirm that the Bible is insufficient, and required to be completed by a living authority; but even this desperate resource does not explain why the New Testament and the living authority should be so little consistent with each other. Divine sources gushing, on this hypothesis, from the same fountain, and yet holding altogether different elements in solution! No: the theory that is obliged to put tradition *beside* the Scriptures, is obliged in all sound logic to put tradition *instead of* the Scriptures, as soon as it conveniently can. Whether it has done so, or not, let history testify.

The desire for a living infallible authority, wherever it exists, ignores the difference between the period of creation, and the period of Divine sustaining energy, in the work of Redemption. Man stood in need of authority, because he wanted a message of saving help from heaven; but the Messenger has come,—the Son himself, that we might behold in Him the glory of the Father's holiness and tenderness; and He has accomplished in his death and resurrection the mighty act of a new creation. That work once performed, and interpreted by the same Spirit through whom it was performed, it remains to the end of time an adequate, all-sufficient Revelation of the Blessed God. The Old Testament is the record of Redemption being prepared; the New Testament, of Redemption effected and applied. In the former, the authority of a coming Redeemer communicated itself to those who were sent to prepare his way; in the latter, He speaks by the disciples whom He has chosen. These are not, like the inspired writers of the Old Testament, spread over many ages: they are essentially witnesses of his resurrection, (Acts i. 22; ii. 32; iii. 15; iv. 33; &c., &c.,) confined to one generation, and their ministry complementary to their Master's, that He may finish in them the instructions He had begun to leave us. Hence the Church is said to be built on the foundation of the New Testament Apostles, and Prophets, as the first layer in the goodly

structure; (Eph. ii. 20;) hence the names of the twelve Apostles of the Lamb—and no more than twelve—are written on the *foundations* of the heavenly Jerusalem. (Rev. xxi. 14.) It was a ministry of creation, and not one that was to continue. From henceforth it is over with human visible authorities; the voice of the Bridegroom Himself has been heard: after speaking by his Son, God can send no meaner messenger; the secret of redeeming love once told, no holier revelation can be reserved in heaven. It is true, weak and erring man feels the need of receiving help through a very present channel, and of tendering obedience to a living master; but Jesus in person ever lives to make intercession for those who come to God by Him, and gives his Holy Spirit to them that ask Him. And here lies the danger and the guilt of the system of authority, be it Romanist or Irvingite: instead of inviting the sinner to put himself in living personal relation with the Saviour, he is given over to delegated functionaries, who are to provide him with a creed and practices ready made, dispensing him from any exercise of his own moral being, except the act that abdicates it. The returning prodigal, instead of being sent to his Father's arms, is directed to the upper servants of the house. The principle of Protestantism—that the Scriptures are a fixed and sufficient rule of faith and life—is equally hostile to *Rationalism*, which, suppressing authority altogether, leaves man no resources out of himself, and changes religion into philosophy, —and to *Materialism*, which, perpetuating authority, keeps God out of its horizon, and changes religion into superstition. On the Protestant principle, the attitude given to authority produces, instead of superseding, faith; the object of faith and the believing subject are both in their places: with Rationalism there is no object of faith at all; with Materialism there is no believing subject, but only the mechanical repeater of a creed. Those apparently hostile extremes agree in keeping their disciples aloof from contact with God. Yon scornful sceptic, and yon credulous devotee, are brothers in unbelief!

While obliged to judge "The Apostolic Age" severely, we do not wish to be ungrateful to its author, or to forget the eminent services some of his works have rendered. Many pious minds instinctively shrink from the sort of controversy he carried on with the school of Tübingen: its very perusal seems not merely distasteful, but unwholesome. This nauseating cavilling of sceptical criticism against all that is holy and true, seems at first to loosen our own hold upon it, as the moral tone is apt to be lowered by intercourse with certain types of degraded character; or, as minds previously healthy are sometimes unsettled by long and close contact with the insane. To have to defend the history of Jesus Christ, and of the immediate effects of His appearance on the world, in a series of petty discussions, in which the majesty of His presence, and the immensity of the interests at

stake, seem to disappear, is humiliating. It is as if one had to defend a bosom friend from some base accusation by cross-examining witnesses, while the heart acquits him for a higher reason,—because it cannot be mistaken in him. But the labour spent on this controversy is not lost; false criticism in history, like heresy in doctrine, has served to draw attention to matters which would otherwise pass unnoticed. It is well that infidelity, immediately after recognising the necessity of explaining the life of Christ, if it would rid itself of Christ, has been next obliged to recognise the necessity of annihilating the history of the first and second centuries, if it would rid itself of the New Testament. It is well to have learned, that the closer we are obliged to scan all remaining indications of the state of things after the appearance of Jesus Christ, the plainer the evidence, that a new principle of religious life, communicated to mankind from heaven, was at work in the world.

ART. II.—*The Papers of the London Missionary Society.*

THE startling intelligence, recently brought to this country, of the wonderful change that has taken place in Madagascar, through the voluntary surrender, by the old Queen, of all her authority to her son, who is an avowed Christian, has revived, towards that noble island, an interest which had almost expired. The bitter, bloody, and wholesale persecution, to which those who had embraced Christianity have been exposed by the demoniac fury of the two men who held paramount influence over the Queen, was supposed to have quenched almost the last spark of that faith in the island; and, in the utter dearth of intelligence from thence, arising from the entire exclusion of Europeans from the interior, the subject had almost sunk into oblivion. It was looked upon as being, at least for the present, a hopeless case, unless, by some miracle of Providence, the Malagasy could be roused into resistance against the Government, and thus a national convulsion should burst asunder the tyrannical fetters by which they were enthralled.

It now, however, appears that a new instance has occurred, to justify the adage, that the “blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church.” So far has the persecution of the professors of Christianity in Madagascar been from eradicating that faith, that it has, as in other cases, had a directly contrary effect. As the number of victims has increased, so have believers multiplied,—the patience, firmness, and confidence of the martyrs, whilst sealing the truth with their blood, having forced on the minds of thousands a conviction of the power and efficacy of a religion that could produce such effects upon its votaries.

There is perhaps no place on the face of the globe, within reasonable reach of civilization, respecting which there exists a greater deficiency of general information, than the island of Madagascar. Whilst British commerce and enterprise have insinuated themselves into every remote corner of the earth, this noble country, although lying in the direct route to our East India possessions, is more a *terra incognita* to the rising generation than China itself; and its five millions of inhabitants are almost as much strangers to us as those of Kamtschatka or Terra-del-Fuego.

The fact is, only two works of any extent, on the history of Madagascar, have ever been published in the English language, —namely, that by Copland, in 1822, after the visit of Prince Rataffé; and that of Ellis, in 1836. Both these works were speedily out of print,* so that the information they contained is confined to those who possess copies. With the view, therefore, both of conveying a portion of intelligence, and stimulating further inquiry, we propose giving a short account of the past and present condition of Madagascar, and of its future prospects.

The island of Madagascar extends from 12° to 25° 40' south latitude, and from 43° 41' to 50° 30' east longitude from the meridian of London. It is nine hundred miles in length, from north to south, and about three hundred broad, in its widest part, from east to west, and contains about two hundred millions of acres of land. It lies at the distance of six hundred and seventy leagues north-east of the Cape of Good Hope; one hundred and eighty-six from the Isle of France, or Mauritius; one hundred and fifty from the Isle of Bourbon; and about eighty-seven from Mozambique, on the African coast, which gives name to the dangerous channel flowing between them.

The name (Madagascar) of this island does not appear to be of *native origin*; nor, in fact, have the aborigines any specific name for it, but speak of it in a kind of periphrasis, as *Izao rehetra Izao*, which signifies, "All this entirely;" *Ni tany rehetra*, or, "All this country;" *Ny univony Ny riaka*, "The in-the-midst-of-the-flood," or, "The Island;" and it is remarkable that this latter designation is applied to Madagascar only, the word "Nossy" being used for "Island" in every other case, as "Nossy Hibrahim," applied to Isle St. Mary.† No clue appears to have been discovered, showing to what language the name it now bears with us belongs.

The coast of Madagascar is throughout intersected at short intervals by rivers, many of which are navigable for a consider-

* The Honourable East India Company took forty copies of Copland's work; and, as the edition was only five hundred copies, it was soon absorbed.

† The writer of the article "Madagascar," in the seventh edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," assumes that the name Malagashe (of which Madagase may be a corruption) indicates an Asiatic origin.

able distance, and have excellent bays and gulfs at their embouchures, affording safe anchorage for shipping. The Bay of Antongil in the north-east part of the island, of Tamatave in the east, of Port Dauphin in the south-east, and of St. Augustine in the south-west, are remarkably good, and would contain large fleets in perfect safety.

A chain of mountains runs throughout nearly the whole length of the island from south to north, and regulates its division into the twenty-two provinces. From these mountains descend numerous rivers and streams, which irrigate and fertilize the low grounds. These in some parts are marshy for want of draining; but the general appearance of the country is beautiful in the extreme, and in many parts bold and romantic. Whilst the dense and tangled forests, revelling in tropical luxuriance, overhang the higher grounds, the rich alluvial plains graze innumerable herds of fine cattle and sheep, or wave with crops of rice, maize, barley, and other cereal productions, which are extensively cultivated by the inhabitants. In the vicinity of these fields are situated the towns and villages, many of them exceedingly picturesque, being built on elevated spots, and surrounded with beautiful fruit-bearing and other trees.

The soil of most of these extensive plains is a rich *alluvium*, composed of the mingled *débris* of decayed mineral and vegetable matter, and requires but little artificial aid to render it productive. The climate is good, except in the rainy season, (January and February,) when the *malaria* from the marshes compels the natives to retire to the mountains, in order to avoid the fevers which then prevail. The cultivation also of the red rice, which grows only upon the low grounds, and requires artificial irrigation, increases both the humidity and the unhealthiness of the climate; the water being allowed to evaporate from the fields, after the artificial inundation.

Although agriculture is extensively practised, it is in its rudest form. The natives have neither ploughs, harrows, working cattle, nor wheel-carriages of any kind. Horses were unknown, as well as wheel-carriages, until the French attempted to colonize the island. Barley, maize, beans, peas, rice, potatoes, and yams, are the chief vegetable products of the farms. Many of the farmers are rich in cattle and grain, and some of them do not know the number of their herds. There is no regular or legal appropriation of the land, any portion that is unoccupied being free to the first comer, who, however, pays a quit-rent to the Chief of the district, who is also the lord of the soil. If the first occupier quits it, any other person may take possession; but no one is allowed to infringe upon his neighbour's occupation. Both men and women are employed in the cultivation of the fields. Great numbers of fowls and pigs are reared by the farmers; but the latter are consumed only by the lower class of the people.

The towns are usually built on commanding eminences, and are surrounded by strong stockades, the entrances being shielded by the ends of the stockades projecting beyond each other, and forming a narrow passage between. Outside the stockades is a ditch or moat, six feet deep, and eight or ten wide; and on the inner side, next the town, is a bank of earth. The houses consist of one floor only, and are usually built of thick planks, with a steep roof thatched with the leaves of the bamboo or the raven palm. Many of those of the Rhoandrians display much taste and elegance, being surrounded with fruit-bearing and other trees of tropical production, amongst which the raven palm is the chief favourite.

According to Mr. Ellis, there are two distinct predominating races of people in Madagascar, who may be considered the *aborigines*, although the question, which were the first on the island, or at what period they arrived, is involved in impenetrable obscurity, —the common case of nations destitute of a written language, as was that of Madagascar until about three hundred years ago, when, it is said, the Arabs conquered the island. These two races are the Blacks, with woolly hair, evidently identical with the negro race of the opposite coast of Mozambique; and the Olives, with long black hair, who are as palpably descended from

“That singular and astonishing race, whose source is yet involved in mysterious uncertainty, but

‘ Whose path is on the mountain wave,
Whose home is on the sea;’

whose spirit of adventurous enterprise led them, at a period when navigation was almost unknown in Europe, to visit the borders of Africa and Asia, and whose descendants now people the shores of the Straits of Malacca, the Malayan Archipelago, and the chief clusters of the Polynesian Islands.”*

These latter are by far the most numerous in Madagascar, and also excel the former in their intellectual powers and habits, and in their other peculiarities of mind, which fit them for the highest attainments in arts, science, and literature. These two races constitute the bulk of the inhabitants; and whatever other types of humanity there are in Madagascar, they must be considered interlopers, deriving their origin from strangers accidentally led or brought thither. Such are to be found there, of all intermediate complexions between coal-black and dingy-white.

There are some peculiarities observable in the natives, which render their antiquity of possession still more enigmatical. One is, the universal practice of circumcision, which must have been derived from some of the descendants of Abraham. In fact, they have, like the Arabs, many names peculiar to the family of that Patriarch, and the Isle St. Mary is called Nossy Hibrabim, or Abraham’s Isle; the origin of which is lost in the same obscu-

* Ellis.

city. Many of their customs, also, both civil and religious, are analogous to those of the ancient Patriarchs, and would seem to carry back their history to a very remote period, even previous to, or during, the settlement of Jacob's family in Egypt. This is the opinion of some writers on the subject; and it is certainly borne out by other of their customs besides that of circumcision.

Their religion is of a peculiar cast, approaching as near to what is called the religion of nature, as any religious system we are acquainted with. They acknowledge only one God, the Creator of all things, whom they call *Zanharè*, or "the God above." But with this they couple a belief in a multitude of inferior spirits, the Penates or household gods of the country, whose images they retain in their houses, and who are invoked as mediators on all occasions, although they never consider them as being directly objects of worship. It is probable that this has led the French writers on Madagascar to represent them as being free from idolatry. Being Roman Catholics, these writers would scarcely call a system idolatrous, which approached in its features so near to their own. A close inspection, however, of this system by the Missionaries revealed the fact, that, although the Malagasy have neither temples nor stated times or places for united worship, they possess all the essential elements, and practise individually the rites, of the grossest idolatry. Their inferior deities are invoked through the medium of an *Oli* or *Ody*, which is a kind of *Teraphim*; and this medium, like the cross in Romish worship, is used in all their domestic arrangements, and is frequently worn by the heads of families, as a charm against evil spirits and evil influences. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and that at death it returns to *Zanharè*; but, with this, they have no idea of future punishments, or of sin. They offer animal sacrifices, but do not, like the Jews, take males only. Every man, too, is his own Priest and sacrificator; and the offerings are votive, and made to secure temporal blessings,—not to atone for sin. It is worthy of remark, that a day of rest—in fact, a Sabbath—is universally observed, not as a religious institution, but as a humane civil appointment of a total cessation from compulsory labour, the particular day for its observance not being arbitrarily fixed, but left to the discretion and convenience of the parties who observe it.

In many respects, as we have stated, the religion of the Malagasy might be considered as a degenerate type of that of the patriarchal ages; whilst in others it approaches as near to that which some modern philosophers have extolled under the name of "natural religion," as any in the known world. And what are its fruits? With highly intellectual endowments, we find them addicted to intemperance, sensuality, revenge, and cruelty, and to every vice debasing to humanity. And thus, in all ages of the world, as well as in all countries and all conditions of

society, from that of ultra-polished Athens of old to semi-barbarous Madagascar of the present day, Heathenism, whilst it envelops the mind of its votaries in a mantle of senseless superstition, at the same time makes provision for the gratification of every evil passion, by ascribing to their deities the same propensities, and by even deifying, in some instances, those very propensities themselves. Experience daily renders the fact more obvious and conclusive, that the Gospel of Christ is the only agent capable of refining the mind and the heart, and of rendering them the abode of purity and virtue.

With respect to the mental qualities of the Malagasy, there is every reason to believe that they are naturally quite on a par with Europeans, and capable of the highest intellectual cultivation. A more remarkable instance in proof of this opinion could not be adduced than that of Radama, the late Sovereign of the island. This great man—for he deserved that character—exhibited, from his earliest youth, a shrewdness and good sense, as well as good feeling, that eminently qualified him for conferring the most extensive benefits upon the people over whom he afterwards reigned. A singular anecdote, alike characteristic of the domestic manners of the people, and of the filial sentiment—most delicately expressed—of Radama, is related by Mr. Ellis :—

“When quite a child, having observed that his father and mother had some dispute, and that the latter had been sent from home divorced, he contrived one day, during his father’s absence, to get a chicken, which he tied to the leg of a chair in the house. His father, on his return, inquired who had done this; and was told, ‘Radama.’ The child was called, and asked why he had so treated the little chicken? He replied, ‘*It is a little chicken crying for its mother.*’ Impoina (his father) took the hint, and sent for his wife home; and the dispute which had separated them terminated.”

The after-life of Radama fully realized the mental promise of his early years. At the period when Le Sage, the first British agent, visited the capital, (Tananarivoo,) he certainly found the monarch seated on his native mat on the ground, clothed in his native “lamba,” there being neither chair nor table in his house; but, even then, amidst all this want of the common indications of civilized life, the conduct and manners of Radama were far superior to those of his countrymen; his address was agreeable and prepossessing, and marked by politeness. This was in 1816; subsequently to which date, a rapid expansion of mind was observable from his intercourse with the British; and he grasped eagerly at every plan that was calculated to improve the character and civilize the manners and habits of the people. The establishment of schools for their education, the abolition of the slave-trade and of infanticide, and the cordial patronage afforded to the Christian Missionaries, were the moral means of improve-

ment adopted by him ; whilst the substitution of European clothing and modes of living, the building and furnishing of houses, the system of warfare and agriculture, and the promotion of commerce and manufacturing industry, were rapidly changing the social character and condition of the Malagasy ; when the death of this noble-minded man put a stop to the measures which he had originated, but which were succeeded by a retrogressive policy, most disastrous and unfortunate to the nation.

The population of Madagascar is reckoned at from four and a half to five millions. This estimate is deduced from the number of houses, which was ascertained, by Prince Corollar, from the accounts of the Government officials of the respective districts, to be upwards of a million. It is believed that the population was much more numerous in former times,—the decrease being easily accounted for, by the devastating wars, the practice of infanticide, the slave-trade, and other less obvious, but still fatal, causes, which have extensively operated to reduce it, since its intercourse with Europeans. Whole ranges of deserted villages, and of ancient rice-grounds, abandoned and overgrown with brushwood, mark the degree to which these scourges have depopulated the country. The female sex is said greatly to predominate,—a fact which is accounted for by the fearful waste of life amongst the males in their frequent and barbarous wars. In all uncivilized countries human life is little valued ; and the frequent infliction of the punishment of death for trivial, and even imaginary, offences, in Madagascar, whilst it marks the despotic sway of the Chiefs, and is equally indicative of the absence of those milder principles and dispositions which an advanced state of society exhibits, falls chiefly on the male portion of the population. It is justly believed, that this island is capable of sustaining a population of more than 25,000,000.

The form of government is that of a despotic monarchy, modified only by the influence of the sacerdotal hierarchy, who hold both the people and the Sovereign in entire subjection. The succession to the throne is nominally hereditary, but not necessarily so. The Sovereign appoints his immediate heir, and frequently extends his appointment to three or four successors, and fixes the line for future generations. A remarkable and characteristic custom, however, prevails in Madagascar, in this respect. The children of the Sovereign's wife, *unless she also be of the royal stock*, are not eligible to succeed to the throne. This custom is founded on the supposed universal laxity of morals, in regard to the matrimonial fidelity of the women, (although bound thereto by law and custom,) which, it is generally assumed, renders the legitimacy of the royal offspring doubtful. Thus, the principal wife of Radama, though descended from a Sacalava Chief, was not of the royal blood of his ancestors ; and, consequently, her children could not legally inherit. Accordingly, Rakotobè, the

son of his eldest sister, was, in general terms, acknowledged by himself, and recognised by the Chiefs and people, as his heir.

Of the twenty-two provinces into which Madagascar is divided, the most important is Ankvoa, in which the capital—Tananarivoo—is situated, and where the Government holds its seat. The Hovas, who inhabit this province, are more numerous, industrious, ingenious, and wealthy, than those of any other province. They are chiefly of the Olive race, and display remarkable intelligence and aptitude for acquiring the arts of civilization. The capital is situated in the district of Imerina, and is, as nearly as possible, in the centre of the island. Its name signifies "a thousand towns;" and certainly a city containing 20,000 inhabitants, which is built with considerable attention to regularity and convenience, and in which the reigning Monarch possesses two regal palaces, furnished in European style, may well justify the vanity of the semi-barbarous and simple-minded Malagasy, in bestowing on it so pompous a name. It occupies the summit of a hill, five hundred feet above the level of the adjacent valley, and seven thousand feet above the level of the sea. It commands an extensive prospect of the surrounding country, embracing in the *coup-d'œil* not fewer than a hundred smaller towns and villages.

The customs and manners of the Malagasy are, in many respects, simple and inoffensive; whilst, in others, they resemble all other heathen nations. In social and domestic life they exhibit an easy indolence, the effect, in some respects, of climate and situation. Polygamy is universally practised, every man being at liberty to have as many wives as he can maintain; but the first wife is always looked upon as superior to the rest, and in her case alone the marriage ceremonies are observed. The women are treated with great attention and tenderness, and their society appears to be much enjoyed by the men. Either party is allowed to separate at pleasure; and, on such occasions, a restitution of dowry takes place. The law against infidelity on the part of a wife inflicts the same fine as the law against theft, in the case of a *commoner's* wife; but, in that of the wife of a *Chief* or *Sovereign*, infidelity is punished with death. These laws, however, are rendered obsolete by the universal laxity of morals.

The disposition of the women is cheerful and engaging. Their favourite amusements are singing, dancing, and relating stories, which are often extemporaneously composed, and which generally occupy the evening, after the labours of the day are terminated. The behaviour of the men towards those with whom they are in friendship, is humane, generous, and good-natured; nor will they attack strangers, unless provoked. "I have frequently travelled," says the late General Burn, "for a whole day over the hills unarmed, and met them in the woods with their formidable spears, fully persuaded I had no ill-treatment to fear. They would

shake me by the hand in a familiar manner, jabber a few sentences in their language, and then, when they found we could not understand each other, walk on with a smile."

We have referred already to their practice of circumcision, and their faith in one God and a world of spirits, &c. They have some traditionary knowledge of Noah, Abraham, Moses, and David, amongst the inhabitants of Isle St. Mary, who claim to be descended from the ancient Patriarch. Their prayers and addresses to the Deity are usually confined to periods of sickness, distress, accident, &c.; but appeals are made to him on all ceremonial occasions, where more than ordinary solemnity is required. The burial of the dead is also a religious rite, and is conducted with peculiar ceremonies. Such also is circumcision; only, in the latter case, the proceedings are terminated by feasting and revelry, the men being previously deprived of their weapons, to prevent mischief.

But the most revolting practice in their ritual is that of infanticide, which is carried to a dreadful extent in Madagascar. The condemnation of the child is determined by the Ombiassees, or Priests, who pretend to contemplate the aspect of the planets at the time of its birth, and decide according to the result. The unfortunate periods are the months of March and April, and the eighth day and last week of every month, and also Wednesday and Friday in each week; and even *hours* are sometimes under planetary influence: so that, during nearly half the year, a great number of human beings are liable to be destroyed; and the population is decimated at its very source. The usual method of accomplishing the horrid deed is by exposing them to the wild beasts, burying them alive, or drowning. The former of these methods is the one most commonly employed.

The civil arts practised in Madagascar are those of goldsmiths, iron-founders, carpenters, weavers, tanners, potters, dyers, mat and basket-makers, paper-makers, &c. Before the English artisans had been admitted by Radama, these arts were conducted in a rude manner. Yet the natives have always displayed great ingenuity, considering how few tools they possessed. They make three kinds of wine, and also ink and sugar; and they extract indigo from the plant, of which an abundance is found in the country. The trade is chiefly conducted by barter in the interior; but, in the towns and on the coast, they have now, for a long time, known the use and value of coin as a medium of exchange.

Commerce, however, is at present in its infancy in Madagascar, owing to the wretched policy of the Queen, who prohibited the natives from trading with Europeans. This evil will now be rectified, and a new demand will soon arise for the manufactures of Europe, of which the natives are very desirous of possessing themselves. There is, in fact, an opening for a vast trade with this island, the resources of which are unbounded; and its geo-

graphical position is such as to command, in the hands of a civilized people, a trade with the whole world.

Notwithstanding the severe laws against trading with foreigners, the French have managed to carry on a large contraband trade with some of the provinces, and, in one instance, have even resisted the authorities of the Government, in a way which has led to some executions. In general, however, the officials are very strict, and punish severely any of the natives who are supposed to be favourable to the Europeans.

There is but one language spoken throughout the island, with provincial differences, such as exist in other countries. It is represented by the early writers on Madagascar, as "a mixture of Arabic and Greek, being agreeable to the latter in the manner of speaking, in the order and conjunction of nouns and verbs active, and in being extremely copious." There was no written language in Madagascar until within the last three hundred and fifty years, when the knowledge of letters was introduced by the Arabs. The learning was chiefly confined to the Ombiasses, who also practised astrology, and officiated as Priests on all public occasions. The Arabic characters are the only ones used by them, and are twenty-four in number, written from right to left; but the pronunciation of some of them differs from that of the Arabic.*

They possess a knowledge of numbers, and reckon from one to ten, and then begin again, adding the tens together; and thus they cast up readily large amounts. Intercourse with Europeans, however, is rapidly producing a change in the social condition of the people in this respect, as well as in all others.

We must now take a glance at the history of Madagascar, from the period of its discovery to the present time. This is necessary in order to our being able to account for the suspicion and jealousy displayed by the Government of that country in its intercourse with foreigners; and, more especially, for the conduct of the present Queen, in shutting out such persons from the interior, and prohibiting their innovating customs and religion.

Madagascar was first visited—from Europe—by Lawrence Almeida, the first Portuguese Viceroy sent to the East Indies. This was in 1506, and it then received the name of Isle St.

* Malte-Brun observes, that "the language affords some Arabic words, and others more nearly resembling the idioms of the Caffres; but its principal roots may be traced in the Malay, or in the dialects derived from that language, and spoken at Java, at Timor, in the Philippines, in the Marian Isles, and in all the Archipelagoes of North and South Polynesia. Many of the most remarkable natural objects, and the days of the week, have the same names in the two languages. There is the same want of declensions and flexions,—the same mode of uniting words,—the same abundance of vowels. Notwithstanding what has been advanced by the learned continuator of the German Mithridates, we can affirm, that the Madecasse (Malagasy) appears intimately connected with the Malay language, and particularly with the Javanese and Timorian."

Lawrence; but whether from that of its discoverer, or from the day of its discovery, is not now known. It does not appear to have been noticed by either Pliny or Ptolemy; nor did Vasco de Gama, who first opened the passage to the East by the Cape of Good Hope, discover it; a failure which was probably owing to his keeping near the main-land in going and returning through the Mozambique Channel. By the Moors and Arabs it has been known and frequented from time immemorial, under the name of Serandib; and an extensive trade was carried on by them with some of the provinces, especially with that of Boyana, the country of the Sacalavas.

In 1508, the Portuguese sailed round the island, and afterwards constantly made it a place of anchorage in their voyages to the East Indies. They built a fort in the province of Anossi, on a steep rock, situated on the picturesque bank of the river Fanchere: there they attempted to establish a colony, enclosed a considerable quantity of land, and endeavoured to trade with the inhabitants. The latter, however, became jealous of their designs, and, watching their opportunity, attacked the feeble garrison, and cut them all off to a man.

Neither the Portuguese nor the Dutch, who also touched at the island in their eastern voyages, acquired any knowledge of the interior. But, in 1642, its colonization was seriously undertaken by the French Government, and a patent was granted to Captain Rivault, by Cardinal Richelieu, to send thither ships and forces, to establish a colony, plantations, and commerce, under the name of the French East India Company. The first ship sent, was under the command of Captain Coquet, with whom went two governors, Pronis and Fouquenberg, and twelve other Frenchmen, who had orders to remain there, and await the arrival of further reinforcements.

This first attempt does not appear to have been a very fortunate one. The colonists were weak, both in numbers and resources; and the natives were numerous, jealous, and crafty; in addition, the climate was unhealthy, and the Governor a man not possessing any resources in himself, or any of the qualifications necessary for the undertaking. He was, in fact, superseded in 1648 by Flacourt, who, as a Governor, displayed far more talent than Pronis. He caused a general survey of the island to be made, investigated its natural resources, and acquired a knowledge of the customs, manners, and language of the natives. His great failing—and it was that of the period rather than the man—was his attempting to coerce the natives into subjection, instead of treating with them as a free people. On his return to France in 1655, he published his "History" of the island, which is the best extant, and to which all subsequent writers on the subject are indebted for most of the knowledge they possess. He was again appointed Governor in 1659, and sailed from

France in a vessel laden with supplies for the colony; but he never reached the island, his vessel being wrecked in a violent storm, in which, also, all on board perished.

Chamargou was appointed to succeed Flacourt; but, upon reaching the colony, he found Fort Dauphin burned by the natives, and the colonists reduced to the last extremity; and, had it not been for the energy and prudence of one man, La Case, the whole colony would have been destroyed. Of this man, however, Chamargou became jealous, and set a price upon his head. This circumstance still further alienated the minds of the natives, and they determined, by withholding supplies, to starve the garrison; which purpose they would have effected, but for the opportune arrival of a ship from France, which brought them supplies and reinforcements of men; whilst, through the influence of the Captain, Kercadio, a reconciliation was effected with La Case, who soon brought the affairs of the colony into a prosperous train.

All, however, was spoiled by the imprudence and fanaticism of a Jesuit, Father Stephen, the Superior of the Mission at Madagascar. This man, in a very abrupt manner, commanded a high-spirited Chief to repudiate all his wives but one, and to embrace the Catholic faith. Now, the natives are very fond of oratorical display, and can do nothing, of a public nature, without holding a "*cabar*." Accordingly the Chief, Dian Manangue, assembled his wives and relatives, and made a public harangue before them and Father Stephen, as the most respectful mode of answering him.

"I pity thy folly," said he, "in wishing that, at my age, I should sacrifice my happiness, and the pleasures which surround me in my Donac, to thy will. I pity thee, too, for being deprived of that which soothes the cares of life. Thou wilt permit me to live with one woman; but, if the possession of one woman be a good, why is the possession of a numerous seraglio an evil, when peace and harmony prevail amongst those who compose it? Dost thou see any symptoms of jealousy, or seeds of hatred, amongst us? No; all my women are good; they all endeavour to render me happy, and I am more their slave than their master.

"But if thy maxims be so useful and necessary, why do not thy countrymen at the Fort follow them? They ought to know, much better than I, the merit and value of thy words. Believe me, my good friend, I will not deceive thee; it is impossible for me to change my customs,—I will never quit them but with my life. I, however, give thee leave to exercise thy zeal on the people who are subject to my authority; and I give thee the same authority over my family and my children. But this permission will be of very little avail, unless thou canst suit thy precepts to our manners and usages."

Father Stephen, with characteristic insolence, commanded the Chief instantly to divorce all his wives but one; which so exasperated the women, that they attacked him with blows and imprecations, and would have speedily dispatched him, had not the old

Chief interposed to prevent them. After this, he secretly removed with his whole family to a distant province, where he hoped to be free from sacerdotal interference.

Not so, however; for Father Stephen was so bent upon his conversion, that, frantic with zeal, he set off with one clerical and one lay brother, and six domestics loaded with Popish habits, &c., on a dangerous expedition for that purpose. Upon meeting him, the old Chief treated him with respect, but, at the same time, assured him that his journey would prove fruitless: upon which the Monk, regardless of the safety either of himself or of his followers, denounced him as a heretic, tore off the sacred *oli*, which he threw into the fire, and concluded with a declaration of war.

The consequences might have been foreseen. The Chief instantly ordered the massacre of the whole party, and at the same time swore to effect the entire destruction of the French colony, which he would also have accomplished but for the prudence and courage of La Case, who, a second time, warded off the calamity. As it was, however, a large party of the French were cut off, and the whole garrison were compelled to shut themselves up in the fort, and confine their operations to the immediate neighbourhood, until the arrival of a French frigate and nine other vessels, with a large force, under the command of the Marquis of Mondevergue, who had been appointed to the general command of all the French settlements situated beyond the equinoctial line.

La Fage was now appointed Governor, and Chamargou second in command. But in 1670 these were superseded by M. La Haye, who, in fact, was placed over Mondevergue; but the latter chose rather to return to France, being convinced, from what he saw of La Haye, that no harmony could exist between them. On his arrival in France he was arraigned on charges sent against him by La Haye, and he died a prisoner in the Castle of Saumur, the victim of official jealousy.

Such was the tyranny and oppression of the French under all these Governors, that their yoke became insupportable, and the natives secretly resolved to get rid of them. La Haye left the island in despair; Chamargou and La Case died about the same time; and the command devolved upon Bretesche, who likewise, with his family, retired in disgust to Surat. The Missionaries soon followed his example; upon which the natives, headed by the neighbouring Chiefs, rose upon the garrison, and massacred nearly the whole of them, the few who escaped being taken on board the ship in which were the Missionaries, and which had not left the Bay. Thus was the island again free from its tyrannical invaders.

A fresh attempt was made by the French to colonize Madagascar, which, however, like the previous ones, proved abortive, and from the same causes. This was in 1745, when M. Gosse

was deputed by the French East India Company to take possession of Isle St. Mary. Here the French were first decimated by the fever; and subsequently, upon an insult which was perpetrated on the tomb of an old chief, the widow stimulated the fury of the natives to such a degree, that in 1754, on Christmas eve, the islanders rose in a body, and, falling upon the colonists, massacred them to a man.

On learning this dreadful occurrence, the authorities at the Mauritius sent an armed vessel with troops, who ravaged the whole island, burned the villages, and massacred the inhabitants, whilst the vessel brought its guns to bear upon the piroguas of those who attempted to escape by sea to the main-land, and sank many of them, laden with the natives. In consequence of these events, all commerce with the French was suspended, and the Isle of France, which drew its supplies from thence, was in danger of being reduced to famine. Peace, however, was again restored; but the idea of colonizing Isle St. Mary was abandoned, and its occupation by the French was confined to the establishment of a trading post at Foule Point, (a harbour lying to the southward of St. Mary,) under the direction of Bigorne, who, in acting as interpreter between the natives and the French, acquitted himself with so much tact and address, that he was appointed, by the East India Company, superintendent of the trade and shipping of the whole island. This delicate office he held, with a slight interval, until the celebrated Count Benyowsky was deputed, by the French Government, to establish a new colony in Madagascar.

If the published accounts are to be relied on, this undertaking would probably have succeeded but for the jealousy of the authorities at the Isle of France. The Count appears to have been a man well qualified to treat with the natives, being possessed of the coolness and intrepidity so essential in dealing with a savage people. Those, however, who had the supplying of the enterprise with stores and money from the Mauritius, took care to let him want for every thing, whilst they wrote home to the French Government the most unfounded charges against him. On the other hand, he had to encounter the unhealthiness of the climate and the hostility of the natives; and all these things combined drove him at length to a measure, which eventually was the means of depriving him of his command and his life.

This was no other than to found an independent kingdom, of which he proposed to be the Sovereign, on the pretended ground that he was descended from a Madagascar Princess, who had been carried to the Isle of France and reduced to slavery. The simple natives believed in this absurdity; and, although the neighbouring Chiefs were not unanimous at first, he found means to conciliate and bring them to his own views and purposes. Having withdrawn himself formally from the service of the

French, he was constituted Ampausacabe, and a regular form of government, and a staff of officials, were appointed, the nature of which, however, he had some difficulty in making the Chiefs comprehend. Having made arrangements for the conduct of the government during his absence, he sailed for Europe, with the view of forming a treaty of alliance with the Government of France, and to obtain persons to instruct the people in the arts.

Not succeeding in this object with the French, he made an offer of the same character to the British Ministry, with whom he had no better success. He then sailed to America, where he procured supplies, and a cargo fit for the Madagascar trade, with which he finally set sail for the island, and arrived there in July, 1785. His first act of sovereignty was to seize the posts belonging to the French; but on this becoming known to the authorities at the Isle of France, they sent a frigate to destroy the settlement, and to secure the Count, dead or alive. This was effected; the Count being killed in the first encounter by a musket-ball in the breast, which put an end at once to both his life and his enterprises, and also to the connexion of Madagascar with Europeans.

Whatever intercourse was subsequently kept up between this island and the French, was purely of a commercial character. The Revolution in France called off the attention of the Government to more pressing objects than schemes of colonization; and the loss of the Islands of Bourbon and Mauritius, which were taken by the British in 1810, was followed by the reduction of the French trading posts at Foule Point and Tamatave, on the east coast of Madagascar. In 1814, by the treaty of Vienna, the Island of Bourbon was restored to the French; but the Isle of France was retained, and has been ever since, by the British; and, shortly after, Governor Farquhar issued a proclamation, taking formal possession of Madagascar, as one of the dependencies of the Mauritius.

At the final ratification of the treaty of peace in 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, there was a considerable degree of altercation between the British and French plenipotentiaries, as to the future occupation of Madagascar; and it is a fact, that no definite conclusion was arrived at on the subject, nor was that island formally ceded to Great Britain by the treaty. But, on the other hand, a clause was inserted in it, by which the French were restricted from having more than one regiment of the line, east of the Cape of Good Hope. And as Madagascar was then in the nominal possession of the British, and the French were expelled, the latter can have no claim whatever to that island in future.* This fact proved for a time, and is likely also, in future, to

* On the contrary, an extensive tract of land was ceded to the British by the authorities of Madagascar, in right of a previous purchase, which was publicly guaranteed to them by a solemn act of *cabar*.

prove, of great importance to the inhabitants, as the narrative of subsequent events will show.

At the time when the British authorities at the Mauritius took possession of Madagascar as a dependency of that place, the sovereignty of a large portion of the island was vested in Radama. We have before spoken of this remarkable man, and have now to detail the course which he pursued, and which justifies the high character we have given him.

In the year 1816, the two brothers of Radama, of the respective ages of ten and twelve years, were sent to the Mauritius, for the purpose of receiving an English education. This shows how early, in his intercourse with the British, his acute mind comprehended the advantages that would accrue from cultivating their friendship. The influence of Sir Robert Farquhar prevailed on him also, at this period, to suppress the annual predatory attacks on the Comorro Islands,—Johanna, Mohilla, &c., lying to the north-west of Madagascar; and, at the same time, a proclamation was issued for the suppression of the slave-trade. This latter measure, however, it appears, his authority was not then strong enough to enforce. Had he endeavoured to do so, it is probable his life would have been sacrificed, so strong a hold had the trade upon the institutions of the country. He, however, did not lose sight of it, or give it up. His power and influence daily increased; and, in 1820, Mr. Hastie was appointed commissioner, to negotiate with the Madagascar Government the total abolition of the trade.

That gentleman arrived at Tananarivoo, the capital, on the 4th of October, and received a cordial welcome from Radama and his chiefs. The negotiation that followed is highly characteristic. The semi-barbarous monarch stipulated that twenty of his subjects should be taken by the British Government to England, to be educated; and that artificers should be sent from thence to instruct the natives in the various arts and manufactures. After repeated and long conferences, Mr. Hastie, at his own risk, agreed to the stipulation; and a proclamation was forwarded to the various districts, putting an entire stop to the selling of slaves to merchants for exportation. It speaks volumes for the good faith and moral influence of Radama, that, during his life, not a slave was sent away after the proclamation was issued.

Attached to Mr. Hastie's embassy was the Rev. David Jones, who, in 1818, had gone to Madagascar, in company with the Rev. Thos. Bevan, to establish a Mission there, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society. They landed on the 18th of August, with their wives and families. But, in December, the whole party, with the exception of Mr. Jones, were swept off by the fever; and Mr. Jones himself was also seized with it, and had a narrow escape with his life. Upon his recovery, however, the prospect of success in his Mission was so flattering,

that he determined to remain. But, in 1820, his health having again suffered, he returned to the Mauritius, where he was joined by the Rev. David Griffiths. He remained there until the embassy of Mr. Hastie afforded him a favourable opportunity of an introduction to Radama, of which he determined to avail himself.

Accordingly, with his colleague, Mr. Griffiths, he accompanied the embassy; and, having, on his arrival, explained to the King the nature and object of his Mission, he was most cordially welcomed; and Radama himself wrote a letter to the Directors of the London Missionary Society, to assure them of his support to the Mission. This letter was sent by Prince Rataffé, or Ratefy, the King's cousin; who being introduced at the annual meeting of the Society, in May, an extraordinary sensation was produced, and an interest for the island excited, which has been fully justified and strengthened by subsequent events.

Under the sanction of Radama, the Mission made rapid progress. Schools were established in the capital, in which the English language, as well as the principles of Christianity, and of secular education, was communicated. A printing-press was shortly afterwards set up, and a considerable portion of the Scriptures was translated, and printed in the Malagasy language, which was then reduced by the Missionaries, for the first time, to a regular grammatical system. In 1828, the schools in Tananarivoo consisted of four thousand scholars, and were under the immediate inspection of the King. On one occasion, after examining the children, he addressed them in his characteristic way:—"Tell your parents, that, by attending the schools, and learning the lessons taught you, you not only give me and the white people pleasure, but do honour to yourselves and to your parents. So now go home, and tell them I am pleased with you!"

In the mean time, the religious services of the Missionaries attracted the attention of the people, and were well attended. Various stations were formed; the number of hearers gradually increased; and a deep interest began to manifest itself in the instructions then given. Under the influence of the Missionaries, too, as civilization began to spread, the more barbarous customs, both civil and religious, that had previously prevailed (such as infanticide, and trial by *tangena*,*—both practised on an extensive scale) were fast giving way; whilst the abolition of the slave-trade had opened a channel for legitimate commerce and the extension of agriculture. The prejudices, too, of the people, in favour of their ancient social habits, began to yield, and every thing indicated a rapid change from barbarism

* The *Tangena* is an ordeal by poison, extracted from a plant of that name, and administered to the accused with a portion of the entrails of a fowl. If death ensues, it is considered a proof of guilt; but as the Judges have the power of regulating the strength of the dose, they can produce whatever result they please.

to civilization, when, by an inscrutable Providence, the life of Radama was suddenly cut off, and an entirely retrogressive policy was instantly adopted by his successor.

This was the Queen Ranavalona, who, although she had no title whatever to the succession, managed, by the help of the Priests—to whom she was bigotedly devoted—and of two officers of the army, to remove every obstacle out of the way. Mr. Hastie had died before the King, and was succeeded by Dr. Lyall. This gentleman was dismissed with insult; the Missionaries were silenced; and the people commanded, on pain of death, publicly to abjure Christianity. Rakotobè, the acknowledged heir to the throne, was speared, as was also Prince Rataffè and his wife, both being of the royal blood; and every one who stood in the way, or favoured the lawful succession, was got rid of, except Ramanètaka, a first cousin of Radama's, who made his escape to the Comorro Islands.

Having thus secured herself against all other claims to the throne, the usurper began to concert measures for preventing insurrection in the distant provinces. Expeditions were sent out in all directions, with peremptory orders to destroy all the male adult population, wherever they were supposed to be favourable to the rightful heir to the throne. These instructions were fulfilled to a fearful extent. Not only were upwards of 100,000 persons thus destroyed,—mostly in cold blood,—but their wives and children were driven off and reduced to slavery.

In the mean while, those who had embraced Christianity were commanded to come forward and confess, or rather accuse themselves, and swear to abjure it; and, moreover, were enjoined to *forget*, for ever, all that they had learned of the Missionaries. Hundreds were destroyed by the spear or *tangena*, or by still more horrible means; whilst numbers escaped to the woods and fastnesses in the mountains, where they were compelled to lead a predatory life. Not a few, however, maintained their Christian profession to the last; and instances of martyrdom occurred in half-savage Madagascar, that would have reflected honour upon any civilized country, and upon any age of the Christian Church. The natives of this island, indeed, appear to be peculiarly susceptible of impressions of the truths of Christianity. With strong natural sense they possess inquisitive minds. Destitute, too, of native literature of any kind, they are perfectly unsophisticated in their ideas; and thus the Gospel went at once into their hearts, as the only system of religion which had ever, in a connected form, been presented to them, and its rationality facilitated conviction. A remarkable instance of this is related by Messrs. Freeman and Johns, in their admirable tract on Madagascar. A married couple went to an idol-maker to purchase an idol. After some delay, the man selected a tree from the forest, and cut down a large bough, from which he prepared his idol.

He then invited the party to partake of his meal of rice, which he prepared *by making a fire with the small branches of the bough of which the idol was made*. After paying him two dollars for the idol, they returned home, where they shortly after received a visit from a young convert to Christianity, who read to them that striking passage in Isaiah xlv., "With part thereof he cateth flesh; he roasteth roast, maketh a fire, and warmeth himself; and the residue thereof he maketh a god," &c. So astonished was the woman at this graphic description, in the sacred volume, of what she had just seen with her own eyes, that she became at once convinced, both of the folly of idolatry and the truth of Christianity; which she embraced with an ardour and sincerity that have gained her—as Ratharavavy—a permanent standing, as one of the most eminent disciples of Christianity in the history of the Madagascar mission.

This, it is true, is an extraordinary instance, but not by any means the only one, of the powerful influence of the truth upon the minds of the Malagasy, and their desire to receive instruction. Subsequent facts have proved, that the principle was generally diffused; and that, wherever the Missionaries had been able to penetrate, their instructions had produced the happiest effects. Throughout the whole period of persecution, extending from the death of Radama over upwards of twenty years, so far was Christianity from being extirpated, that continual accessions were made to the number of converts, until at length the son of the Sovereign, and that of the Prime Minister of the Queen, declared themselves Christians.

We have before mentioned, that Ramanètaka, a brother of Prince Rataffè, had escaped to the Comorro Islands. This was managed with a good deal of characteristic address. A party of two hundred soldiers were dispatched to the coast, to bring him, dead or alive, to the capital. They sent a part of their number forward, to acquaint him with the death of the King, and the summons to appear at Tananarivoo, to take the oath of allegiance, with the intention of assassinating him on the road. Suspecting their design upon his life, but concealing his suspicions, the Prince suggested, that he had better put his effects and himself on board an Arab vessel lying off the coast, to take them to a point much nearer their route. This was agreed to; and the soldiers went on board themselves, under a full conviction that they were now doubly sure of their prey. Being sea-sick, he persuaded them that they would suffer much less, if they would get into the boat which hung at the stern. They accordingly got in, but were no sooner out of the ship than the Captain, at a signal from the Prince, hoisted sail, and, the painter being cut at the same time, the boat dropped astern, and the vessel sped away to the Comorro Islands, leaving the soldiers to shift for themselves; the Prince exclaiming, as a parting salute, "Life is sweet,—I am off!" On

his arrival at the Island of Mohilla, which was his own private property, he emancipated all his slaves, and instituted other measures, in accordance with the changes effected by Radama in Madagascar; thereby proving that he had appreciated the value of those changes.

The knowledge of this excellent disposition of Ramanetaka led to the formation of a Committee in 1840, for the purpose of liberating Madagascar from the despotism of the Queen, and the establishment of the Prince upon the throne. Two Captains in the royal navy, and a Lieutenant in the East India Company's service, were on this Committee; and one of the Secretaries of the London Missionary Society, although not formally a member, also sat at the board, and assisted the Committee with his valuable advice and opinion, as to the best mode of carrying the design into effect. A memorial, containing a statement of the views and objects of the Committee, and of the intended mode of proceeding, was drawn up for publication. This document is now in the possession of the writer, who was one of the Committee; but their proceedings were suddenly rendered useless by the intelligence of the death of the young Prince on whose behalf they had been undertaken; and there being no other known representative of the blood royal of Madagascar, there was no further pretext for their interfering in the affairs of that country, on the ground of the Queen's usurpation.

Since that period, until recently, the vigilance of the Madagascar Government has prevented any regular series of articles of intelligence from transpiring relative to the internal state of that country. But from what has occasionally been communicated, it is believed that the destruction of human life has been fearful. The Queen's son, however, being favourable to Christianity, has been the means, under Providence, of saving the lives of many (sometimes even at the risk of his own) who would otherwise have been sacrificed to the fury of the persecutors. To the overweening affection, indeed, of the Queen for this youth, is to be attributed that happy change which has now taken place in the policy of the Government.

Nor may we entirely ascribe the former conduct of the Queen to an innate love of cruelty. It is rather the natural effect of superstition, working upon a weak mind, coupled with a dread of the influence of foreigners, superinduced by the bad conduct of the French in former times. Destitute of the enlarged views and discriminating mind of Radama, the Queen's fears have been worked upon by the enemies of the late innovations, and especially by the heathen Priests, who saw, in the continued intercourse of the people with Europeans generally, and the Missionaries in particular, that a speedy termination would be put to their own influence over them. They therefore availed themselves of her weakness to crush, so far as they were able,

all that had been effected towards the enlightenment of the people, and their emancipation from the degrading superstition which was the source of their own power and emolument. Happy, indeed, would it be for her and her people, if the example of the young Prince should prove the means of showing her the fearful crimes of which she has been the perpetrator, and should lead her, like Paul,—who was also a persecutor, but afterwards “not behind the chiefest of the Apostles,”—to cast herself at the feet of Him whom she has persecuted, in the persons of His disciples, exclaiming, “Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?”

The neutrality of the British Government in the affairs of Madagascar, after the death of Radama, has been justly censured by those who were acquainted with their previous conduct. Their treaty with that Prince had not only produced a good moral effect upon the people, but had also aided the King in those political and military demonstrations, by which he was enabled to strengthen his power, and extend his dominion. It was they who had instructed the natives in European military tactics: so that, from an undisciplined mass of savages, Radama was enabled to construct a standing army of thirty thousand real soldiers, supplied with arms by the British Government, and commanded by a body of active and intelligent young officers, who had every encouragement to render themselves proficient in the military art; and Radama himself had been encouraged by them to make himself Sovereign of the whole island.

The efficiency thus imparted to the military power of the country by the British Government, was used, as we have already shown, with terrible effect by the Queen, in the suppression of those very beneficial measures, for the instituting of which it had been previously employed; and it was a question, whether, having thus put a new power into the hands of the Sovereign, at a great expense, and for a specific purpose, they were not bound either to prevent their benevolent intentions from being frustrated, by compelling the Queen to adopt a more humane and rational line of conduct; or, if that were impossible, to treat her as a usurper, and assist the rightful heir to recover the throne.

An affecting appeal was made by the native Christians, at this time, to the authorities at the Isle of France. “It is *you*,” said they, “who brought to us that religion, for the professing of which we are now proscribed and persecuted. *You* taught us the folly and sin of idolatry, and the value and efficacy of the death of the Redeemer; and will you now leave us to perish for these opinions, without one effort to save us? Must we see our country wasted, our property confiscated, our children murdered, our relations enslaved, and ourselves hunted like wild beasts in the woods? *You* interfered during King Radama’s reign, and we hailed that event as the commencement of happy times; and is

it only when a ferocious usurper has seized the throne, *and, abusing that military power which you have been the means of placing in her hands*, has reduced us again to barbarism, that your interference is to cease?"

Such was the language of the Malagasy Christians to the British authorities at the Mauritius on this painful occasion; but it was in vain. The Home Government, it is true, remonstrated against the unjust and impolitic conduct of the Queen; but they ought to have done more. They had already gone too far to be justified in stopping; and, in having actually stopped, they are morally responsible for all the atrocities which have indirectly resulted from their previous interference. Their treaty, too, was with Radama as the head of a nation, and not as an individual; and, on behalf of that nation, they were bound to see to the fulfilment of its conditions, whoever might be the Sovereign.

The persecution in Madagascar continued for seventeen years, namely, from 1834, when the Missionaries were expelled from the island, to 1851. During this dark and gloomy period, more than one hundred persons suffered a martyr's death by the sword or the spear, or by being thrown from a rock and dashed to pieces, or burnt alive. Hundreds have been degraded and impoverished, or sent into hopeless slavery; whilst multitudes more have been destroyed by the sword for a disposition to favour or promote the efforts of the Missionaries. But that God who "causes even the wrath of man to praise him," can also restrain the remainder or continuance of that wrath, and convert the persecutor and blasphemer into an humble disciple of the Saviour. The change that has taken place in Madagascar is an eminent instance of this, and is powerfully calculated to strengthen the hands, and confirm the faith, of those who have long been sowing in hope, without any apparent fruit of their labours.

At present, the information obtained of the precise circumstances by which this change has been effected is very scanty. Such has been the seclusion that prevailed in Madagascar, that it has only been by occasional notices, furnished by traders at the Mauritius, that any thing has been made known respecting the movements of the Queen's Government. Recently, however, the Directors of the London Missionary Society have received the welcome and undoubted intelligence that Ranavalona had determined to resign the reins of government into the hands of her son and heir, who is, it is said, a decided Christian; and that the young Prince had appointed the only son of Rainiharo (the late Prime Minister of the Queen, and the most bitter persecutor of the Christians) to succeed his father in that office. This young man, also, if not absolutely a professor of Christianity, is understood to be favourable to it; and one of the first acts of the

young Sovereign—for such, to all intents and purposes, he is, although he refused the title during his mother's life—was to propose throwing open the ports of Madagascar to foreigners, and admitting the Missionaries to resume their important functions.

In the mean time, the people appear to be fully prepared for the reception of Christianity throughout the length and breadth of the land. The former labours of the Missionaries were as “seed sown in good ground.” During the long reign of terror which prevailed, so far was the truth from being extinguished, that the believers multiplied; and those who were once counted in hundreds are now numbered by thousands, and continue “to study the Scriptures, observe the Sabbath, and assemble in the mountains and caverns for united prayer,” being firmly bound together “in love and obedience to Christ as their Redeemer.”

There are many circumstances in the social condition and character of the Malagasy, peculiarly favourable to the extension of Christianity amongst them; and which, we venture to predict, will materially facilitate the labours of future Missionaries. In the first place, the system of Heathenism they have hitherto adopted, is almost entirely an involuntary one. Having neither temples, nor stated periods of public worship, nor fear of punishment after death, there is no important principle involved in their creed, (if such it can be called,) that can attach them very strongly to it. It is, in fact, asserted by some writers on the subject, that the Chiefs and principal men have no faith whatever in their system, and only profess it for the purpose of holding an influence over the lower class. And this is quite in accordance with the constitution of the human mind and its requirements. So far as we know, the whole routine of the religion of the Malagasy consists in offering up a prayer or a sacrifice through the medium of the Oli; which represents a tutelar spiritual being, who is himself an intercessor between the petitioner and “Zanhare.” Their prayers and offerings, too, are wholly referable to temporal blessings, which are still as often withheld as bestowed. In the former case, the anger of the supplicant is frequently excited against his Oli for its ingratitude in not making a proper return for the prayer or sacrifice. So far, therefore, as spiritual considerations are concerned, their religion is entirely secular, the simple belief in one God being uninfluential, as it regards the regulation of the mind and heart, and conveying no definite ideas of his nature, character, or attributes. Such a religion is ill calculated to maintain a strong hold upon the affections of its votaries; and we can, therefore, easily account for the cordial reception given by the Malagasy to the Christian Missionaries, and for the eagerness with which they embraced the Gospel. The case of Ratharavavy, related above, is but one of many cases in which the contrast between the Scripture account of God, and

the ideas entertained of Him by the Heathen, has produced instant conviction of the truth of the former, and of the falsehood and absurdity of the latter.

The observance of a day of rest, too, has no inconsiderable influence in preparing the Malagasy for the reception of the Gospel and its institutions. Although this, in Madagascar, is wholly a civil appointment, and has now no reference to religion, there is not a doubt that it was derived traditionally from the original institution. And it is the more remarkable, as being, we believe, the only instance in the world in which it has been retained by a heathen nation. The transition is easy from a day of rest from secular labour, to one spent in the service of Him who himself rested from the work of creation "on the seventh day," and thenceforth, as we firmly believe, constituted the Sabbath a permanent institution.

Under these favourable circumstances, the London Missionary Society has resolved to re-commence its labours in Madagascar; and, as a preliminary step, has deputed the veteran Missionary, Mr. Ellis, to repair to the island, for the purpose of ascertaining the exact state of affairs, and of preparing the people, and, if possible, the authorities, for the renewed reception of the Society's Missionaries. Should the report of Mr. Ellis be favourable, we have good reason to expect, under God, great things from the Madagascar Mission. There are at the Mauritius five hundred native Christians, waiting for an opportunity of returning to their country. These have all been under the care of the Missionaries at the Mauritius, and many of them are believed to be so advanced in Christian knowledge, as to be capable of becoming Teachers and Evangelists, such as will be powerful auxiliaries to the British Missionaries, of whom it is the intention of the Society at once to send out four, in order to prevent the emissaries of Rome from pre-occupying the ground, as they are preparing to do.

An appeal has been made by the Society to the Christian public on behalf of Madagascar, which has been promptly responded to, and the sum of ten thousand pounds raised towards the re-establishment of the Mission in that island. This is an excellent beginning; and we hope that it will be followed up by continued liberality, and that the Society will thereby be enabled to conduct the Madagascar Mission on a scale commensurate with its vast importance and probable success. To this there is every encouragement; for not only has the truth been retained under the most painful and unfavourable circumstances, but it has extensively gained ground; and the people at large, worn out by the iron despotism of the Queen's government, and disgusted at the cruelty inflicted upon the Christian converts, are anxiously waiting for a change. The patience and fortitude, also, of those who have suffered martyrdom, have made a deep, permanent, and

general impression on the minds of multitudes ; leading them to the conviction that there must be truth in a religion which produces such effects. We shall, therefore, watch with the deepest interest the course of events in Madagascar, and await the report of Mr. Ellis and his colleague, Mr. Johns, both of whom are better qualified than any other men for this task.

We have as yet said nothing of the commercial prospect which this change opens in Madagascar to the nations of Europe. Hitherto the trade with foreigners has been confined to the port of Tamatave, and chiefly conducted, we believe, by the French from the Island of Bourbon. Madagascar, however, presents prospects of commercial advantages, that must now render her an object of consideration with the British merchant. It is one of the largest and richest islands in the world, superabounding in corn, cattle, rice, silk, cotton, indigo, silver, lead, iron, tin, sugar, spices, dye-woods, hard wood, and caoutchouc. In short, it is capable, with proper cultivation, of furnishing the various productions of almost every country and climate in the world. The people, too, are active and enterprising, fond of commerce, and partial to the English, on account of the liberal dealing they exhibit in comparison with the French.

Nor ought the British Government to lose sight of this noble island, of which it was constituted by Radama the protector. And although at the Congress of Vienna the question of appropriation was not formally and finally settled, it was virtually settled by the stipulations of that treaty, and by the retention of the Mauritius and *its dependencies* by the British. According to the acknowledgment of the French themselves, Madagascar, although the superior island, was considered a dependency of the Mauritius, although they had never been able to appropriate it as such. Coupling, therefore, these circumstances, which are well known, with the treaty made with Radama, the British Government are at least bound to see that the French do not make such encroachments upon Madagascar, either commercial, political, or religious, as to exclude, or render onerous, British intercourse with the natives ; and that the latter are not oppressed or coerced by them, as has been the case in Taheiti.

This seems to be of the more importance, too, when we reflect that Madagascar lies in the direct route to our East India possessions ; and that, should the French gain a political footing on the island, they might, in case of war, occasion to our eastern trade a serious annoyance, for which its bays and harbours would afford ample facilities to their cruisers. It therefore becomes a national object with our Government, to place our relations with Madagascar under its new *régime* on the same footing as that on which they stood under Radama, and thus to secure a political alliance with the young Sovereign, whilst at the same time the trade of the island shall be left entirely free to all nations.

Since the above was written, a letter has been received from the Rev. Mr. Ellis, dated from the Mauritius, after his return from Tamatave. By this communication, it appears, that an obstacle has arisen to the fulfilment of the wishes of the young Prince, relative to the resumption of the Mission, from the hostility of a cousin of his, who has attached himself to the heathen party, and with them violently opposes the designs of the Prince; so much so, that at present no opening has presented itself for the Missionaries. But, it is added, the old Queen, who is imbecile, and stands in great fear that the hostile party will attempt to take the life of her son, to whom she is devotedly attached, has determined to abdicate, and to invest the Prince with both the title and the authority of Sovereign; which will enable him to institute measures both for his own personal safety, and for carrying out those improvements and plans for the benefit of his people, which he has so much at heart.

ART. III.—*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul.* By the REV. W. CONYBEARE, M.A., and the REV. J. S. HOWSON, M.A. Two Vols. Imperial 4to. London, 1853.

PAUL of Tarsus is not only the most energetic and elevated Christian, but the noblest and manliest man, of whom we have any knowledge. He stands out before us the image of a fully-developed man of God. He was not only profoundly experienced and divinely taught in the "deep things of God:" he was, emphatically, a Christian workman and warrior,—an indefatigable workman, an indomitable warrior. Nor was he only workman and warrior: he was also the tenderest and most susceptible of friends. How true is his humanity! yet how lofty, and—we need not scruple to say—divine, is that life from above which fills and inspires the soul of that humanity! In him, indeed, we see the highest type of humanity, transfigured by divine grace into the highest style of Christianity. Originally of a character equally profound and energetic, and as manifold in its sympathies as it was single and direct in its conclusions and purposes, he came suddenly and absolutely under the sway of the holiest and most exalted motives,—of truths and principles belonging to the region, not of earth, but of heaven. All his powers were baptized with celestial fire. His whole manhood was thenceforth possessed and ruled by "the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus." Of himself he says, "I live no more myself, but Christ is living in me;* and the life that I live in the flesh is by the

* Conybeare's Translation.

faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave Himself for me." (Gal. ii. 20.)

About the individuality of Paul there can be no mistake. The features of his character constitute a whole so absolutely unique, and, withal, so beautifully complete and consistent, that it would be as easy to doubt of one's own existence, as of that of Paul of Tarsus. His portrait lives and breathes in his Epistles,—"a portrait painted by his own hand, of which every feature may be 'known and read of all men.'" And although, in the comprehensive, but comparatively slight, sketches of his course given by Luke, he does not, in general, move before us in attitudes so animated and impressive, nor is depicted in colours so rich and vivid, as those which characterize the glowing and impassioned, the profound and pathetic, Paul of the Epistles, yet can no mind of ordinary candour or sensibility fail to recognise at a glance, and in every part of the narrative, the Paul of the Acts as being the very same with the Paul of the Epistles. It is not merely that the narrative of the Acts tallies so wonderfully, according to the irrefragable argument of Paley, with countless minute hints, trifling circumstances, and complicated relationships, stated or implied in the Epistles; but that the doctrine, the tone, the language, the bearing,—in a word, the whole conduct and character,—of Paul, as we see and hear him in the Acts, are in the most perfect keeping with what the unmistakeable and inimitable Paul of the Epistles has therein disclosed of himself.

It is remarkable, that there are some of St. Paul's Epistles, and these the most elaborate and important, the originality and authenticity of which even the hardihood of the extreme German school of destructive criticism has not ventured to assail. Those who have not scrupled to undertake the task of disintegrating the texture of the Gospel histories, and even of the Acts of the Apostles, and reducing the whole to a collection of mythic *nebulae*,—containing, here and there, a *nucleus* of fact in the midst of a wide mist of fiction,—have yet shrunk from hazarding a denial of the genuineness and authenticity of the Epistles to the Romans, the Corinthians, and the Galatians. This would be, even for them, too monstrous a hardihood, too glaring an absurdity. Than this fact we can scarcely conceive of a stronger indirect testimony to the living truth and personality stamped upon these writings by their author. They are the pure efflux of his very life; the mingled tide of thought and feeling—deep, swelling, urgent, and often irresistible—which only a man of the largest capacity of mind, of extraordinary energy of will, of the keenest susceptibilities, and under the influence of the profoundest and most earnest convictions, could have poured forth. That any but a true man, a great man, and a good man, should have written such letters, is a manifest impossibility. Almost equally remote from possibility is it, that two men should have been

found in the same age, or in any age, capable of writing such letters; which, indeed, could only have been written in that very age to which they actually belong. They are the work of one man, who has no second or like,—and that man was Paul of Tarsus.

Hitherto, accordingly, no one has ventured to make St. Paul a merely mythic personage, or to deny the genuineness and authenticity of the most important of the writings attributed to him. But, until this is done, and done effectually, all the efforts of the Tübingen school to resolve Christianity into fable, must be vain. Grant us but the reality of St. Paul, and of his Epistles, and the truth of Christianity easily follows. Paul was, at least, a sincere and truthful man, or he was nothing. Nor can it be doubted that he was a man of powerful and cultivated intellect, any more than that he was originally a proud and prejudiced Pharisee. He would have been no party to an imposture. Nor, in the face of infamy, persecution, and death, would he have sacrificed his worldly hopes and ambition to any new form of religion, the evidence of which did not compel his adhesion. Neither was he the man to be moved from the intrenchment of his Pharisaism by a shadowy tissue of vulgar exaggerations, or baseless fables. Nor, we may add, could any faith but the true, or any power less than the highest, have availed to transform the natural character of the Pharisee Saul,—however generous in certain aspects of it,—into that of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, so grand and yet so tender, so profoundly wise and yet so simple, so full of impetuous energy and yet so deeply imbued with child-like humility.

Yet do we see this transformation actually effected, and effected through the faith of "the Crucified." He who had been brought up "at the feet of Gamaliel," now sits a docile learner at the feet of Jesus. He who, "according to the very straitest sect of his fathers' religion, had lived a Pharisee," now maintains, that "a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ." He who once "persecuted that way unto the death," now exclaims, "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." Every where he proclaims "Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." And, for the sake of "that faith" which "once he destroyed," and the followers of which, in his madness against them, he "persecuted even unto strange cities," he is now content to be "scourged" and "stoned;" to be "in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness;" he is "in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons" full often, and familiar with "deaths,"—so that he speaks of himself as "dying daily," and as "always delivered unto death for Jesus' sake."

These are facts which cannot be got rid of, and which render it no more possible for criticism to annihilate St. Paul, than to annihilate Julius Cæsar. And it is equally impossible to bring into doubt the originality and authenticity of his principal letters. In the foregoing paragraph we have quoted only from Epistles, the Pauline authorship and integrity of which have not been cavilled at. And, assuredly, the facts we have referred to, furnish an impregnable ground for establishing not only the truth of the Gospel histories, and of Christianity in general, but also the Pauline authority of the other Epistles bearing the Apostle's name, which the critics above mentioned have the special merit of assailing. We cannot, indeed, but wonder, that a critic* who could impugn the authorship of such Epistles as those to Philemon and the Philippians, the evidences of which, both direct and collateral, external and internal, are so radiantly clear, and in which, especially, we recognise so directly and fully the spirit and (so to speak) the very voice of St. Paul, should have hesitated to deny at once, and *in toto*, the reality of his labours, and the authenticity of all his Epistles. His speculations might then have been safely dismissed to the same *limbo*, to which were long ago consigned the less improbable arguments of that learned Jesuit, who laboured so ingeniously to prove, that the writings of the classical authors of Rome were forgeries of the Middle Ages.

So lofty and unique in his individuality stands St. Paul. So conspicuous and important is he among the pillars that bear up the fabric of Christianity. There is but one character in Scripture more fully portrayed, or more commanding in majestic beauty. It is that of Him with whom none can compare,—who was God as well as Man.

The life of St. Paul, therefore, is a theme, in the illustration of which the most masterly powers and the rarest accomplishments might well be combined; especially because not only the man, but the period, and the great work of the period, of which, indeed, he was, after Christ, the great instrument, must be included in the theme.

"The fulness of the time was come," and God had sent forth his Son into the world. For the deepest and wisest reasons He had predetermined that this should be the last age of Judaism,

* Baur, who finds in Philemon "the *embryo* of a Christian romance, like the 'Clementine Homilies!'" We are happy to say that, in the wildness of his scepticism as to the Epistles named in the text, as well as those to the Colossians and Thessalonians, this champion of the Destructives stands altogether or nearly alone. Olshausen, writing some years ago, could say of these writings, that their genuineness was "undeniable," and had "never been questioned, either in ancient or modern days." ("Proof of the Genuineness of the Writings of the New Testament."—Fosdick's translation.) Of the Epistle to Philemon, in particular, he says, "This delightful little Epistle so clearly exhibits all the characteristics of the great Apostle, and is so utterly free from every thing which would make it probable that any person could have a motive in forging it, that no one would ever entertain the idea of denying that Paul was the author."

and the first of Christianity. Now, "the mystery which from ages and from generations had been hid in God," was to be disclosed to all mankind. And St. Paul's was to be the hand commissioned first and chiefly to draw aside the veil. Greek culture had overspread the world, and Greek philosophy had done its best and worst. The iron arm of Rome had subjugated the nations, and repressed their mutual animosities, and her imperial policy had effaced the barriers which had previously held them separate, and had connected them with each other by military roads, and united them under one government. Thus was the world, at this epoch, of one language, (Greek,) and consolidated into one empire, that it might receive one religion. "The way of the Lord was prepared." The valleys were exalted, and the mountains and hills were brought low: the whole world was, so to speak, but one vast plain, at the feet of haughty and imperial Rome. But all this was done, in order that "the glory of the Lord might be revealed, and that all flesh might see it together."

Nowhere have we seen this matter so well set forth as in the opening chapter of the volumes of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson. We can only quote five pregnant sentences.

"He (the Christian) sees the Greek and Roman elements brought into remarkable union with the older and more sacred element of Judaism. He sees in the Hebrew nation a divinely-laid foundation for the superstructure of the Church, and in the dispersion of the Jews a soil made ready in fitting places for the seed of the Gospel. He sees in the spread of the language and commerce of the Greeks, and in the high perfection of their poetry and philosophy, appropriate means for the rapid communication of Christian ideas, and for bringing them into close connexion with the best thoughts of unassisted humanity. And he sees in the union of so many incoherent provinces under the law and government of Rome, a strong framework which might keep together for a sufficient period those masses of social life, which the Gospel was intended to pervade. The city of God is built at the confluence of three civilizations."—Vol. i., p. 4.

Then did the Lord "bend Judah for Him, and fill the bow with Ephraim, and raise up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Greece, and make thee as the sword of a mighty man. And the Lord was seen over them, and his arrow went forth as the lightning: the Lord God blew the trumpet, and went as with whirlwinds of the south. The Lord of hosts protected them; and they were filled with plenty;* they also drank, and shouted as from wine." (Zech. ix. 13–15.) Foremost of all these sons of Zion, in this contest with the sons of Javan, was Paul of Tarsus.

The extent to which the influence of Hellenistic Judaism had prepared the way for the reception of that Christianity, which is

* An obscure clause is here omitted from the passage quoted, the rendering of a part of which, too, is slightly varied from the Authorized Version. See Pye Smith's "Scripture Testimony," vol. i., p. 286.

itself but the legitimate result and expansion, "the bright, consummate flower," of Judaism, is a subject which has yet scarcely received the attention it merits. Every where were the Jews of the dispersion "sown among the Gentiles," and habituated to the use of that Greek tongue, which was then the universal language of civilization and commerce. And in all their synagogues the Scriptures in the Greek Version were "read every Sabbath-day." The very bitterness and contempt with which they are spoken of by the historians, orators, and satirists of Rome, are in proof of the general influence they had acquired. Cicero and Horace, anterior to the Christian era, and Tacitus and Juvenal,* in reference to the apostolic age, make known to us, how energetic and successful was the proselyting zeal of this remarkable people, even in Rome itself, though appearing there, among its haughty and luxurious citizens, as a strange and subject race, distinguished by the repulsive exclusivism which separated them, even in social intercourse and private life, from the rest of the world. After the conquest of Judæa by Pompey, this influence became greater still; so that Seneca says, "*Victi victoribus leges dederunt.*" Both from the narrative of the Acts, and from the testimony of Josephus, it is evident that their religious influence in many cities round about the shores of the Ægean and the Mediterranean, especially over and by means of female proselytes,—“devout women,”—was very considerable. "Nicolas of Antioch" (Acts vi. 5) is only one of that vast multitude of Greeks, who were attracted to that city to the Jewish doctrine and ritual.† According to Josephus, (B. J., ii., 20, 2,) the people of Damascus were obliged to be cautious in their scheme of assassinating the Jews, "being apprehensive that all their wives, except a few, were devoted to the Jewish superstition." And a similar influence, it is evident, was exercised by the Jews of the Pisidian Antioch, of Beroëa, and of Thessalonica. (Acts xiii. 50; xvii. 4, 12.) In this way did the truth and sublimity of Jewish monotheism, under every disadvantage, and in spite even of the vices which rendered its professors so generally the objects of dislike and contempt, vindicate its superiority to the corrupt and effete religions of the ancient world. Even Gentile Kings and Queens bowed to its divinity. "The Queen of Sheba, in the Old Testament; Candace, Queen of Ethiopia, in the New; and King Izates, with his mother Helena, mentioned by Josephus, are only royal representatives of a large class."‡ Thus was the prophecy of Zechariah largely fulfilled in Judaism, preparatory to its being afterwards more gloriously fulfilled in Christianity: "There shall come people

* The passages are quoted, or referred to, in Conybeare and Howson, vol. i., p. 20, and vol. ii., p. 379.

† Josephus, B. J., vii., 3, 3. Conybeare and Howson, vol. i., p. 21.

‡ Conybeare and Howson, vol. i., p. 20.

and the inhabitants of many cities; yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, In those days ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you." (Zech. viii.)

Thus was the way prepared for the preaching to all men 'of the true Messiah, the great subject of the prophetic Scriptures, and the "desire of all nations." The Apostle of the Gentiles, and his coadjutors, addressed themselves first, in every place, to the communities of Hellenized Jews, and Gentile proselytes, in a tongue which gave access to the whole civilized world. From these communities, and especially out of the ranks of the proselytes, who from their circumstances were less likely than the Jews to be trammelled by traditional prejudices, Paul gathered his first converts; and these generally formed the *nuclei* of the mingled Churches of Jews and Gentiles eventually founded. By means of these, and the Scriptures which they revered as divine, he gained his introduction, and made good his ground; the persecutions which he suffered being amongst the proofs of his success.

No sooner, however, was Christianity planted any where, than, although "wholly a right seed," it became subject to a thousand modifying circumstances, every locality having its peculiar atmosphere, by the influences of which the development of Christianity was likely to be affected. This would, of course, be most emphatically the case at the commencement of the work. There then existed no resident instructors, no complete and responsible hierarchy, no settled written canon of *Christian* truth. Nor was it a time when sober habits of thought and reasoning prevailed. The general tone of morality also was not only lax, but fearfully corrupt. And the philosophies and speculations of the times were accommodated to the prevailing immorality. The misleading maxims and traditions of Pharisaism, and the absurd inventions of the Jewish Cabbala, the enervating and antichristian dreams of Oriental theosophy, the vain philosophies and lascivious idolatries of the Grecian races and of Italy, —these were the impure and unfriendly elements with which infant Christianity had to contend, and which, in particular places, were aggravated by peculiar circumstances. In Antioch, for instance, there was a fearful confluence of the vices and vanities of both the eastern and the western world. In Corinth, again, and (though by no means in so high a degree) at Thessalonica, the general immorality was heightened by the combination of the evil influences which were sure to meet, wherever a sceptical and vicious philosophy pandered to the excesses prompted by unbounded commercial prosperity, and the vulgar depravity

of the reckless seafarer was kept in countenance by the more refined, but not less guilty, practices of the pleasure-seeking stranger. In Athens, the population of which was poorer, as well as more select and refined, than that of Corinth, there would doubtless be less of reckless profligacy and enormous vice; but the prevalence of a bantering scepticism, and the entire absence of sincerity of conviction and earnestness of purpose, among the curious idlers and conceited *dilettanti* who frequented its schools, or lounged about its *agora*, would render it a yet more unpromising field for Christian labour, than the debased, but still impressive, population of Corinth or Thessalonica: while at Rome evil influences, of all kinds and from every quarter, would 'converge and centre. Here was the very vortex of the world's impiety and lust, all public and private virtue, with very rare exceptions, being alike forgotten. And the unimaginable debaucheries of the Emperors succeeding Augustus had, during the latter period of St. Paul's ministry, stimulated the general depravity to the highest pitch.

It is only by realizing such facts as these, that those who desire to trace the course of the Apostle's evangelical labours can understand his position in each place, or estimate correctly the difficulties with which he had to contend, or the motives and the wisdom which ever regulated his language and behaviour. But, when thus familiarized with the circumstances of the Apostle's labours, we easily see why it was needful for him to warn the Colossian Church, and the Ephesian Elders and Timothy, of that incipient form of ascetic and Cabbalistic Gnosticism, which found so congenial a home in mystic Phrygia and in magical Ephesus. We find less reason to marvel that, in such a city as Corinth, the flagrant sin which forms so prominent a subject in both the Epistles to the Corinthian Church, should not only have been committed, but, in the first instance, connived at. We perceive also how readily, in such a centre of excitement and vanity, factions might arise among the members of a newly formed and partially organized Church. "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ." (1 Cor. i. 12.) We are able to understand, in some measure, the reasons which induced the Apostle, here as in Thessalonica, to refuse support from the people among whom he laboured. We find no difficulty in comprehending the indolent excitability which seems to have been a prominent characteristic of the Thessalonian Church, at the same time that we recognise, in the prevalent carelessness and profligacy of the population of the city, the reason why, in his dealing with them, he dwelt so emphatically (as indicated both by the contents of his two Epistles, and by the brief record in the Acts) on the second coming of Christ to "judge the quick and the dead." We are enabled to perceive the marvellous wisdom with which, in his

address on the Areopagus, he adapted himself to the character of his Athenian audience, while proclaiming, with all fidelity and authority, the Gospel of Christ, and why even *his* ministrations, with *such* an audience, produced so little effect; and we feel, not only how true, in its general application, but how awfully appropriate, as addressed to the Church in Rome, is that description of the idolatry and pollution of the heathen world, which is contained in the first chapter of the Epistle to that Church.

Thus is it clear, that he who undertakes to write the life of St. Paul, must be prepared to paint the character, and to describe the conditions, of the period in which he lived. The scene of his labours was the Roman world; and the Christianity of which he was the messenger impinged upon every prejudice and maxim, and came into contact with every phase of life and civilization, in that world. Its object was to transform all; but, in its outward manifestation, it was liable to be modified by all. No one, therefore, can understand the work itself, or enter truly into the history and character of the workman, who does not understand the conditions under which the work was performed.

Nor is it merely the manners and morals, and intellectual and religious condition, of the various people among whom he laboured, with which, for this purpose, we must be made familiar. It is necessary to be acquainted, also, with their political institutions and forms of local government, and with their relations to the imperial Government under which they were united. Sergius Paulus, in connexion with whose conversion we find the Hebrew name of the Apostle finally disused, and the Roman name, Paulus, thenceforth adopted, was the *Proconsul* of Cyprus. At Philippi, a Roman colony, the Magistrates by whose order Paul and Silas were scourged, and "thrust into the inner prison," were the *Duumviri*, whom our authors suppose to have been styled, by courtesy, *Prætors*. (Στρατηγολ, Acts xvi. 20, 22.) At Thessalonica, a Greek city, gifted by Rome with the privileges of a *municipium*, we find the government of the city in the hands of the *Demos*, or assembly of the "people," and of officers called *Politarchs*, ("rulers of the city,") before whom "Jason and certain brethren," when Paul and Silas were not to be found, were taken by the rabble of the Jews. At Corinth, we notice a *Proconsul*, Gallio, the brother of Seneca, not only ruling the senatorial province of Achaia, but regulating the internal affairs of the city.* At Ephesus, again, the chief city of the Roman province of "Asia," and the seat of a proconsular power, more stringent, perhaps, than that of the *Proconsul* at Corinth, we

* The *Proconsuls* ruled the peaceful provinces, which were, at this period, professedly under the control of the Senate; the *Proprætor* had charge of the armed provinces, which were under the immediate jurisdiction of the Emperor.

yet find that the imperial authority had not set aside the ancient democratic form of local government.* For, in Acts xix., we read of a "lawful assembly" of the people there, and of a civic officer of great authority,—the Recorder, or "town-clerk," (*γραμματεὺς*), whose title, like that of the "Politarchs" at Thessalonica, is still extant on coins of the city. We find, moreover, that, in the peril of the Apostle at that city, some of the *Asiarchs* ("chiefs of Asia") stood his friends.†

In connexion with Syria and Palestine, the history of St. Paul brings us into contact, not only with the Jewish Sanhedrim and Roman governors, but also with two "Kings." One of these is Aretas, "who reigned at Petra, the desert metropolis of Stony Arabia," and who seems to have held Damascus at the time of St. Paul's conversion. There are few passages in the history of the Apostle more perplexing than this, yet, perhaps, none, the investigation of which produces a deeper conviction of the originality and truthfulness of the sacred record.‡ Again, at the period of St. Paul's latest visit to Jerusalem, he was rescued from the tumultuous violence of a murderous mob of *Jewish zealots*, on the very threshold of the Temple, by the *Prefect of the Roman garrison*, stationed at the time of the feasts in the fortress of Antonia, which overlooked the court of the temple; and he saved himself from Roman torture by an assertion of his rights as a Roman citizen, which had long before stood him in some stead at Philippi. Being taken before the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, by order of the *Prefect*, that by them judgment might be pronounced upon him, he was delivered from the danger to which he was exposed because of the fierceness of the dispute, in reference to his case, between the Pharisees and Sadducees, by a second intervention of the *Prefect* and *his soldiers*, who, on this occasion, in order to rescue him, must have passed through the outer court of the Temple, even to the verge of the "holy place." When he was to have been again demanded of the Roman officer by the Sanhedrim, to be given up to their jurisdiction, that they might thus bring him into the hands of the forty conspirators, who, with their good-will and sanction, had plotted his death,—upon the Prefect's being informed of this plot by the Apostle's nephew, St. Paul was conveyed away by night, under an escort of soldiers, to the custody of the *Procurator* at Cæsarea. There he pleaded his cause before two *Procurators* in succession, and escaped from his countrymen by an appeal to Cæsar. Once

* Verse 38. "Deputies." The office of Proconsul is expressed in the Authorized Version of the Acts by the word "deputy." A difficulty arises from the use of the plural here; as to which, see Conybeare and Howson, vol. ii., p. 78, note 3, and Kuinoël, *in loco*.

† These seem to have been Asiatic Greeks, of wealth and distinction, from the various cities of Ionia, chosen to preside over the annual public games and festivities connected with the worship of the Ephesian Diana.

‡ See our authors, vol. i., pp. 88–90, and Davidson's "Introduction," &c., vol. ii., p. 107.

more, he made a public defence of his faith and conduct, in the presence, not only of the *Roman Procurator*, but of a *Jewish King*, and reiterated his appeal to the judgment-seat of Cæsar. After this, in consequence of his appeal, he was remitted, under military guard, to the *imperial Court of Rome*, and there he awaited his trial, upon questions touching the religious feelings of his Hebrew countrymen and *the law of Moses*.

So wide-spread, various, and complicated, are the political relations with which the history of St. Paul brings us into contact. Nor is a minute acquaintance with the political relations, the administration, and the institutions of the empire and the provinces, at all more indispensable than a full and accurate knowledge of the geography and topography of the countries he visited, of the land and sea-routes, and of the modes and conditions of travelling and voyaging which obtained at that period. On these points, happily, the researches of modern travellers—especially, we are proud to say, of British travellers, tracking, with a more than classic, that is, with a pious, enthusiasm, the course of the Apostle—have, of late years, added very largely to our formerly insufficient stock of knowledge, and, as to many points, have left little more to be desired. Above all, the recent work on the voyage and shipwreck of St. Paul, by Mr. Smith, with the main positions and conclusions of which a MS. essay of the late Admiral Penrose, on the same subject, (first made known to the public, though but in part, by the authors of the work under review,) very remarkably coincides, has for ever dissipated the obscurities and misconceptions which had hung about that part of St. Paul's history, and has afforded one of the most convincing of the manifold proofs of the minutely circumstantial accuracy which distinguishes the narrative of Luke.

All this, and more than this, belongs to the *scenery* of the Apostle's life, without which that life itself cannot be fully understood. But, after all, the noblest and most essential part of the work is, to enter into the very heart and character of the man himself, as a man, as a Jew, ("Hebrew of the Hebrews,") and as a Christian. To conceive the influences which surrounded his childhood at Tarsus, to reproduce him as the youth at Jerusalem, the disciple "brought up at the feet of Gamaliel," the proud and bigoted, but sincere and upright, Pharisee, the impetuous partisan, and the mad persecutor;—then, to depict him with chaste and tender truthfulness, as the stricken Saul, after he had seen "Jesus in the way," to exhibit in his miraculous conversion the sun-bright and irrefragable evidence which is afforded of the truth of Christianity,—next, to trace the course, and paint the circumstances, and realize the position, and review the labours of this "chosen vessel," as, "from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum," and finally in Rome itself, he proclaimed the glad tidings of the grace of God, until at last

he sealed his testimony with his blood,—this is the work of the biographer of St. Paul.

And this work has been nobly done by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson. All that we have sketched in the foregoing pages, as belonging to the task, and much more than this, has been actually accomplished. The most various and comprehensive learning, including patristic reading and all modern criticism and research, an industry and accuracy as of the olden folio age, combined with masterly powers of historical analysis, the still rarer faculty of vividly realizing the past, and giving others to see it in the light of the present, a most eloquent and, spite of their German learning, a purely English style, a reverent and loving heart for Christian goodness, purity, and truth, a profound sense of the vanity of all human faculty and knowledge apart from Christ,—these are the qualifications which have enabled them to produce this noble work. The volumes, too, are enriched by a very large number of beautiful plates, accurate maps, and appropriate wood engravings of coins, &c. So that we have every possible help furnished to us, to enable us “to live in the life of a by-gone age, and to call up the figure of the past from its tomb, duly robed in all its former raiment.”*

Such a work would certainly not be complete, unless St. Paul's letters were incorporated with it. For, not only are the substance and style of those letters most characteristic of the man, but no small portion of the narrative of his life has to be constructed from the statements and hints which they contain. And, even in other cases, where the events are related in outline by St. Luke, much of the life and colouring must be derived from the same source. The incorporation of these writings, however, with the narrative will render necessary other and more minute explanations of the life and manners of the persons he addressed. We refer to such matters as “the public amusements of the people, whence he draws topics of warning or illustration; the social organization and gradation of ranks, for which he enjoins respect; the position of women, to which he specially refers in many of his letters; the relations between parents and children, slaves and masters, which he not vainly sought to imbue with the loving spirit of the Gospel.”†

Accordingly, Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, besides giving us a new and valuable version of the Epistles of St. Paul, have embodied in their work all such illustrations of manners and customs as those to which we have referred as being necessary.

Of course, these two volumes are costly. But, considering the amount and quality of the matter, and the number and style

* Introduction, p. 5.

† *Ibid.*

of the illustrations, we hold them to be exceedingly cheap. Still they are costly, and hence their circulation will be of necessity comparatively limited. This consideration emboldens us, notwithstanding that they have now been some time before the public, to introduce a few quotations, for the sake of those of our readers who may not have the opportunity of seeing the whole work.

Our first extracts shall be a few paragraphs, culled and partly condensed from the exquisite ideal sketch of the childhood and youth of the young Hebrew at Tarsus and Jerusalem.

"Admitted into covenant with God by circumcision, the Jewish child had thenceforward a full claim to all the privileges of the chosen people. From that time we are at no loss to learn what the ideas were with which his early thought was made familiar.....The histories of Abraham and Isaac, of Jacob and his twelve sons, of Moses among the bulrushes, of Joshua and Samuel, Elijah, Daniel, and the Maccabees, were the stories of his childhood. The destruction of Pharaoh in the Red Sea, the thunders of Mount Sinai, the dreary journeys in the wilderness, the land that flowed with milk and honey,—this was the earliest imagery presented to his opening mind. The triumphant songs of Zion, the lamentations by the waters of Babylon, the prophetic praises of the Messiah, were the songs around his cradle.

"Above all, he would be familiar with the destinies of his own illustrious tribe. The life of the timid Patriarch, the father of the twelve; the sad death of Rachel near the city where the Messiah was to be born; the loneliness of Jacob, who sought to comfort himself in Benoni, 'the son of her sorrow,' by calling him Benjamin, 'the son of his right hand;' and then the youthful days of this youngest of the twelve brethren, the famine, and the journeys into Egypt, the severity of Joseph, and the wonderful story of the silver cup in the mouth of the sack;—these are the narratives to which he listened with intense and eager interest.....When St. Paul was a child, and learnt the words, no Christian thoughts were associated with the prophecy of Moses, when he said of Benjamin, 'The beloved of the Lord shall dwell in safety by him; and the Lord shall cover him all the day long, and he shall dwell between his shoulders.' But he was familiar with the prophetic words, and could follow in imagination the fortunes of the sons of Benjamin, and knew how they went through the wilderness with Rachel's other children, the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, forming with them the third of the four companies on the march, and reposing with them at night on the west of the encampment. He heard how their lands were assigned to them in the promised country along the borders of Judah; and how Saul, whose name he bore, was chosen from the tribe which was the smallest, when 'little Benjamin' became 'the ruler' of Israel. He knew that when the ten tribes revolted, Benjamin was faithful; and he learnt to follow its honourable history even into the dismal years of the Babylonian captivity, when Mordecai, 'a Benjamite who had been carried away,' saved the nation; and when, instead of destruction, 'the Jews,' through him, 'had light, and gladness, and joy, and honour: and in every province, and in every city, whithersoever the King's commandment and his decree came, the Jews had joy and gladness, a feast and a good

day. And many of the people of the land became Jews: for the fear of the Jews fell upon them.”—Vol. i., pp. 45–48.

“We have seen what his infancy was: we must now glance at his boyhood. It is usually the case that the features of a strong character display themselves early. His impetuous and fiery disposition would sometimes need control. Flashes of indignation would reveal his impatience and his honesty. The affectionate tenderness of his nature would not be without an object of attachment, if that sister, who was afterwards married, was his playmate at Tarsus. The work of tent-making, rather an amusement than a trade, might sometimes occupy those young hands, which were marked with the toil of years, when he held them to the view of the Elders at Miletus. His education was conducted at home rather than at school; for, though Tarsus was celebrated for its learning, the Hebrew boy would not lightly be exposed to the influence of Gentile teaching. Or if he went to a school, it was not to a Greek school, but rather to some room connected with the synagogue, where a noisy class of Jewish children received instruction, seated on the ground with their teacher, after the manner of Mohammedan children in the East, who may be seen or heard at their lessons near the mosques.....His religious knowledge, as his years advanced, was obtained from hearing the law read in the synagogue, from listening to the arguments and discussions of learned Doctors, and from that habit of questioning and answering, which was permitted even to the children among the Jews. Familiar with the pathetic history of the Jewish sufferings, he would feel his heart filled with that love to his own people, which breaks out in the Epistle to the Romans, (ix. 4–6,)—to that people, ‘whose were the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ was to come;’ a love not then, as it was afterwards, blended with love towards all mankind; ‘to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile;’ but rather united with a bitter hatred to the Gentile children whom he saw around him. His idea of the Messiah, so far as it was distinct, would be the carnal notion of a temporal Prince,—a ‘Christ known after the flesh;’ and he looked forward, with the hope of a Hebrew, to the restoration of ‘the kingdom to Israel.’ He would be known at Tarsus as a child of promise, and as one likely to uphold the honour of the law against the half-infidel teaching of the day. But the time was drawing near when his training was to become more exact and systematic. He was destined for the school of Jerusalem.”—*Ibid.*, pp. 53–55.

In this way is the career of the young Pharisee traced, step by step. His voyage from Tarsus to Jerusalem, “with his father, or under the care of some other friend older than himself;” his feelings, as a Hebrew boy, on his first visit to the Holy Land; the scenery of his journey towards Jerusalem; the two famous Rabbinical schools of the Holy City, “the rival schools of Hillel and Schammai;” the character of Gamaliel, and the influence which his teaching may be supposed to have had on the mind of Saul; the worship and doctrines of the synagogues at Jerusalem; the development of his religious intelligence and knowledge as an embryo Rabbi under this culture;—all these things are

brought before us with a rare union of historical accuracy, congenial feeling, apt illustration, and felicitous expression.

The conversion of St. Paul is dealt with as such a theme ought to be. No attempt is made to explain away the obvious miracle. The religious truths embodied in the history are well brought out; and the bearing of this miraculous conversion of such a man as Saul to the faith of Christ, upon the evidence of the Christian religion, is clearly and emphatically stated.

One of the passages which we had marked for quotation, but from which we have only space to give a few sentences, is that in which our authors investigate the origin of the title "Christians," first given to the disciples at Antioch. Passing by all violent or extraordinary methods of accounting for the origin of this appellation, they consider it as naturally arising from the position in which the believers in Christ were for the first time placed in the Gentile city of Antioch :—

"When Gentiles began to listen to what was preached concerning Christ, when they were united as brethren on equal terms, and admitted to baptism without the necessity of previous circumcision, when the Mosaic features of this Society were lost in the wider character of the New Covenant, then it became evident that these men were something more than the Pharisees or Sadducees, the Essenes or Herodians, or any sect or party among the Jews. Thus a new term in the vocabulary of the human race came into existence at Antioch about the year 44. Thus, Jews and Gentiles, who, under the teaching of St. Paul, believed that Jesus of Nazareth was the Saviour of the world, were first called 'Christians.'"—Vol. i., p. 129.

Messrs. Conybeare and Howson assign satisfactory reasons for concluding that this appellation was not invented by the Jews, nor selected for themselves by the Christians. It originated among the Gentiles; and "the form of the word," in their judgment, "implies that it came from the Romans, not from the Greeks," being, probably, in the first instance, employed "as a term of ridicule and derision."

One of the most interesting minor speculations in these volumes, and one, at the same time, singularly illustrative of the accomplished scholarship of the writer, is that which refers to the mutual relations of the names "Saul" and "Paul," and to the connexion which has been supposed to exist between the latter of these names and that of the Roman Proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a convert of the Apostle's, and the date of whose conversion so remarkably synchronizes with the change of the Apostle's name in St. Luke's narrative. But for this speculation we must refer our readers to the work itself. (Vol. i., pp. 161-166.)

Of the many historical sketches contained in this work, one of the most beautiful is that of the most ancient remaining city of earth, Damascus, which will be found in the third chapter. And, perhaps, the most valuable geographical disquisition is that con-

tained in the eighth chapter, on the political divisions of Asia Minor. We are mistaken if this is not the only competent description in existence of the political divisions of that region *in the time of St. Paul*. Yet are there few contributions to the illustration of New-Testament geography and history, which have so long been felt by every student to be an essential *desideratum*. Scarcely inferior to this in value is the description of the constitution of a colony, as distinguished from a *municipium*, or a free city, contained in the ninth chapter.

We have quoted the description given by our authors of the childhood of St. Paul: we will now give their description of his death:—

“As the martyr and his executioners passed on, their way was crowded with a motley multitude of comers and goers between the metropolis and its harbour,—merchants hastening to superintend the unloading of their cargoes,—sailors eager to squander the profits of their last voyage in the dissipations of the capital,—officials of the Government charged with the administration of the provinces, or the command of the legions on the Euphrates or the Rhine,—Chaldean astrologers,—Phrygian eunuchs,—dancing-girls from Syria, with their painted turbans,—mendicant priests from Egypt, howling for Osiris,—Greek adventurers, eager to coin their national cunning into Roman gold,—representatives of the avarice and ambition, the fraud and lust, the superstition and intelligence, of the imperial world. Through the dust and tumult of that busy throng, the small troop of soldiers threaded their way silently, under the bright sky of an Italian mid-summer. They were marching, though they knew it not, in a procession more truly triumphal than any they had ever followed, in the train of General or Emperor, along the Sacred Way. Their prisoner, now at last, and for ever, delivered from captivity, rejoiced to follow the Lord ‘without the gate.’ The place of execution was not far distant; and there the sword of the headsman ended his long course of sufferings, and released that heroic soul from that feeble body. Weeping friends took up his corpse, and carried it for burial to those subterranean labyrinths, where, through many ages of oppression, the persecuted Church found refuge for the living, and sepulchres for the dead.

“Thus died the Apostle, the Prophet, and the Martyr; bequeathing to the Church, in her government and her discipline, the legacy of his apostolic labours; leaving his prophetic words to be her living oracles; pouring forth his blood to be the seed of a thousand martyrdoms. Thenceforth, among the glorious company of the Apostles, the goodly fellowship of the Prophets, the noble army of Martyrs, his name has stood pre-eminent. And wheresoever the holy Church, throughout all the world, doth acknowledge God, there Paul of Tarsus is revered, as the great teacher of a universal redemption, and a Catholic religion,—the herald of glad tidings to all mankind.”—Vol ii., pp. 508–505.

In connexion with the history of St. Paul’s labours, there are a number of subsidiary topics, relating to the internal condition of the apostolic Churches, of great importance in themselves, especially as connected with the development of the Church in after ages,

but the minute discussion of which is not essential to a right estimate of the Apostle's life and labours. They are points, in reference to which there may be considerable divergence of opinion, and yet a perfect agreement as to the part which St. Paul took in regard to them, and as to the manner in which they affected him. No view of his labours, however, could be complete without some examination of these subjects. Several of them are thrown together by our authors, and treated of in one chapter. The last chapter of the first volume relates to "the spiritual gifts, constitution, ordinances, divisions, and heresies, of the primitive Church, in the life-time of St. Paul."

On the question of the *χαρίσματα*, or "spiritual gifts" of the primitive Church, our authors do not say much, (for there is not, in fact, much to be said,) nor anything that is new. Succinctness and modesty of statement constitute the merit of what they write on this subject. We extract what they say on the "gift of tongues," as it briefly shows the little that we know on this obscure point.

"With regard to the gift of tongues, there is much difficulty, from the notices of it in Scripture, in fully comprehending its nature. But from the passages where it is mentioned, we may gather thus much concerning it:—First. That it was not a *knowledge* of foreign languages, as is often supposed; we never read of its being exercised for the conversion of foreign nations, nor (except on the day of Pentecost alone) for that of individual foreigners; and even on that occasion, the foreigners present were all Jewish proselytes, and most of them understood the Hellenistic* dialect. Secondly. We learn that this gift was the result of a sudden influx of supernatural inspiration, which came upon the new believer immediately after his baptism, and recurred afterwards at uncertain intervals. Thirdly. We find, that while under its influence, the exercise of the *understanding* was suspended, and the *spirit* was rapt into a state of ecstasy by the immediate communication of the Spirit of God. In this ecstatic trance the believer was constrained by an irresistible power to pour forth his feelings of thanksgiving and rapture in words: yet the words which issued from his mouth were not his own; he was even (usually) ignorant of their meaning: they were the words of some foreign language, and not intelligible to the bystanders, unless some of these chanced to be natives of the country where the language was spoken. St. Paul desired that those who possessed this gift should not be suffered to exercise it in the congregation, unless some one present possessed another gift, (subsidiary to this,) called the '*interpretation of tongues*,' by which the ecstatic utterance of the former might be rendered available for general edification."—Vol. i., pp. 460, 461.

We should think it impossible to reconcile the view, which in the foregoing paragraph is rather hinted than plainly stated, of

* "This must probably have been the case with all the foreigners mentioned, except the Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and Arabians; and the Jews from these latter countries would probably understand the Aramaic of Palestine."

the "tongues" used on the day of Pentecost, with the plain sense of Acts ii. 6-11, from which it would certainly seem evident enough that other tongues and dialects, besides Hellenistic Greek and Aramaic, were heard by the mingled multitude that day. But the rest of the statements contained in the extract seem to be undeniable. Our authors refer, in confirmation of their summary, to Mark xvi. 17; Acts ii. 4, &c.; Acts x. 47; Acts xi. 15-17; and 1 Cor. xii. and xiv.

How a Christian community, in primitive times, grew into a regularly constituted and organized Church, and what precise form the organization assumed in the apostolic age, are questions no less important than interesting. In a mere life of St. Paul, however, the minute discussion of such questions would scarcely find a fitting place. In whatever way they are determined by any orthodox Christian, the view of St. Paul's character and conduct, and of the mutual relations of the Apostle and those to whom he ministered, will not be materially affected. This, perhaps, is one reason why our authors have not entered more fully or profoundly into this subject. Moreover, to do justice to the subject, would have required a treatise such as would far overpass the limits of a subsidiary topic.

The view which they take of primitive Church order is that of liberal and candid Episcopalians. The equivalency, in the New Testament, of the terms "Bishop" and "Presbyter" is, of course, affirmed. But, it is added,—

"The history of the Church leaves us no room for doubt that, on the death of the Apostles, or perhaps at an earlier period, (and, in either case, by their directions,) one amongst the Presbyters of each Church was selected to preside over the rest, and to him was applied emphatically the title of the 'Bishop' or 'Overseer,' which had previously belonged equally to all. Thus he became in reality (what he was sometimes called) the successor of the Apostles, as exercising (though in a lower degree) that function of government which had formerly belonged to them."—Vol. i., p. 465.

Again, in the preceding page, they say of the Apostles:—

"So far as their function was to govern, they represented the monarchical element in the constitution of the early Church, and their power was a full counterpoise to that democratic tendency which has sometimes been attributed to the ecclesiastical arrangements of the apostolic period."—*Ibid.*, p. 464.

"The seven" (Acts vi.) are not allowed to have been "Deacons," in the ecclesiastical sense of that term. "The office of the seven," it is affirmed, "was one of much higher importance than that of the subsequent Deacons." Yet it is at the same time stated, with some apparent inconsistency, that the seven "were only elected to supply a temporary emergency."

"The last of the three orders," [Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons,] our authors say, "did not take its place in the ecclesiastical organiza-

tion till towards the close of St. Paul's life; or, at least, this name was not assigned to those who discharged the functions of the diacö-nate till a late period; the Epistle to the Philippians being the earliest in which the term occurs in its technical sense."—*Ibid.*, p. 466.

As to the distinction between "Teachers" (διδάσκαλοι, 1 Cor. xii. 28) and "Presbyters," or "Pastors," our authors admit that it is "possible (as Neander thinks) that at first there may have been sometimes a difference. But," they add, "those who possessed both gifts" [of *teaching and ruling*] "would surely have been chosen Presbyters from the first, if they were to be found: and, at all events, in the time of the pastoral Epistles, we find the offices united." (P. 466, note.)

The text, 1 Tim. v. 17, is thus rendered by our authors:—

"Let the Presbyters who perform their office well be counted worthy of a twofold honour, especially those who labour in speaking and teaching."—Vol. ii., p. 472.

Upon which they make the following note:—

"In vol. i., p. 466, we observed that the offices of *πρεσβύτερος* and *διδάσκαλος* were united, at the date of the pastoral Epistles, in the same persons: which is shown by *διδασκτικός* being a qualification required in a Presbyter, 1 Tim. iii. 2," [and 2 Tim. ii. 24.] "But, though this union must, in all cases, have been desirable, we find, from this passage, that there were still some *πρεσβύτεροι* who were not *διδάσκαλοι*, *i. e.*, who did not [ordinarily] perform the office of public instruction in the congregation. This is another strong proof of the early date of the Epistle."

The view which is here given of the distinction between different Presbyters of the same Church, implied in 1 Tim. v. 17, has the support of the most candid and eminent biblical interpreters and ecclesiastical historians, both of ancient and modern times. Of late, especially, this view appears to have gained ground: it is that which is adopted, not only by our authors, but by Neander, Davidson, and Bünsen. It allows that at first there existed, in some cases, an ordinary *practical* distinction, but denies any *radical* distinction, between the teaching and ruling Elders. In the words of Bünsen, in his recent work, "The Elders are teachers and administrators. If an individual happen to be engaged in either of these offices more exclusively than the other, it makes no real alteration in his position; for the Presbyters of the ancient Church filled both situations."*

From the offices, worship, and ordinances of the primitive Church the transition is easy to its factions and heresies; as, from contemplating the appointed order of any system, we are naturally led to mark the deviations which occur with reference to it. One great cause of faction was at work throughout the apostolic Church,—the opposition of Judaizing Christians to the liberty of the Gospel. Another cause, not unfrequently combined

* "Hippolytus," vol. iii., p. 246.

with this, but yet proceeding from a very different origin, was the prevalence τῆς ψευδανύμου γνώσεως, (1 Tim. vi. 20,) "of the mis-called *gnosis*," or "science falsely so called."

Both these causes concurred to distract the Christian community at Corinth. Here, more than anywhere else among the primitive Churches, the jar and discord of contending parties are heard to resound. The faction-cries were, "I am of Paul; and I of Apollos; and I of Cephas; and I of Christ." Much speculation has been bestowed upon the nature of these various parties; but, from the total lack of collateral and contemporary evidence, (besides that afforded by the New Testament itself,) the subject is so exceedingly obscure, that it would seem to be impossible to determine the question with anything like certainty. As to the mere explication of the text of the Epistles to the Corinthians, the question is not of much importance. Nor, in whatever way it is determined, will our impression of St. Paul's bearing and behaviour in the case be materially affected. But, as related to the internal condition and character of the Church at Corinth, and as illustrative of the influences to which primitive Christianity was exposed, it is a question of great interest and some importance.

We cannot say that we consider the summary view which Mr. Conybeare gives to be at all satisfactory. He represents the Apollos party as being very materially distinguished from that of Paul, and connects with this the presumptuous and antinomian *gnosis* ("knowledge," or "science," 1 Cor. viii. 1) which the Apostle so often reproves, and in which Mr. Conybeare "detects the germ of that rationalizing tendency, which afterwards developed itself into the Greek element of Gnosticism." He thus brings into the train of Apollos those in the Corinthian Church who "defended fornication on theory, and denied the resurrection of the dead." To us this appears a very improbable conclusion. The mere fact that Apollos was a "Jew of Alexandria," and an "eloquent man," affords a very slender presumption in favour of such a view. It would be hard to believe that the taint of "vain philosophy," and Gnostic pravity, clave to every Alexandrian Jew, even after his becoming a believer in Christ, and a follower of St. Paul. And if Apollos was "an eloquent man," yet, when it is directly added, as if in explanation, that he was "mighty in the Scriptures," we certainly have no right to infer that, by mere "wisdom of words," he strove "to adapt his teaching to the taste of his philosophizing hearers at Corinth." All that we know of his connexion with St. Paul, and every allusion of the Apostle to him as his friend and subordinate, is opposed to that conclusion. Much more probable, in our opinion, is the view of Dr. Davidson, in his very able discussion of this subject; * according to which, the party of

* See Davidson's "Introduction," &c., vol. ii.

Apollos belonged substantially to the same section of Corinthian Christians as the adherents of Paul; the two parties differing from each other only as to "the degree of apostolic authority due to the *founder*, as compared to the *builder-up*, of the Church." And, as this view harmonizes with all we know of the character and mutual relations of Paul and Apollos, so, in particular, it seems to be the only one which agrees with the tone in which St. Paul discusses the respective claims of himself and Apollos. (See especially 1 Cor. iii. 6, 7, and iv. 6.)

The party of Cephas undoubtedly was the Judaizing section of the Church at Corinth. But we cannot accede to the view of Mr. Conybeare, that the party whose watchword was, "And I of Christ," represented the most violent portion of the Corinthian Judaizers. The supposition that they may have assumed this motto, "as having either been among the number of Christ's disciples, or, at least, as being in close connexion with the brethren of the Lord, and especially with James, the head of the Church at Jerusalem," is so very far-fetched, as only to prove how exceedingly difficult it is to devise a reason why this particular section of slaves to the letter should have selected as their party-badge the name of "Christ." We cannot but prefer the view which Dr. Davidson has given, as being, in the main, correct. The Christ party were those who professed allegiance to no head or leader but Christ. They conceived themselves to be gifted with a "knowledge" (*γνῶσις*) and a "wisdom," by means of which they could determine for themselves what was right or wrong. This gift they professed to have received from Christ, and by means of it, without the intervention of any subordinate teaching or authority, they assumed to be directly connected with Him, and enabled to know what was according to His will and conformable to His doctrines. They were mystics, possessed, as they pretended, of an inward light; and they had a high-sounding "wisdom of words," very likely to impose upon the ignorant or weakly enthusiastic. Although directly opposed, on most points, to the Petrine party, they would agree with them in decrying the apostolic authority and claims of St. Paul. At the same time, they probably exhibited a tendency to antinomianism. With the party of St. Paul they would so far agree in opposing the scruples of the "weak brethren" of the Petrine party, as to disregard all distinctions of meats; but, "puffed up" with their "knowledge," they would go far beyond all genuine followers of the Apostle, in making no scruple of sharing in heathen feasts in connexion with idol-temples. We do not know that we have any right to attribute to this party any share in the glaring excesses and immoralities which disgraced the Christian Church at Corinth, or in the denial of the doctrine of the resurrection. Perhaps the former may be more naturally considered as the result of the previous habits of

the converts at Corinth, who were surrounded by temptations to vice, and were not yet all of them "purged from their old sins." But the denial of the resurrection was not an improbable consequence of the mystic and presumptuous tendencies which seem to have characterized the "Christ party," as they dared to call themselves. And this tenet would also seem to hint a connexion between the views of some of the errorists at Corinth, and that incipient form of Gnosticism, which, long before the expiration of the apostolic period, began to corrupt the pure doctrines of Christianity.

It is with a discussion of the subject we have last named—the incipient Gnosticism of the apostolic age—that Mr. Conybeare closes the chapter under review. This is, perhaps, at once the most obscure and the most extensive subject connected with the history of early Christianity. Neander's investigation, in the second volume of his "*Ecclesiastical History*," makes one feel this. Bünsen's "*Hippolytus*" will deepen the impression. But, perhaps, no work, to which the ordinary English student can gain access, gives so adequate an idea of the vast literature and range of research connected with this subject, as Dr. Burton's "*Inquiry into the Heresies of the Apostolic Age*," published as the "*Bampton Lectures*" for 1828. Of course Mr. Conybeare, dealing with this subject as a subsidiary topic, could not pretend to treat it profoundly. To do this, indeed, would require an investigation of all Chaldean and Magian angelology and theosophy, of the doctrines of Pythagoras and Plato, and of middle and later Platonism, down to the days of Plotinus and Porphyry, of the Alexandrian Eclecticism, of the Jewish Cabbala, of the obscurities of the Alexandrian Philo, and of all that Justin, Irenæus, Hippolytus, and other Fathers of the first three centuries, wrote about the Gnostics. Mr. Conybeare has, however, given a clear and able summary, yet one with which we cannot altogether agree. It appears to us that he is in error in including, under the same general description, all the profane and violent antinomian heresies referred to in all the Epistles. It is, perhaps, possible that all these may have had some alliance with Gnosticism, under one form or another. But if so, we think a marked distinction should be drawn between the kinds of Gnosticism. Certainly, the heresies which threatened Colosse, and which seem to have been substantially the same with those which made their appearance at Ephesus, differed materially from those to which Peter and Jude refer in their Epistles, and which are spoken of in the second and third chapters of the Apocalypse. As to this point, we venture to think that Mr. Conybeare has fallen into error, in a direction opposite to that of Mr. Stanley,* whose views he controverts. Mr. Stanley classes together "all

* The Rev. A. P. Stanley, in his "*Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*."

the heretics opposed by St. Paul in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians, and to Timothy and Titus, and those denounced by St. Peter, St. Jude, and St. John," and considers them to have been "Judaizers." Mr. Conybeare also classes them all together, but believes that their heresies all belonged to "an incipient form of Gnosticism," of which "the Jewish element was only the accidental, and the Gentile element the essential, constituent." (P. 490.) It appears to us, on the contrary, that although, of the later heresies opposed by Peter, Jude, and John in the Apocalypse this *may* be true, yet the heresy against which the Colossian Church is warned, is demonstrably based upon a traditional Judaism; and that the heresies opposed in the pastoral Epistles must have been, partly at least, of the same general character.

That the false teachers at Colosse were Jews, may be certainly inferred from the tenets which are attributed to them. They held the "tradition of men," and "the rudiments of the world," that is, the principles and observances of the Mosaic law, (Col. ii. 8,) respecting meats and drinks, festivals, new moons, and sabbaths; (ii. 16;) and they maintained the virtue and necessity of circumcision. (ii. 11.) It is true, that with these tenets they had incorporated a variety of superstitions, not properly belonging to Judaism, but derived from oriental speculations, which may be loosely described as of a Budhistical character. There can be little doubt, however, that the form in which they held those superstitions was one which had been moulded by Jews themselves during several centuries after the return from Babylon. There is no need to travel beyond the Cabbalistic system, for any of the corrupt doctrines referred to in the Epistle to the Colossians. The worship of angels, (by a "voluntary humility,") as *internuncii* or "mediators" between themselves and God; (ii. 18;) the denial of Christ's Godhead, involved in his being reckoned in the number of the Sephiroth, "the thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers," which, according to the Cabbala, were emanations from the Deity, and by means of which—and not by the direct *fiat* of the Highest himself—the universe was brought into being; (i. 15–17;) the antipathy against matter, as being necessarily evil, which led to rigid asceticism as the means of avoiding or purging away material defilement; (ii. 20–23;) all these things were either parts of, or immediately deducible from, that compound of oriental and Jewish speculation which was afterwards committed to writing, and, to some extent, systematized, under the name of "the Cabbala."

If, therefore, we regard the false teachers at Colosse as those who endeavoured so to interpret the doctrines of Christianity, as to accommodate them to their own false and disfigured Judaism, this meets the whole case. Most appropriate, in this view of the subject, is the Apostle's warning,—“Beware lest any man

spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ." (ii. 8.) Here we have "the rudiments of the world,"—the Mosaic law,—and "the tradition of men,"—the Jewish Cabbala, which (at that time still unwritten) professed to be a collection of ancient and sacred traditions, and signified as much by its very name;* and assuredly here we have "philosophy and vain deceit."

There can be no doubt, indeed, that much of what the Apostle says would apply with equal justness to the speculations of the early Gnostics. But there are two important points which seem to forbid such an application. The Colossian false teachers, it is plain enough, not only practised themselves, but endeavoured to enforce on others, circumcision and the ceremonial observances of the Jewish law. But this was entirely opposed to the genius of Gnosticism, which taught that the God of the Old Testament was an evil demon, or at least a degenerate æon, who, without the concurrence of the supreme God, moulded and disposed that essentially evil and malignant substance, matter, (supposed to be co-eternal with the Deity,) into the form of the present universe, and who imposed upon the Jews the bondage of a hard and evil law, from which, and from the dominion of matter, it was the office of Christ to free both them and all men. In consistency with this principle, they rejected the divine authority and inspiration of the Old Testament. Hence, although a few of them may, as Neander supposes, have transferred to their own system some elements derived from Judaism, yet they would not do this on the authority of the law; far less, would they endeavour to enforce this law on others. The only apparent exception to the above statement, so far as we know, (for it is quite a mistake to call the Ebionites Gnostics, the two sects being in their real genius, and as to most practical points, opposed to each other,) is the heretic Cerinthus. He was undoubtedly a Gnostic, or very like one, and yet he passed for a Jew. But, if it is remembered that Cerinthus was, in fact, a Jew by birth and education, and yet that, under the influence of his Gnostic views, he so far modified his Judaism, as to teach that the world was created and the law given, not by Jehovah himself, but, (to use the words of Irenæus,) by some angelic powers "greatly separated and removed from the supreme Power which is above all, and ignorant of the God who is over all," and that he only "paid a partial attention to Judaism,"† it will be seen that this exception only proves the rule. We may lay it down as a principle, that bigoted Judaism is altogether incompatible with fundamental Gnosticism. We find it, then, on this ground, quite impossible to believe, with Mr. Conybeare, that "the Jewish element was only the acci-

* *Cabbala*, "that which has been received." † Burton's "Bampton Lect.," p. 476.

dental, and the Gentile element the essential, constituent" of the Colossian heresies.

The other point which seems to us to forbid the application of what the Apostle says of the Colossian heretics to any Gnostical party, properly and distinctively so called, is the reference to "the tradition of men." Those who trusted and boasted in their *gnosis*, as an inward intuition by which they could discern and decide upon all spiritual truth, would not refer to "the tradition of men" as their sanction and authority for what they taught. Gnosticism was, from the first, "a mystic rationalism," which recognised no doctrinal authority, nor any law of interpretation but its own caprice. Here then, though, in many respects, the speculations of the Cabbala and of Gnosticism nearly resembled each other, (the latter having, in fact, borrowed largely from the former,) yet we find a radical difference of principle, which forbids us to understand the warnings of St. Paul as intended, in this instance, directly to apply to the latter.

If, therefore, the Gentile or Gnostic element entered at all into the heresies of the false teachers at Colosse, we are constrained to come to a conclusion precisely the reverse of that stated by Mr. Conybeare, and regard it as altogether subordinated to the Jewish. The rising *gnosis* may have affected to some extent the Cabbalistic heresies. But there is no evidence that it had done so.

As to the heresies referred to in the pastoral Epistles, we need not, after the above remarks, make any prolonged observations. We assume that in all three Epistles the same class of errors is referred to. They are, in fact, described in identical language. (Cf. 1 Tim. i. 4, 7; iv. 7; vi. 4, 20; 2 Tim. ii. 14, 16, 28; iv. 4; Tit. i. 10, 14; iii. 9.) And it appears equally certain that these heresies were propagated by Jews. Those who desired to be "teachers of the law," must certainly have been pretenders to Rabbinical lore; those who addicted themselves to "Jewish fables and commandments of men," can have been no other than professors of Cabbalistic knowledge: nay, "the unruly and vain talkers and deceivers," whom we at once identify with the Colossian teachers of "philosophy and vain deceit, according to the tradition of men," are expressly described as "they of the circumcision." Such as these, we know well, dealt in "endless genealogies," and in absurdities deserving no better title than "profane and old wives' fables."

So far, then, we have reason to conclude that the errorists referred to in the pastoral Epistles were substantially, as to their origin, the same party with the false teachers at Colosse. Yet there are two marks belonging to the former, which seem to distinguish them from the latter. Among them were found the professors of a "mis-called *gnosis*," (1 Tim. vi. 20,)—a "science

falsely so called," as our translators have rendered it,—from which we cannot but infer, that Gnosticism had already, in some form, begun to make inroads upon the purity of Christian doctrine, adding its evil influences to those of Jewish Cabbalism. Again, we find that some of the heresiarchs had gone to the length of denying or explaining away the doctrine of the resurrection. This was a universal consequence of Gnostic tenets. Those who held matter to be essentially evil and malignant, of course, denied the resurrection to bliss of the material body. We infer, indeed, that hitherto *this* heresy had not found many adherents. Hymeneus and Philetus are singled out, (2 Tim. ii. 17,) as if they alone had embraced it, of those actually belonging to the church. And it is said of the party which had corrupted them, not that they had already prevailed extensively, but that their "profane and vain babblings *will* increase unto more ungodliness," and their "word *will* eat as a canker." How true this was of the Gnostic heresy, the beginning of which we detect thus early, all the remaining records of early Christianity unite to testify.

It appears to us that Mr. Conybeare has allowed himself, in his view of this subject, to be led too exclusively by Dr. Burton, and that he has not bestowed upon it the same amount of original research and independent thought, as that which we have commended in other parts of his work. The note in reply to Mr. Stanley's views is, in fact, superficial, as well as unsatisfactory. Dr. Burton, we may observe, considers all the heresies opposed in the Epistles to which we have referred as Gnostic in their character. He does not, however, relieve the subject of the difficulties which we have urged; and as to Col. ii. 16, (with which verse 11 must be combined,) he passes it by, without any notice whatever, although, of all passages, it is perhaps the most difficult to harmonize with his view.

The next point is that of the chronology of St. Paul's life. The exact settlement of this is, indeed, no more essential to a right understanding and estimate of his character and labours, than it is necessary to a correct impression of the features and course of a great river-valley, that we should know the precise rate of the river's current, as it now rushes through the narrow gorges of the mountains, and then, calmly and benignantly, spreads itself forth through the rich pastures of the expanded plain. Yet, as there may be questions of science, curious certainly, and possibly important too, for the determination of which it is needful that the rate of the river's current, at various points, should be accurately known; so, not only the exactitude required in an annalist, and which is so valuable an aid to the recollection of events in their mutual relations and the order of succession, but also the determination of certain collateral questions of

considerable importance, especially as bearing on the interpretation of some parts of St. Paul's Epistles, requires that, as far as possible, the chronology of his life should be ascertained.

There are, however, but two points in all the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles, which can be considered as absolutely fixed. One of these is the year of the death of Herod Agrippa; the other is the date of Felix's recall to Rome, and of Festus's appointment as Procurator in his place. We know certainly from Josephus, that Herod died at Cæsarea in the seventh year of his reign, that is, in A.D. 44. From this it follows that the date of St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, with contributions from Antioch, in anticipation of the famine which had been predicted by Agabus, must have been in 44, or, at the latest, in 45. (*Cf.* Acts xi. 27-30; xii. 1, 19-25.) The famine itself, as would appear from various notices in Josephus, probably commenced in 45, when Cuspius Fadus was Procurator, and lasted for several years. Again: it is agreed by the ablest chronologers, and seems to be demonstrated by our authors in an admirable note contained in Appendix II., at the close of the second volume, that the recall of Felix from his procuratorship took place in the summer of the year 60. About these two points, 44 and 60, the whole chronology of the Acts revolves.

There are, indeed, two events connected with the first visit of St. Paul to Corinth, which are of some value in assisting us to come to a probable approximate conclusion as to the date of that visit. These are,—that Aquila and Priscilla had *lately* come from Rome, in consequence of the decree of Claudius, expelling the Jews from that city; (Acts xviii. 2;) and that Gallio, the brother of Seneca, was Proconsul of Achaia during the time of St. Paul's residence at Corinth. (Acts xviii. 12.) The date, however, of the decree in question (though it is referred to by Suetonius) cannot be fixed; only we know that it must have been earlier than 54, for Claudius died in that year. Neither do we know in what year Annæus Gallio was appointed Proconsul of Achaia; only the relations of his brother Seneca to the imperial family render it improbable that he could have been invested with that office earlier than 51.* St. Paul's visit to Corinth, therefore, probably took place between 51 and 54. The latter, however, is too late a date, since it does not leave time for the events recorded in the Acts, as intervening between the Apostle's arrival at Corinth, and his being left prisoner by Felix at Cæsarea, at the time of the latter's recall to Rome; which, as we have seen, took place in the summer of 60. After his arrival in Corinth, St. Paul passed at least eighteen months there: (Acts xviii. 11:) he was also three years at Ephesus, (xx. 31,) and two years in imprisonment at Cæsarea,

* See, in particular, Bishop Pearson's *Annales Paulini*, anno 53.

(xxiv. 27,) besides all his intervening journeys and itinerant labours. His arrival at Corinth is accordingly fixed by the great majority of chronologers in 52 or 53. The former seems to be the more probable date, and this is adopted by our authors.

The next chronological land-mark whose position and bearings we must endeavour to ascertain, is the visit from Antioch to Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv. It is impossible, however, to determine, even approximately, how much earlier this was than the first visit to Corinth. St. Luke gives us an account of an intervening "missionary journey" (the second) from Antioch through Cilicia, Lycaonia, Galatia, Troas, Philippi, Thessalonica, Berea, and Athens, to Corinth; and we know not how long, before setting out on this journey, the Apostle remained at Antioch, after returning from Jerusalem. The estimates made by different chronologers, of the time to be allowed for all this, have varied from one year to four or five. Our authors allow between two and three years, and so bring the date of the visit to Jerusalem to the year 50. Dr. Davidson dates it in 51.

And now we must refer to the chronology, with which the Apostle himself furnishes us, of a part of his life. In the beginning of the Epistle to the Galatians, he gives an account of his early relations with the Apostles, and the Church at Jerusalem, for a number of years following his conversion. But this account affords us very little help in our inquiry. We do not know the year of the Apostle's conversion; otherwise, we should be able to ascertain, with sufficient accuracy, the date of his first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion, (Acts ix. 26,) which, he tells us, took place three years after. (Gal. i. 18.) It is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to decide, whether the fourteen years, after which the Apostle informs us, (Gal. ii. 1,) that he went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas and Titus, are to be reckoned from his conversion, or from the visit he had before mentioned. The highest authorities differ upon this point. Ussher, Pearson, Bengel, Paley, Tate, and Davidson, among others, compute from his conversion; while Hug, Hensen, Burton, and our authors, compute from the first visit. The strength of the case on one side is given by Pearson in his *Annales Paulini*, and on the other by Burton in his "Chronology of the Acts." We incline to the former view. Again: we do not know whether the three years and the fourteen are to be counted exclusively or inclusively. Three years may mean either three full years, or one full year and a part (though possibly but a small part) of two other years. So fourteen years may mean either fourteen full years, or twelve full years and a part of two other years. The latter mode of reckoning is, on the whole, more probable, judging according to the general usage of the Jews, which (to give a familiar instance) led them to say "three days after," or, "after three days," to signify, "on the third day." But then, it is plain, that even if

we reckon inclusively, we cannot be sure whether a year and part of two other years will be only a little more than one year, or very nearly three. And there is a similar uncertainty, of course, as to the fourteen years. Finally, to close this catalogue of difficulties, it has been very much disputed to which of his visits to Jerusalem St. Paul refers in Gal. ii. 1,—to the second, the third, or the fourth, of those recorded in the Acts.

For ourselves, however, we think that this last doubt is now finally settled. In a most able note to the second chapter of their work,* Messrs. Conybeare and Howson seem to have conclusively disposed of the question, by proving that the visit referred to is the third recorded in the Acts, (xv.) when Paul and Barnabas went together from Antioch, to attend what has been called the "Council of Jerusalem," and the conjectural date of which we have already stated as A.D. 50 or 51. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact, that Dr. Davidson, in a very able discussion on the question, has, independently of our authors, arrived at identical conclusions.

From this point, then, it remains to ascend to the date of the Apostle's conversion; and then from that point to retrace our steps to the close of his career. Counting the fourteen years, and the three years, inclusively, Messrs. Conybeare and Howson make the two periods together only actually to amount to fourteen years. Hence they date St. Paul's conversion in 36. Professor Davidson, reckoning fourteen years inclusively from the year 51, the date he assigns to the "Council of Jerusalem," arrives at the year 38, as the date of the Apostle's conversion. The earlier year appears to us the more probable. We should date the Council, with Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in 50, and counting, with Professor Davidson, fourteen years backward, though scarcely fourteen *full* years, the inclusive reckoning being the more probable, we should arrive at the same result with our authors. The conversion of St. Paul, on this calculation, took place rather more than three years after the ascension of our Lord, that is, in the latter part of the year 36.

His flight from Damascus and first visit to Jerusalem, "three years after," may have been, as it is reckoned in these volumes, in the year 38; or, more probably, in the beginning of the year 39. From this period to the year 44, the Apostle was engaged principally in preaching in Syria and Cilicia, "making Tarsus his head-quarters," (Acts ix. 30; xi. 25; Gal. i. 21,) and may be supposed during these years to have undergone "most of the sufferings mentioned in 2 Cor. xi. 24-26, namely, two of the Roman, and the five Jewish, scourgings, and three shipwrecks." In 44 he came to Antioch, and, in that year or the next, he visited Jerusalem with Barnabas, to relieve the famine. The

* Vol. I., pp. 244-252.

years between 45 and 50 he spent at Antioch, and on his "first missionary journey," recorded by St. Luke. (Acts xiii. 14.) Our authors allow less than a year for this journey, whilst about four years are supposed to have been spent at Antioch. We cannot believe that the missionary journey occupied less than between one and two years, since we find that, on his return-journey, St. Paul "ordained Elders" in several of those cities which he had visited in the early part of the same tour. It required more than two or three months to ascertain and prepare persons who should be appointed to the presbyteral or episcopal office. In 52 St. Paul arrived at Corinth; in 58, at Jerusalem, where he was arrested, and conveyed to Cæsarea. In the autumn of 60, he was sent to Rome by Festus, where, after his shipwreck, he arrived in the spring of 61. And there he remained a prisoner two years.

Was he released, and again imprisoned? or was he beheaded at the close of his first and only (?) imprisonment at Rome? Some years ago it would not have been worth while to raise this question. But, unfortunately, Dr. Davidson has, in his "Introduction," rejected the idea of a second imprisonment. We deeply deplore this, because such a conclusion renders it impossible consistently to maintain the authenticity of the pastoral Epistles, or the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. We are aware, indeed, that he has most ably defended the authenticity of the pastoral Epistles and the Pauline authorship of that to the Hebrews. But in so doing, in our judgment, he has put himself to a great disadvantage by the conclusion to which we have referred.

He endeavours, indeed, to neutralize several of the arguments usually adduced from the Second Epistle to Timothy, to prove the second imprisonment. But his success in this attempt is very partial, whilst his positive arguments in favour of his own conclusion are any thing but satisfactory; as we could proceed to show, but that it would carry us beyond our limits.

We must not, however, pass from this subject without saying a word as to the question of the disputed authenticity of the pastoral Epistles, especially as there has been, of late, much controversy on this point in Germany. It is only due to Dr. Davidson to say, that his thorough investigation of this subject results in a triumphant vindication of these precious remains. On the same point, we think Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, though easily rebutting the arguments of the objectors, have yet conceded too much to them. They attach much weight to the peculiar words and phrases, the *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα*, of these Epistles, as broadly separating them from the rest. Yet, (to quote Dr. Davidson,) while "the First Epistle to Timothy is said to exhibit 81; the

Second, 63; and that to Titus, 44; in the Epistle to the Galatians occur 57; in that to the Philippians, 54; and in those to the Colossians and Ephesians, together, 143. Hence, we might consistently argue, from the same *data*, against the authenticity of the letters to the Philippians, Galatians, Ephesians, or Colossians."* Messrs. Conybeare and Howson also allow the style of these Epistles to be inferior, on the whole, to that of the other Pauline Epistles, betokening, as they think, a decline in the Apostle's intellectual vigour. We cannot, any more than Dr. Davidson, allow this. If it were the case, of course the Second to Timothy should show it most. Yet who will affirm this of that noble letter? Schleiermacher, who, as is well known, led the way in disparaging subjective criticism of these Epistles, thought *this* a genuine letter; and that the First to Timothy was forged by the help of this Epistle and that to Titus. Some later critics have rejected them all, on purely subjective grounds. The external evidence in their favour is undeniable. So, in our opinion, is the internal. And, at any rate, we think it very incongruous to maintain their authenticity, and that they were written in the order generally supposed, and yet to concede that they show tokens of decay of intellectual energy, which, if real, must have been progressive. To our feeling—and an argument from feeling is sufficient in reply to all *subjective* criticism—2 Tim. iv. 1-8 is, of itself, sufficient to vindicate the genuineness of all these Epistles.

As we do not think it probable that the Apostle would have written two Epistles to the same person within a very short period, so very similar, and sometimes almost identical, as the First and Second to Timothy, we conceive that the former Epistle was written soon after St. Paul's release, and the latter shortly before his death. This would allow an interval of five full years, if the death of the Apostle be placed, according to the calculation of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in the early summer of 68, near upon the last days of the tyrant Nero. The Epistle to Titus may have been written in 64 or 65. Messrs. Conybeare and Howson date them all in the period of the second imprisonment, between the summer of 67 and the early summer of 68.

The greatest blemish in these volumes, in our opinion, is the superficial criticism which rejects the Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Epistle is attributed to Barnabas, and supposed to have been addressed to the Jewish Christians of Alexandria. We shall not detain the attention of our readers in criticizing so improbable a supposition as this. Dr. Davidson has given a masterly investigation of the whole subject, in which this, one of the most improbable of the many hypotheses which have been imagined in reference to this Epistle, is, with many

* "Introduction," vol. iii., p. 121.

more, sufficiently discussed. Dr. Davidson, while admitting the marked difference in style between this Epistle and St. Paul's writings in general, can yet come to no other conclusion, after weighing all the evidence, internal and external, on all sides of the question, than that the Epistle is substantially and really St. Paul's. He thinks, however, that there is reason to suppose that Luke may, in the composition of the Letter, have been to the Apostle something more than an amanuensis, and that to his co-operation the difference in style may be mainly due. Still the whole argument of the Epistle was furnished, and much of it may have even been verbally dictated, by the Apostle, and the whole had from him a sanction equivalent to the modern *imprimatur*. This supposition is countenanced by ancient historical evidence, and seems to meet all the peculiarities of the case.*

We have no space for adequate remarks upon the version of the Epistles given in these volumes. For this Mr. Conybeare makes himself responsible, as well as for the biblical criticism in general. The translator is evidently a fine classic, and one who well understands the niceties of the Greek tenses and particles. And this is no ordinary qualification. It is astonishing, how much light, and force, and often beauty, is added to many passages, merely by a correct rendering of these niceties. The rule, too, which the translator has observed of rendering the same word in the same context always by the same word in English, is better than a commentary on some passages, giving clearness and closeness to what in the authorized version seems loose and obscure. Still the style is, on the whole, in our judgment, too paraphrastic. The translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews we think the best. And in regard to this, the translator says, that "in order to mark the difference in style and character, between this and the preceding Epistles, he has adhered, as closely as possible, to the language of the authorized version."† This is a curious, almost an amusing, sentence. The way to mark the difference in question would be to translate all the Epistles as closely into clear and good English as possible. The plan the translator has taken was only likely to show the difference in style between his own somewhat paraphrastic translation of the former Epistles, and that of the authorized version of the Hebrews, as modified and improved by himself. However, we have no hesitation in saying that we consider the translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews to be the most faithful and dignified of all that he has given, better than the rest of his own, and better than the authorized version.

* As we shall not again have occasion to refer to Dr. Davidson's able and learned work, let us say how much we regret the halting conclusion, after much able reasoning, of his introduction to 2 Peter. He seems to have stuck too close to Olshausen. Surely, after first fairly weighing, and then neutralizing, the objections to the genuineness of this Epistle, he has shown that there remains a large overplus of probability in its favour.

† Vol. ii., p. 516.

But, to render St. Paul fully, more is required than fine scholarship; there must be a true entering into the spirit of his doctrine and argument. Here, we think, Mr. Conybeare often fails; as, when he makes justification to be the consequence of sanctification;* and when, again, in the Apostle's designation of baptism as the burial of the (adult) believer with Christ, he discovers, not the grand thought that baptism was the public and ceremonial celebration of the obsequies of "the old man" crucified with Christ, but only a cold and artificial allusion to the immersion of the baptized under water.† Hence, we find, what from such tokens might be expected, that the most defective of the versions given by Mr. Conybeare is that of the Epistle to the Galatians.

On the whole, it will be seen that we think less highly of the biblical criticism of this work, than of its historical, chronological, geographical, and purely biographical portions. These, indeed, the merit of which belongs mainly to Mr. Howson, are beyond all praise. And although we differ from the authors on many matters pertaining to other portions of the work, yet we acknowledge, cordially and gratefully, that they embody, in the new version especially, a highly valuable contribution to biblical literature; and that the work, as a whole, furnishes the best introduction to the intelligent study of the Acts and the Pauline Epistles, apart from the history and criticism of the canon and the original text, with which we are acquainted.

ART. IV.—1. *The Book of Mormon: an Account written by the Hand of Mormon, upon Plates taken from the Plates of Nephi.* Translated by JOSEPH SMITH, JUN. Third European Edition. 1852.

2. *The Book of Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints: selected from the Revelations of God.* By JOSEPH SMITH, President. Second European Edition. 1849.

3. *The Mormons: or, Latter-Day Saints. With Memoirs of the Life and Death of Joseph Smith, the "American Mahomet."* (Understood to be prepared by MR. H. MAYHEW.) Office of the "National Illustrated Library."

* Vol. ii., pp. 160, 169.

† Vol. ii., pp. 172, 174. From a note, also, on Col. i. 20, we cannot help surmising that Mr. Conybeare's views as to "the infinite extent of the results of Christ's redemption," and the "need" which "the heavenly hosts themselves" have of "His atonement," are of a peculiar kind. Taking these things in connexion with his now avowed identification with that party in the Church of England, to which Professor Maurice and Mr. Kingsley must be considered as belonging, we confess our apprehensions have been, to some extent, excited.

4. *The Mormons, or Latter-Day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake: a History of their Rise and Progress, Peculiar Doctrines, present Condition, and Prospects, derived from personal Observation, during a Residence among them.* By LIEUT. J. W. GUNNISON, of the Topographical Engineers. S. Low and Co., London. 1852.
5. *Mormonism and the Mormons. A Historical View of the Rise and Progress of the Sect self-styled Latter-Day Saints.* By DAVID P. KIDDER. Lane and Scott, New York. 1852.
6. *A Series of Pamphlets.* By ORSON PRATT, one of the twelve Apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints. Franklin and Richards, Liverpool. 1852.
7. *Principles and Practices of Mormons, tested in Two Lectures.* By the REV. J. H. GRAY, M.A. M. P. Barkwell, Douglas, Isle of Man; Nisbet and Co., and Wertheim and Macintosh, London. 1853.

EVERYBODY knows that the most valuable of the recent territorial acquisitions of the United States is CALIFORNIA. This amazing country is naturally divided into two portions, called the Coast and Inland Sections. The former extends inland from the Pacific Ocean to the Sierra-Nevada Mountains, and varies in breadth from one hundred and fifty to two hundred miles. The latter, comprising at least four-fifths of the area of California, is bounded on the west by the Sierra-Nevada, and on the east by the Rocky Mountains. Its principal feature is an enormous depression between these ranges, five hundred miles each way, known as the Great Interior Basin of California. Many rivers flow from all sides towards its centre, which is "mountainous, the ranges generally from two to three thousand feet high, and parallel with the main ones on the sides; with some partial cross ridges, that form minor basins." It "is desert in character, with some fertile strips flanking the bases of the highest ridges." In the eastern part of this basin, "along the western foot of the Wahsatch range, for three hundred miles, is a region of alluvium, from one to two miles in width," capable, however, in certain localities, of being considerably widened by irrigation from the neighbouring streams.

It is, farther, separated from the older portions of the United States; an irreclaimable desert, to the east of the Rocky Mountains, extending almost from their bases to the banks of the Mississippi. Our readers are doubtless acquainted with the suffering encountered in this desert, of late years, by Californian emigrants. But few pilgrimages across it have been more important in themselves, or characterized by more romantic incidents, than those which appertain to our present subject. In the summer of 1847, a band of about one hundred and forty men, with about seventy waggons, and a due proportion of

admirable horses, descended one of the gorges of the mountains, and pitched their tents on the right bank of a river, which runs into the GREAT SALT LAKE, and which, from its striking resemblance to the course of the Jordan into the Dead Sea, and on religious grounds, they called "the Western Jordan." The pioneer band was speedily followed by other companies of emigrants; the site for a large city was selected; and the busy hum of industry broke the primeval silence of the wilderness. Year after year, the steady flow of emigration has since brought vast numbers of people from the States of the Union, and other parts of the world; and the population of the Salt-Lake city, with its circumjacent territory and townships, now falls, probably, little short of forty thousand, the number still increasing in a surprising ratio. Wonders have already been achieved by the associated skill and labour of the community; and so prosperous has the country become, that, at the demand of its inhabitants, the Federal Government has constituted it the "Territory of Utah," preparatory to its erection into an independent and sovereign State of the Great American Confederation,—a dignity which it is hastening to assume, under the designation of *Désert*, "the Land of the Honey Bee."

This rapid sketch of the present location of the MORMONS, and of the wonderful manner in which it has repaid their industry, appears necessary to redeem the subject from absolute contempt. Most of our readers, probably, have been accustomed to think of this singular people only as an ignorant and fanatical sect, the dupes of one of the most vulgar religious impostors that the world ever saw. No doubt, this view is, in the main, correct. We cannot but despise, while we pity, the half-crazed fanatics, who, at the bidding of Smith and his successors, have been hurrying, from all parts of the world, for nearly twenty years past, to one "Zion" after another, on the American continent. But the intensity of their belief, the severity of their sufferings, the compactness of their organization, the far-sighted policy of their leaders, their equivocal pretensions, and their warlike array,—inspire, at least, the respect which fear implies, and compel thoughtful men in America, whether philosophers, statesmen, or divines, anxiously to ponder their actual progress and future destiny.

The existence of fanaticism is no strange event. It would, therefore, be traversing a much-trodden field, to discuss the reasons why "Joe Smith" has so many devout believers in his claims, in the nineteenth century, and in the two most enlightened of the Christian nations. Love of the marvellous; anxiety to pry into the future; ignorant credulity; aversion to the study of the Scriptures; dislike of the restraints of true religion; the cupidity which favours the success of any scheme proposing to re-construct society on a more equitable basis:—these and simi-

lar causes have always assisted in the production of results like that before us, and have furnished important matter of speculation to the psychologist and the divine. Only, in the present instance, the sagacity and cunning of "the Prophet," and of his still more astute confederates, appear to have given to these causes an unusual intensity of influence. We shall, therefore, abstain from farther inquiry in that direction, and confine our attention to a historical review of the actual origin and progress of Mormonism, and of that strange medley of truth and falsehood, real infidelity and pretended evangelism, which by a questionable courtesy is denominated "the Mormon Faith."

The origin of Mormonism is identified with the alleged discovery, by Joseph Smith, Jun., of certain gold leaves or plates, to which the name of the "Book of Mormon" has been given. Smith's own account of this discovery was published in the "Millennial Star," and relates that, in his fourteenth or fifteenth year, he was involved in distressing perplexity, as to which of the many sects in America possessed the true religion; that, while reading, in the Epistle of James, that passage, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all men liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him,"—"it seemed to enter with great force into every feeling of" his "heart;" that, after much reflection, he retired to the woods to pray; and, while so engaged, suffered a long and severe conflict with some mysterious evil presence; that, when ready to sink into despair, he saw "a pillar of light exactly over" his "head, above the brightness of the sun, which descended gradually until it fell upon" him. "It no sooner appeared," he continues, "than I found myself delivered from the enemy which held me bound. When the light rested upon me, I saw two personages, whose brightness and glory defy all description, standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me, calling me by name, and said, (pointing to the other,) 'This is my beloved Son; hear Him.'" In answer to his inquiry, with which of the religious sects he should unite himself, he tells us he was forbidden to join any; for that all were wrong: but he received "a promise, that the true doctrine, the fulness of the Gospel, should, at some future time, be made known unto him."

After a brief relapse (?) into sin, he is represented as having received a still more remarkable visitation, in his own house, "on the evening of the 21st of September, 1823." On this occasion, "a personage," who is minutely described, is said to have appeared to him thrice, (declaring himself to be an angel of God,) and to have informed him that his sins were forgiven, and that he was "called and chosen" to be an instrument in the hands of God to commence "the great preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah;" moreover, "that the American

Indians were a remnant of Israel;" that, when they emigrated to America, they possessed a knowledge of the true God, &c., and had Prophets and other inspired writers, who preserved a record of their national history; but that they fell into great wickedness, and were destroyed. The sacred records, however, were safely deposited, and he was to be the honoured instrument of bringing them to light. At the same time he was directed to the place of deposit.

Accordingly, he repaired to the spot,—“a large hill, on the east side of the road, as you pass from Palmyra, Mayne County, to Canandaigua, Ontario County, New York.” A hole was dug, and a box, containing the mysterious records, lay exposed to view. Our Prophet, however, was not allowed to gain possession of them, till he had prepared himself “by prayer, and by faithfulness in obeying the Lord.” He continued to receive visits from the angel, and, at the end of four years, “on the morning of the 22nd of September, 1827, the golden plates” were delivered into his hands.

Such, in substance, is the Prophet's own story of the discovery of the Book of Mormon. It is, of course, implicitly believed by his followers, and is circumstantially related by Mr. Orson Pratt, one of the most zealous and able of the Mormon apostles. After a variety of incidents, to be noticed hereafter, the Book was published in 1830, having emblazoned on its title-page,—since altered,—“Joseph Smith, Jun., *author and proprietor.*”

Smith and his friends were soon prepared with direct evidence in favour of the authenticity of the book. But, before examining that evidence, and the character of the parties concerned in “getting it up,” some attention must be given to a previous question,—a question important not so much in relation to Mormonism, as on other and broader grounds. Mr. Orson Pratt, mentioned above,—“one of the twelve apostles of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints,”—has published a series of tracts on the “Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon.” Before adducing his direct evidences, he endeavours, according to orthodox usage in another case, to prove that the prospect of a farther revelation than that which is contained in Scripture, is neither unscriptural nor unreasonable; that, in fact, such farther revelation is indispensably necessary. His argument on these subjects is subtle and elaborate, though by no means ingenuous; and he appears sometimes to some advantage in dealing with certain isolated texts, on which the proof of the sufficiency and completeness of the existing Scriptures has occasionally been made to rest. But this great doctrine, like all scriptural verities, does not rest so much on isolated texts, as on the broad principles and general scope of Scripture itself. It must be obvious, for instance, that, in relation to this matter,

there is a great difference between the Old and the New Testament. In the former, the reference to a future and fuller revelation is everywhere prominent; and the whole scheme is "the shadow of good things to come." But, in the New Testament, the stamp of completeness and sufficiency is everywhere seen. And in all cases of scriptural comparison between the New Testament and the Old, such comparison is drawn as between perfection and imperfection,—a contrast wholly delusive, if the New Testament were but another step in a progressive revelation, and not the final disclosure of "the whole counsel of God." This distinction is tacitly admitted by Pratt himself; for he quotes but one passage, in support of his views, from the New Testament, namely, Rev. xiv. 6-8: "And I saw another angel fly in the midst of heaven, having the everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth," &c. He professes to make it mathematically certain that this "everlasting Gospel" is Mormonism! As to his quotations from the Old Testament, none but a designing or fanatical mind could interpret them as referring to any revelation posterior to that of the New Testament.

The *direct* evidence of the "Divine Authenticity of the Book of Mormon" rests chiefly on the testimony of certain witnesses to the truth of Smith's statements,—on miracles alleged to have been performed,—and on "the inward light" and personal convictions of the leading Mormonites. The last point is, of course, unworthy of attention; of Mormon miracles we shall have something to say, as we proceed: for the present, let us look at the testimony of the "witnesses," as given in two documents,—one signed by three, and the other by eight, persons:—

"The testimony of THREE witnesses.—Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that we, through the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, have seen the plates which contain this record, which is a record of the people of Nephi, and also of the Lamanites, their brethren, and also of the people of Jared, who came from the tower of which hath been spoken; and we also know that they have been translated by the gift and power of God, for His voice hath declared it unto us; wherefore we know of a surety that the work is true. And we also testify that we have seen the engravings which are upon the plates, and they have been shown unto us by the power of God, and not of man. And we declare, with words of soberness, that an angel of God came down from heaven, and he brought and laid before our eyes, that we beheld and saw the plates, and the engravings thereon; and we know that it is by the grace of God the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, that we beheld and bear record that these things are true; and it is marvellous in our eyes: nevertheless, the voice of the Lord commanded us that we should bear record of it; wherefore, to be obedient unto the commandments of God, we bear testimony of these things. And we know that if we are faithful in Christ, we shall rid our garments of the blood of all men, and be

found spotless before the judgment-seat of Christ, and shall dwell with Him eternally in the heavens. And the honour be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost, which is one God. Amen.

"OLIVER COWDERY,
"DAVID WHITMER,
"MARTIN HARRIS.

"*And also the testimony of EIGHT witnesses.*—Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues, and people, unto whom this work shall come, that Joseph Smith, Junior, the translator of this work, has shown unto us the plates of which hath been spoken, which have the appearance of gold; and as many of the leaves as the said Smith has translated we did handle with our hands; and we also saw the engravings thereon, all of which has the appearance of ancient work, and of curious workmanship. And this we bear record with words of soberness, that the said Smith has shown unto us, for we have seen and hefted, and know of a surety that the said Smith has got the plates of which we have spoken. And we give our names unto the world, to witness unto the world that which we have seen. And we lie not, God bearing witness of it.

"CHRISTIAN WHITMER,
"JACOB WHITMER,
"PETER WHITMER, JUN.,
"JOHN WHITMER,

HIRAM PAGE,
JOSEPH SMITH, SEN.,
HIRAM SMITH,
SAMUEL H. SMITH."

These documents are prefixed to every edition of the Book of Mormon. But what is their real value? 1. It will be observed, that of the eleven witnesses, five are Whitmers, and three are Smiths. 2. There is no date to either of these documents. In March, 1829, (the book being published with these vouchers in 1830,) the plates were in Smith's possession; but he professed to have been forbidden to show them to Harris. It would be satisfactory to know, *when* and *why* this prohibition was removed, and at what time Harris and his friends were favoured with a sight of the plates. 3. Smith obtained the plates, as he says, in 1827, and published his translation in 1830. Was it during this interval that the "angel of the Lord" showed the plates to the *three* witnesses? And why was Smith so much more gracious than the angel, as to allow the *eight* to handle, as well as see, the plates? The angel is, altogether, a most clumsy contrivance. 4. Granting that Smith did show certain engraved plates to the *eight* witnesses, what proof had they, beyond his bare assertion, that they were what he had translated,—just so many, and no more? or that he had translated them at all? He told them so, and they report to the world what he said. This is exactly the amount of their testimony. As to the statement of the *three* witnesses, that they were assured by "the voice of God,"—who does not see that it stands just as much in need of confirmation as the story of "the Prophet" himself?

This being the whole of the original evidence upon the point in question, our readers might safely be left to judge of its value.

But it is fair to inquire into the credibility of these witnesses, and to refer to other accounts of the origin of the book. Sixty-two "men, of character and standing," in Manchester and Palmyra, testify, that the Smiths were lazy and intemperate, and that their word was not to be depended on; that Smith Senior and Junior, in particular, were entirely destitute of moral character, and addicted to vicious habits; and that Martin Harris was "perfectly visionary on moral and religious subjects, sometimes advocating one sentiment, and sometimes another." It further appears, that he had been connected successively with almost every religious denomination,—having thus been "every thing by turns, and nothing long."

Smith seems at first to have trusted a confidential (?) friend or two with his secret, though he did not, in each instance, tell the same story. One Peter Ingersoll deposes:—

"One day he came and greeted me with a joyful countenance. Upon asking him the cause of his unusual happiness, he replied:—'As I was passing yesterday across the wood, I found in a hollow some beautiful white sand, that had been washed up by the water. I took off my frock, and tied up several quarts of it, and then went home. On my entering the house, they were all anxious to know the contents of my frock. At that moment I happened to think of what I had heard about a history found in Canada, called the Golden Bible; so I told them it was the Golden Bible. To my surprise, they were credulous enough to believe what I said. Accordingly I told them that I had received a commandment to let no one see it; for, says I, no man can see it with the naked eye, and live. However, I offered to take out the book and show it to them, but they refused to see it, and left the room. Now,' said Joe, 'I have got the d—d fools fixed, and will carry out the fun.' Notwithstanding he told me he had no such book, and believed there never was any such book, yet he told me that he actually went to Willard Chase, to get him to make a chest, in which he might deposit his Golden Bible. But, as Chase would not do it, he made a box himself of clap-boards, and put it into a pillow-case, and allowed people only to lift it, and feel of it through the case."—*Kidder*, pp. 22, 23.

Willard Chase confirms, on oath, that part of Ingersoll's testimony that relates to himself; and adds, that he would not make the box because Smith would not show him the book, having been commanded to keep it secret for two years; yet that, in less than that time, twelve men professed to have seen it; that shortly afterwards Smith told a neighbour that he had no such book, and never had, but told the story to deceive "the d—d fool;" that he got money from Martin Harris, "a credulous man," by pretending that God had commanded him to ask the first man he met for fifty dollars, to assist in publishing the Golden Bible. Parley Chase declares that the Smiths hardly ever told two stories alike about the book. Sometimes they said it was found in Canada; sometimes, in a tree; sometimes, dug

up from the earth. Abigail Harris, a Quakeress, affirms, among other things, that all that Martin and the rest appeared concerned about was to make money by the book; that Harris's wife expressed her conviction that the whole was a delusion;—to which he replied, "What if it *is* a lie? If you will let me alone, I will make money out of it;"—and that, on one occasion, when Joe's mother asked her (Abigail) to lend money, to pay her hopeful son's travelling expenses home, she replied, "He might look in his stone, and save his time and money;" at which the old lady, very naturally, "seemed confused." Martin's wife confirms this affirmation. Joseph Capron states that Smith, Senior, told him that when the book was published, they would be enabled, from the profits, to carry into successful operation the money-digging business. Mr. Hale, Smith's father-in-law, with whose daughter the latter had run away, and whose character for veracity is guaranteed by two "Associate-Judges of the Court of Common Pleas for Susquehannah County, Pennsylvania," relates the following particulars:—

"I first became acquainted with Joseph Smith, Junior, in November, 1825. He was at that time in the employ of a set of men who were called 'money-diggers;' and his occupation was that of seeing, or pretending to see, by means of a stone placed in his hat, and his hat closed over his face. In this way he pretended to discover minerals and hidden treasure....

"I was informed they had brought a wonderful book of plates down with them. I was shown a box, in which it was said they were contained. I was allowed to feel the weight of the box, into which, however, I was not allowed to look....

"About this time Martin Harris made his appearance upon the stage; and Smith began to interpret the characters, or hieroglyphics, which he said were engraven upon the plates; while Harris wrote down the interpretation. It was said, that Harris wrote down one hundred and sixteen pages, and lost them. Soon after this, Martin Harris informed me that he must have a *greater witness*, and said, that he had talked with Joseph about it. Joseph informed him that he could not, or durst not, show him the plates, but that he (Joseph) would go into the woods, where the book of plates was, and that after he came back, Harris should follow his track in the snow, and examine it for himself. Harris informed me that he followed Smith's directions, and could not find the plates, and was still dissatisfied."—*Kidder*, pp. 30, 31.

Of Smith's method of translating at this time, Mr. Hale says, it was—

"The same as when he looked for the money-diggers, with the stone in his hat, and his hat over his face, *while the book of plates was at the same time hid in the woods.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 33.

Finally, he deposes:—

"Joseph Smith, Junior, resided near me for some time after this, and I had a good opportunity of becoming acquainted with him and his

associates; and I conscientiously believe, from the facts I have detailed, and from many other circumstances, that the whole 'Book of Mormon' (so called) is a silly fabrication of falsehood and wickedness, got up for speculation, and with a design to dupe the credulous and unwary, and in order that its fabricators may live upon the spoils of those who swallow the deception."—*Ibid.*, p. 84.

This affirmation is subscribed, "Isaac Hale," and countersigned, "Charles Dimon, Justice of the Peace." The Rev. N. Lewis, a Minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and several other parties, have come forward with similar testimony, and additional statements, on oath, as to the drunkenness and debauchery of the concocters of the plot.

We are thus minute on this part of the case, because the whole question, of course, turns upon the validity of Smith's claims, and the authenticity of his pretended revelation.

But, at this point, another story appears, which, if true, accounts satisfactorily enough for Smith's "inspiration," and for the appearance of his "Golden Bible." It discloses, moreover, a fraud so vulgar and clumsy, and, withal, so unusually impious, that we are almost confounded at its success. According to various testimonies, the Book of Mormon was originally neither more nor less than a dull novel, written by one Solomon Spaulding. We quote the deposition of Solomon's brother, John; premising that it is confirmed by the written declarations of John's wife, of Solomon's widow, of a former business-partner of his, of one who lodged with him during the period of the composition of the book, of one with whom Spaulding himself had lodged, and of others with whom he had conversed about it, or to whom portions of it had been shown:—

"Solomon Spaulding was born in Ashford, Connecticut, in 1761; and in early life contracted a taste for literary pursuits. After he left school, he entered Plainfield Academy, where he made great proficiency in study, and excelled most of his class-mates. He next commenced the study of law, in Windham County, in which he made little progress, having, in the mean time, turned his attention to religious subjects. He soon after entered Dartmouth College, with the intention of qualifying himself for the ministry, where he obtained the degree of A.M., and was afterwards regularly ordained. After preaching three or four years, he gave it up, removed to Cherry Valley, New York, and commenced the mercantile business, in company with his brother Josiah. In a few years he failed in business; and in the year 1809 removed to Conneaut, in Ohio. The year following I removed to Ohio, and found him engaged in building a forge. I made him a visit in about three years after, and found that he had failed, and was considerably involved in debt. He then told me he had been writing a book, which he intended to have printed, the avails of which he thought would enable him to pay all his debts. The book was entitled 'The Manuscript Found,' of which he read to me many passages. It was an historical romance of the first settlers of America,—endeavouring to show that the American Indians are the descendants of the Jews, or the lost

tribes. It gave a detailed account of their journey from Jerusalem, by land and sea, till they arrived in America, under the command of NEPHI and LEHI. They afterward had quarrels and contentions, and separated into two distinct nations; one of which he denominated 'Nephites,' and the other 'Lamanites.' Cruel and bloody wars ensued, in which great multitudes were slain. They buried their dead in large heaps, which caused the mounds so common in this country. Their arts, sciences, and civilization, were brought into view, in order to account for all the curious antiquities found in various parts of North and South America. I have recently read the Book of Mormon, and, to my great surprise, I find nearly the same historical matter, names, &c., as they were in my brother's writings. I well remember that he wrote in the old style, and commenced about every sentence with, 'And it came to pass,' or, 'Now it came to pass,' the same as in the Book of Mormon; and, according to the best of my recollection and belief, it is the same as my brother Solomon wrote, with the exception of the religious matter."—*Kidder*, pp. 37, 38.

To account for Smith's obtaining possession of this "Manuscript Found," we are next introduced to one Sidney Rigdon, who figured conspicuously in the history of Mormonism, almost from its commencement. Solomon Spaulding placed his novel in the hands of Messrs. Patterson and Lambdin, printers, of Pittsburgh, in Pennsylvania. In the year 1823 or 1824, Rigdon came to reside at Pittsburgh, and was either in the office of Patterson and Lambdin, or on very intimate terms with the latter; and Spaulding's widow testifies that he repeatedly spoke of having seen and copied the manuscript. At the end of three years,—or about the time when Smith professed to obtain possession of the plates,—he removed to Geauga County, Ohio, where we shall find him, when his *ostensible* connexion with Smith begins. He resided here during the four following years. During this time he paid repeated and protracted visits to Pittsburgh, and, it is believed, to the Susquehannah, where Smith then lived, digging for money, and pretending to be translating the plates. He professed to abandon every other pursuit *for the study of the Bible*, which helps to account for the profuse quotations of Scripture,—the "religious matter" to which John Spaulding refers, and with which the Book of Mormon abounds. He began also to preach "some new points of doctrine, which were afterwards found in the Mormon Bible;" and "prepared the minds of nearly a hundred to embrace the first mysterious *ism* that should be presented." During this time he had no ostensible connexion with Smith; and Lieut. Gunnison appears to doubt his complicity in the original fraud. But the facility of his apparent conversion, the eagerness with which he seconded Smith's views, his immediate elevation to be second in command, and the removal of the whole party to the neighbourhood of his residence in Ohio, form, together with the facts mentioned above, a chain of coincidences which leave no doubt

on our mind, that he was the author of the Book of Mormon, in the form in which Smith published it; and that the concealment of his connexion with it, and his sudden conversion, were parts of the original plot. Smith's necromantic habits had given him an extensive notoriety, and he was just the man to answer Rigdon's purpose. The latter, indeed, published a formal denial of the allegations of Spaulding's widow and others; but it is little more than a tissue of the most vulgar abuse and recrimination; and we cannot but agree with Mr. Mayhew, that, upon a review of the whole evidence, "the question of the authorship of the original romance, upon which the Book of Mormon was founded, will be decided in favour of Solomon Spaulding."

The period of "translation" extended from 1827 to 1830; and, on this subject, some amusing and instructive stories are told. Mr. J. N. Tucker, a printer in the office of Patterson and Lambdin, at the time of the publication of the Book, relates the following:—

"We had heard much said by Martin Harris,—the man who paid for the printing, and the only one in the concern worth any property,—about the wonderful wisdom of the translators of the mysterious plates; and resolved to test their wisdom. Accordingly, after putting one sheet in type, we laid it aside, and told Harris it was lost, and there would be a serious defect in the book in consequence, unless another sheet like the original could be produced. The announcement threw the old gentleman into quite an excitement; but, after a few moments' reflection, he said he would try to obtain another. After two or three weeks another sheet was produced, but no more like the original, than any other sheet of paper would have been, written over by a common school-boy, after having read, as they did, the manuscripts preceding and succeeding the lost sheet."

It must have been at this time, (May, 1829,) that Smith received a revelation, "informing him of the alteration of the manuscript of the fore part of the Book of Mormon." This is a curious document, very indicative of Smith's shrewdness in at once detecting the trick which the wags at the printing-office were playing upon him. It forbids the re-translation of the abstracted portion, points out to Smith where, "upon the plates of Nephi," a more particular account might be found, commands him to translate that, and adds, "Thus I will confound those who have altered my words." Perhaps our readers will think that the only person "confounded" is the Prophet himself.

We have mentioned Martin Harris's desire, in the commencement of the business, to get a sight of "the plates," and Smith's pretence that this was unlawful. He, however, professed to copy a part of the engravings upon paper; and with this Harris hastened to consult Dr. Charles Anthon, of New York. Some years afterwards, the Mormons reported that Professor Anthon

had pronounced the inscriptions to be "reformed Egyptian hieroglyphics." This drew forth an instantaneous denial from the Professor, whose letter supplies the following information on the method of *translation* :—

"When I asked the person (Harris) who brought it, how he obtained the writing, he gave me the following account: A 'gold book,' consisting of a number of plates, fastened together by wires of the same material, had been dug up in the northern part of the state of New York; and, along with it, an enormous pair of 'spectacles!' These spectacles were so large, that if any one attempted to look through them, his two eyes would look through one glass only; the spectacles in question being altogether too large for the human face. 'Whoever,' he said, 'examined the plates through the glasses, was enabled not only to read them, but fully to understand their meaning.' All this knowledge, however, was confined to a young man, who had the trunk, containing the book and spectacles, in his sole possession. *This young man was placed behind a curtain, in a garret in a farmhouse, and, being thus concealed from view, he put on the spectacles occasionally, or, rather, looked through one of the glasses, deciphered the characters in the book, and, having committed some of them to paper, handed copies from behind the curtain to those who stood outside.*"—*Mayhew*, p. 28.

During the process of "translation," mysterious hints had been uttered about the forthcoming book, and great efforts made to secure for it a favourable reception. Smith began to preach, and success soon crowned his efforts. On the 1st of June, 1831, the first Conference of the sect was held at Fayette, New York, and "the Prophet" found himself at the head of about thirty disciples, including the members of his own family. A mission to the Indians—the "Lamanites" of the Book of Mormon—was undertaken by Cowdery and Parley Pratt; and the second epoch of the history of the imposture commenced.

The Missionaries contrived, on their way to the "Lamanites," to call on Rigdon. At first, he pretended to discredit their story; but, in a very short time, notwithstanding that he had rebuked them for tempting God by seeking "a sign," he committed the same sin, and professed to be converted. He immediately repaired to the Prophet, and became his most zealous and able coadjutor. Smith's previous immorality, ignorance, and impudence, having created many enemies, the whole party were ordered, by "revelation," to remove to Kirtland, in Ohio, (Rigdon's residence,) "the eastern border of the promised land." In the mean time, Cowdery and Pratt had reached Missouri, had reported favourably of the country, (Jackson County,) and had, at the Prophet's instance, begun to purchase land. Hither, after a few weeks, Smith, Rigdon, and some others, proceeded; and Smith published a "revelation," selecting this as the future Zion, although that honour had but recently been assigned to Kirtland. After devising rules for the allotment of land

and the organization of the Church, and laying the foundation-stone of a temple, he returned to Kirtland. Most of his disciples removed to Missouri, while he remained to itinerate and make converts. But he made enemies here, as well as in New York; and at Hiram, on the 25th of January, 1832, he and Rigdon were tarred and feathered, and otherwise maltreated, by an infuriated mob. Upon this, he hastily returned to Independence, narrowly escaping the vengeance of his pursuers, who tracked him to Louisville. He was obliged, however, in a few months, to go back and look after his mill, farm, store, and even the bank (!), at Kirtland. He was solemnly acknowledged, at this time, by about three thousand disciples. Soon, however, a formidable schism, productive ultimately of great calamities, broke out in the community; and Smith, hoping to check, while he appeared to gratify, the ambition of his dangerous coadjutor, and thereby to strengthen his own influence, associated Rigdon and another with himself, as the supreme governing body. In the mean time, the old non-Mormon settlers became alarmed at the increasing numbers, intolerant claims, and infamous practices, of the new sect. Hostilities commenced, and raged so furiously, as to lead to the abandonment of Jackson County by the Mormons, and the purchase—by “revelation” from Kirtland—of lands in Clay County. The towns of Far-West and Adam-on-Diahman were founded, and prosperity began once more to dawn upon the colony. On the 5th of May, 1834, the Prophet set out on a journey to Missouri. Mr. Mayhew speaks of this journey as if it had no object but the peaceable regulation of the affairs of the sect. But from what Dr. Kidder says, it is evident that the Mormonites meditated retaliation upon their enemies in Jackson County, and that Smith’s journey, accompanied as he was by nearly a hundred persons, was, in fact, a military expedition on a small scale. The company was called “the army of Zion,” and was regularly drilled and equipped. Smith published a “revelation,” amounting to a declaration of war; and his band was considerably increased, by recruits from Mormon settlements, as he approached Missouri. He was, however, met by a deputation from the old settlers, who protested against his advance, and threatened the army with public vengeance. Smith became frightened; issued a “revelation,” declaring the war at an end; left about one hundred and fifty volunteers in Clay County; and travelled back, “like a gentleman, with plenty of money,” leaving the remnant of his band to return as they could. Many of them were compelled to beg their way back.

“In 1836 they formed among themselves several large mercantile firms, the Prophet, of course, being a partner in each; and continued, by means of falsehood and deception, to procure goods in Buffalo and New York to the amount of more than thirty thousand dollars. With

these the Prophet and his Priests rigged themselves out in the most costly apparel, at the top of the fashions.

"Subsequently, they had a 'revelation,' commanding them to establish a 'bank, which should swallow up all other banks.' This was soon got into operation on a pretended capital of four millions of dollars, made up of real estate round about the temple. By means of great activity, and an actual capital of about five thousand, they succeeded in setting afloat from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars. This concern was closed up, after flourishing three or four weeks. During this period, the land speculation had been fully entered into by the gang. They contracted for nearly all the land within a mile and a half of the temple, laid it out into city lots, and proceeded with the operation of buying and selling lots *to one another* at the most extravagant prices.

"But their career was soon brought to a close. Suits were instituted against them under the laws against private banking, and Smith and Rigdon were fined one thousand dollars each. Their printing-establishment, with a large quantity of books and paper, was taken, and sold to pay the judgment. On the same night the whole was consumed by fire, set by the Mormons. This was followed by the flight of the Prophet and his head-men for Missouri, and a general breaking-up of the establishment in this quarter."—*Kidder*, pp. 128, 129.

In the mean time things were growing worse in Missouri; and, at last, a war of extermination commenced,—the people of the State being determined no longer to tolerate the Mormons among them. A party of Mormons was massacred by a corps of militia, acting, it is alleged, under the orders of Boggs, the Governor of the state. Partly to resist the assaults of their neighbours, and partly to exterminate certain dissenters among themselves, a secret society was formed, called, "The Daughters of Zion," and, afterwards, "The Danite Band." Orson Hyde (an ex-apostle) made affidavit, that the members of this band took "an oath to support the heads of the Church in all things that they say or do, whether right or wrong;" that they appointed from among their number a company of twelve, to burn and destroy the neighbouring towns; that Smith's plan was to take the State; that he pretended to his people, that they would have possession of the United States, and, ultimately, of the whole world; that he had said he would tread down his enemies, and walk over their dead bodies, &c., &c. Hyde professed to leave the Mormons, on account of their immorality and impiety; and Lieut. Gunnison, who resided among them in Utah for a year, and whose gratitude for the kindness of his Mormon hosts induces him to put the most favourable construction on their doings, admits that at this time, according to the confession of the Mormons themselves, this band were sworn to exterminate obnoxious persons; and "that persons suddenly disappeared, or 'slipped their breath;' but they say they were horse-thieves, and vile wretches, who left society for its good."

Before long, the leaders of the sect were betrayed and imprisoned; while their followers were mercilessly hunted from Missouri to the prairies,—men, women, and children,—in the depth of winter. Early in the following spring, Smith rejoined his followers, and induced them to settle in Illinois, just above the Des Moines Rapids, on the river Mississippi. Hither, in a few months, about fifteen thousand souls were collected; and, in a year and a half, they built two thousand houses, besides schools, and other public edifices. The new city was named Nauvoo, or, “The Beautiful.”

Smith had now attained the zenith of his power and popularity. He became temporal and spiritual head of the community; and, according to the varied duties which he discharged, he was “Prophet,” “President,” “Mayor,” or “General.” It is certain that he meditated great aggressive designs, as is evident from a curious correspondence of his with one James Arlington Bennett, whom the Prophet, quoting Mahomed, designated his “right-hand man.” Bennett offered his services, in what Mr. Mayhew drily calls, a “too candid” epistle; that is, he treated Smith’s enterprise as a clever and profitable hoax, in the profits of which he proposed to have a share. The latter, in reply, while pretending to reprove the worldly spirit and sinister hints of his friend, most cunningly contrives to accept his offer. Besides the craftiness which it develops, Smith’s letter contains some specimens of his *learning*. (?) For instance:—

“Were I an Egyptian, I would exclaim, *Jah-oh-eh, Enish-go-on-dosh, Flo-ees, Flos-is-is*; ‘O the earth! the power of attraction, and the moon passing between her and the sun;’ a Hebrew, *Haueloheem yerau*; a Greek, *O Theos phos esi*; a Roman, *Dominus regit me*; a German, *Gott gebe uns das licht*; a Portugee, (!) *Senhor Jesu Christo e libordade*; a Frenchman, *Dieu defend le droit*.”—*Mayhew*, p. 116.

During this period, Smith actually became a candidate for the Presidency of the United States; and, in that character, issued an address to the people of the Union. This is a very curious document, most comically sprinkled with scraps of bad French, Italian, Latin, Dutch, and Greek.

Meantime, the enrolment of the male inhabitants, under the designation of the “Nauvoo Legion,” proceeded vigorously; and American officers became alarmed at their discipline, equipments, and tactics. The foundation-stone of a magnificent temple was laid, with *military* pomp, by “General Joseph Smith.” In the plenitude of his pride, he gave to the Nauvoo Corporation a jurisdiction independent of that of Illinois; and this body refused to acknowledge the validity of any legal document, not countersigned by their President. At the same time, the germs of the polygamy which they now practise more openly, began to appear among the leading Mormons. Sidney Rigdon is said to have introduced the “spiritual wife” doctrine; (a mere cover for

any amount of promiscuous licentiousness;) and "Joe" is said to have acted upon it, if more discreetly, not less freely, than his friend. Lieut. Gunnison (always a most reliable authority, when he admits anything disadvantageous to the Mormons) says, that "women impeached him of attempted seduction, which his apology, that 'it was merely to see if they were virtuous,' could not satisfy." We should think not!

It is no wonder that, under these circumstances, public prejudice rapidly increased against the Mormons. Dissenters, too, multiplied fast in Nauvoo, and exasperated the passions of the surrounding population, by the disclosures of violence and sensuality which they professed to make. At last, matters came to a crisis. A Dr. Foster, who professed to have caught the Prophet in an attempt to seduce his wife, set up a newspaper, called the "Expositor," which contained some most shocking accusations. It was voted a public nuisance, and ordered to be abated. The order was executed by the destruction of the printing-office; types, &c. Foster and his partner fled to Carthage, and procured warrants for the arrest of Smith and sixteen other rioters. Smith refused to acknowledge the warrant, and marched the officials, who attempted to serve it, out of Nauvoo. This breach of the law of the State could not be overlooked, and preparations were made for a deadly struggle. The Governor of the State took the command of the militia in person. By his moderation and tact, however, he persuaded the Smiths to surrender and take their trial for the riot; and thus the sackage and pillage of Nauvoo were, for a time, prevented. The prisoners were lodged in the gaol of Carthage. Both the mob and militia were violently excited against them; and, as it began to be rumoured that they were likely, after all, to escape, the brutal rabble took the law into their own hands, overpowered the guard, rushed into the prison, and deliberately shot Joseph and Hiram Smith dead on the spot. The murderers were never arrested; the brothers, of course, were regarded as martyrs; and, as all reasonable men had foreseen, the sect began to spread more rapidly than ever.

Dr. Kidder gives us an outline of the sworn testimony of many witnesses, "on the trial of Joseph Smith, Jun., and others, for high treason, and other crimes against" the State of Missouri. This testimony imputes the most murderous intentions and inflammatory speeches to the Prophet and his coadjutors; and gives specimens of the compliments which the former paid to his Missourian neighbours. The forces of the State were "a d—d mob;" "if they came to fight him, he would play h—ll with their apple-carts;" and very much more, of a worse kind. The Mormons, indeed, allege that the witnesses for the defence were hounded, and driven away. But Smith's refusal to administer state-law is matter of unquestionable history. It is also abun-

dantly clear, that he taught his followers to look forward to the day when they should "spoil the Egyptians," or, as he facetiously termed it, "milk the Gentiles." And what sort of morality does the following "revelation" teach?

"Behold, it is said in my laws, or forbidden, to get into debt to thine enemies; but, behold, it is not said, at any time, that the Lord should not take when He pleases, and pay as seemeth Him good: wherefore, as ye are agents, and ye are on the Lord's errand; and whatever ye do according to the will of the Lord, is the Lord's business," &c.—*Doctrines and Covenants*, p. 156.

It would not be very wonderful, if the more indiscreet and unscrupulous members of the sect should have acted on this hint, and given a very literal interpretation to the promises and denunciations of their Prophet, especially when they saw him quietly accumulating his military force. Indeed, according to Lieut. Gunnison, the Mormons themselves acknowledge that this was the case.

"They allow that mistakes have been made by individuals in carrying out their doctrines: for instance, many have supposed that the time was come when they should take possession of the property of the Gentiles; and that it would be no theft to secure cattle and grain from neighbouring pastures and fields, thus 'spoiling the Egyptians;' and we are told by themselves, that such conduct had to be forbidden from the public desk. This instance of wrong application of the dogma, that they are 'the stewards of the Lord, and the inheritance of the earth belongs to the saints,' shows that some foundation exists for the charges against them, on the score of insecurity of property in Illinois and Missouri; and that abuses can easily arise from their principles, when residing near people of other religious views."—*Gunnison*, p. 66.

Other less exceptionable, but most annoying, modes of dealing with obnoxious residents in Nauvoo, are mentioned by this author. There is something exceedingly grotesque in the following:—

"One of these was called 'whittling off.' Three men would be deputed, and paid for their time, to take their jack-knives and sticks,—down-east Yankees, of course,—and, sitting down before the obnoxious man's door, begin their whittling. When the man came out, they would stare at him, but say nothing. If he went to the market, they followed and whittled. Whatever taunts, curses, or other provoking epithets were applied to them, no notice would be taken, no word spoken in return, no laugh on their faces. The jeers and shouts of street urchins made the welkin ring; but deep silence pervaded the whittlers. Their leerish look followed him every where, from 'morning dawn to dusky eve.' When he was in-doors, they sat patiently down, and assiduously performed their jack-knife duty. Three days are said to have been the utmost that human nature could endure of this silent annoyance; the man came to terms, sold his possessions for what he could get, or migrated to parts unknown."—*Gunnison*, pp. 116, 117.

We put it to our readers, whether a community, in which such doctrines and practices prevailed, could avoid making enemies, or hope to escape the vengeance of those whom they had injured or annoyed? America is not a persecuting nation; the utmost latitude of religious opinion being permitted throughout the Union. Why should Mormons form an exception? Why should they be persecuted, while Shakers, Millerites, Campbellites, and the whole brood of sectaries, for which the land is famous, escape? For ourselves, we believe the true answer will be found in the statements now given. As to the *anti-social* tenets and practices of "the Prophet" and his disciples, candour, surely, obliges us to allow, that, among communities on the frontiers of civilization, and in so rude a state as the population of Missouri and Illinois, the absence of persecution against such a sect as this would have been more wonderful than its presence. With all moderate men in America, we deplore the lawlessness of some of the enemies of Mormonism; but we cannot be surprised at it; nor can we acquit the leaders of the sect from the charge of having wilfully and deliberately provoked it.

The murder of the Prophet greatly excited the people of Nauvoo; and, as might have been expected, curses and threats of vengeance were muttered against their neighbours. By the influence of the Governor, however, and, still more, by the tact and address of the leading Mormons, the crisis passed over quietly; and, after "the martyrs" had been buried, amid sincere and general lamentation, the sect proceeded to elect a successor to "the Seer." There were two or three candidates, including Sidney Rigdon, Smith's second in command. The usual electioneering tactics appear to have been adopted by "the Saints." The choice finally fell on Brigham Young, the present head of the Mormon Church; who, according to Lieut. Gunnison,—

"With a mien of the most retiring modesty and diffidence in ordinary intercourse in society, holds a spirit of ardent feeling and great shrewdness; and, when roused in debate, or upon the Preacher's stand, exhibits a boldness of speech, and grasp of thought, that awe and enchain with intense interest,—controlling, soothing, or exasperating, at pleasure, the multitudes that listen to his eloquence."—*Gunnison*, p. 129.

But there was to be no rest for the new sect, so long as they remained in the vicinity of their fellow-countrymen. "From January to October, 1845, they lived a life of sturt and strife;" and, at last, after much deliberation, it was agreed to "retire into the wilderness to grow into a multitude, aloof from the haunts of civilization." The first movements westward were made in the spring of 1846; and the bands of emigrants had to encounter the most heart-rending sufferings. Meanwhile, the work of erecting the temple at Nauvoo was perfected. On the day of consecration, Priests, Elders, and Bishops, even from among the

pioneers of the desert-pilgrimage, were present; and "from high noon to the shade of night was there a scene of rejoicing and solemn consecration of the beautiful edifice, on which so much anxiety and thought had lately been expended." But as soon as the consecration was finished, all the ornaments, symbols of faith, &c., were removed in haste, and the temple deserted. Then commenced the general emigration; but, as the Mormons did not remove quickly enough to satisfy their enemies, the remnant in Nauvoo, in spite of an agreement allowing the exodus to take place in successive detachments, had to sustain a regular siege, and, after three days' bombardment, were finally driven out by fire and sword.

The pioneer-band started for the Great Salt Lake in the spring of 1847. They arrived on the 21st of July; and were followed on the 24th by the Church Presidency, headed by "Brigham, the Seer." The latter day is their grand epoch, and its anniversary is celebrated with great solemnity. Their progress since their arrival in the mountains has been truly marvellous. "The dignity of labour" is an article of their social faith; and they seem to have literally adopted, and universally applied, the scriptural rule, that "if a man will not work, neither shall he eat." Notwithstanding the almost total destruction of their first crops by locusts, and the consequent pressure of famine; and in spite of repeated conflicts with the predatory Indian tribes around them, their indomitable perseverance has been rewarded with complete success. Their great city on the Salt Lake—

"Was laid out into squares in 1847: the streets are one hundred and thirty-two feet wide, with twenty-foot side walks; and the City Creek, divided to run along each walk, and water a colonnade of trees, and also to be led into the gardens. The lots contain each nearly an acre, and face on alternate streets, with eight lots in each block. The site is on a scarcely perceptible slope, except the northern part, which rises upon the first natural terrace, and lies in the angle of the main Wahsatch range, running north and south, and a giant spur that makes out directly to the west, and terminates one half-mile from the Jordan River. The city is four miles square, and touches the river bank on the west side."—*Gunnison*, pp. 32, 33.

Besides this, they have spread themselves over the adjacent country, built several towns and cities, and are fast developing the agricultural and mineral resources of a region which, six or seven years ago, was a mere desert. In July, 1852, Lieut. Gunnison estimated the population of Utah at about 30,000; and it has surprisingly increased since then. The "travelling college" is compassing sea and land to make proselytes; and the Mormon apostles have been very successful in Europe, especially in Germany. They have Missionaries even in the Pacific Islands; and, except in this last instance, wherever they go, they expend all their energies in stimulating the emigration of the

faithful to Zion, where the grand "gathering" is to take place, preparatory to their final triumph, and the advent of the millennial glory. Their progress in our own country has been wonderful indeed. They first appeared in England in 1837, and in sixteen years they profess to have won over 300,000 souls. From two to three thousand persons, on an average, annually leave our shores for the great Salt Lake Valley, "principally farmers and mechanics, with some few clerks," &c. They are described as generally intelligent and well-behaved, and many of them highly respectable. Their arrangements for the maintenance of order, cleanliness, &c., on board, are admirable; and, altogether, it is quite clear that this system is, year by year, abstracting a large number of our most valuable fellow-countrymen.

It is this consideration which gives importance to the subject, and renders an analysis of the history and faith of Mormonism something more than a disgusting task; as will farther appear, if we turn our attention to the Mormon faith, and to the practices that have grown out of it. Would to God that our remarks might deter some of our farmers and mechanics from committing themselves, and especially *their wives and daughters*, to the "tender mercies" of this shocking compound of infidelity, heathenism, immorality, and cant!

And, first of all, the Mormons are avowed Materialists. They utterly ridicule the notion of spiritual, as distinct from material, existence; and remorselessly apply their doctrine to the Deity himself. Thus, among them,—

"'God the Father' is held to be a man perfected; but so far advanced in the attributes of his nature,—his *faith*, intelligence, and power,—that, in comparison with us, he may be called 'the Infinite.'" —*Gunnison*, p. 43.

"First. God himself, who sits enthroned in yonder heavens, is a man like unto one of yourselves: that is the great secret. If the veil was rent to-day, and the great God, who holds this world in its orbit, and upholds all things by his power, if you were to see him to-day, you would see him in all the person, image, and very form as a man; for Adam was created in the very fashion and image of God: Adam received instruction, walked, talked, and conversed with him, as one man talks and communes with another.....I am going to tell you how God came to be God. God himself, the Father of us all, dwelt on earth, the same as Jesus Christ did; and I will show it from the Bible. Jesus said, 'As the Father hath power in himself, even so hath the Son power,' to do—what? Why, what the Father did; that answer is obvious: in a manner to lay down his body, and take it up again. Jesus, what are you going to do? To lay down my life, as *my Father did*, and take it up again."—*Smith's Last Sermon*, as quoted by *Gunnison*, pp. 43, 44.

Again: they say,—

"Now, God, our Father, dwells on his planet, (*Kolob*) and mea-

sure time by one of its revolutions.....*Being finite*, he employs agents to bring and communicate information through his worlds; and all the material agents of light, electricity, and sound, or attributes, are employed in this thing."—*Gunnison*, p. 56.

Once more, we quote a passage from Orson Pratt, as given by Dr. Kidder:—

"Here, then, is the Methodist God, without either eyes, ears, or mouth!!! And yet man was created after the image of God; but this could not apply to the Methodists' God, for he has no *image* or *likeness*! The Methodist God can neither be Jehovah nor Jesus Christ; for Jehovah showed his *face* to Moses and to the seventy Elders of Israel, and his *feet* too: he also wrote with his *own finger* on the tablets of stone. Isaiah informs us that 'his *arm* is not shortened; that his *ear* is not dull of hearing,' &c.—*Kidder*, p. 238.

Of Jesus Christ they hold, that he—

"Is the offspring of the Father by the Virgin Mary. The eternal Father came to the earth, and wooed and won her to be the wife of his bosom. He sent his herald-angel Gabriel to announce espousals of marriage, and the Bridegroom and bride met on the plains of Palestine; and the Holy Babe that was born was the 'tabernacle,' prepared for, and assumed by, the Spirit-Son, and that now constitutes a God."—*Gunnison*, p. 43.

Of the Divine Spirit Pratt says,—

"The Holy Spirit, being one part of the Godhead, *is also a material substance*, of the same nature and properties, in many respects, as the Spirits of the Father and the Son. It exists in vast, immeasurable quantities in connexion with all material worlds. This is called God in the Scriptures, as the Father and the Son. God the Father and God the Son cannot be every where present; *indeed, they cannot be even in two places at the same instant*. But God the Holy Spirit is omnipresent: it extends through all space, intermingling with all *other* matter; yet no one atom of the Holy Spirit can be in two places at the same instant."—*Pratt's Kingdom of God*, pp. 4, 5.

It is not without a sickening shudder that we have compelled ourselves to transcribe this farrago of abominable blasphemy; but our duty requires us to expose the real character of Mormonism. We shall not insult the judgment and piety of our readers by any attempt at refutation, but shall leave these declarations to make their own impression.

The Mormon notion of FAITH is very peculiar, and, in one aspect, profane. It is thus defined:—

"Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear."

"By this we understand that the principle of power, which existed in the bosom of God, by which the worlds were framed, was faith.....

"It is the principle by which Jehovah works, and through which he exercises power over all temporal, as well as eternal, things."—*Doctrine and Covenants*, pp. 2, 3.

Thus, by a most ridiculous perversion of Scripture, that faith in divine testimony, by which we learn the creation of the universe out of nothing, is transferred to God, as if it were "the principle of" creative "power" in him! We are surprised to find that Mr. Mayhew is half captivated with this nonsense. He says,—

"On this point, Mr. Bowes, the author of a pamphlet entitled '*Mormonism Exposed*,' and a public debater against the Saints in the manufacturing districts of England, has not been fortunate in attacking their theology. He charges them with ignorance of the word 'faith:' he has only proved his own. Faith, he says, is crediting testimony, and asks, 'What testimony God had to credit?' and therefore concludes that faith is not an attribute of God, but of believers. Mr. Bowes has here confounded speculative belief with practical faith. With the Mormons, on the contrary, 'faith is the principle of power,' both human and divine."—*Mayhew*, p. 291.

We confess we do not understand Mr. Mayhew; and we doubt whether he understands himself. Of all vague expressions, nothing can be more so than to call faith "the principle of power." This explains nothing. Let us be told that faith in the divine testimony, (concerning Jesus Christ, for example,) while it stops short at mere credence, is *speculative* faith; but that, when it so receives that testimony as to trust in him for salvation, and to work by love, and purify the heart, it is *practical* faith; and we can understand what is said: but to say that "belief in testimony" is speculative, and "the principle of action in all intelligent beings" is practical, faith, is to utter so much unmeaning nonsense. Mr. Mayhew decries the Reformation of Luther, as "directly opposed to the mystical spirit that lies concealed in the bosom of all religious communities;" and prefers the authority of "the great American sage, Mr. Emerson."

Upon the subject of BAPTISM, they teach the necessity of immersion, by a properly-qualified person, (that is, one of themselves,) for the remission of sins. This is an element of "Campbellism," and is adduced as an internal evidence of Rigdon's original complicity in the fraud, inasmuch as he officiated as a Campbellite Preacher during the "translation" period. But Smith early improved on the original notion, and taught a strange doctrine on the subject of "baptisms for the dead." The following is Lieut. Gunnison's outline of this doctrine, drawn from the "revelations" in "Doctrine and Covenants," p. 300, *et seq.* :—

"The further peculiarity of the subject consists in a vicarious immersion of living persons for their dead friends, who have never had the opportunity, or neglected it, while living. This is called 'Baptism for the dead.' There being, according to their view, a probationary state in the spiritual world while that on earth exists, so that by proxy one can fulfil all 'righteousness,' by submitting to all prescribed rites, of which baptism is one, it is presumed that those gone before have repented, and are now desirous of baptistic benefits; and hence

it is enjoined, that the 'greatest responsibility that God has laid on us, is to look after our dead,' and ordered, that a man be baptized for deceased relatives, tracing back the line to one that held the priesthood among his progenitors, who, being a saint, will then take up the place of sponsor, and relieve him of further responsibility. All those who are thus admitted to salvation will be added to the household of the baptized person at the resurrection, who will then prefer his claim, or do as our Lord did at the grave of Lazarus, and 'call them forth in the name of Jesus; over whom he, as the most distinguished of the line, will reign as Patriarch for ever; and his rank and power among kingly saints will be in proportion to the number of his retinue.'—*Gunnison*, pp. 45, 46.

It is only necessary to add, that, after sufficient time has been allowed to build a temple at Zion, or any appointed "stake," no other places are permitted to be used for the baptisms for the dead. The design of this is obvious. Members, as they gather to "Zion," or its "stakes," are required, under severe penalties, to contribute largely for the service of the temple, and the maintenance of "the Presidency." The above doctrine, therefore, appealing to the sympathy of survivors for the unquiet souls of their departed friends, is admirably fitted, like the kindred doctrine of purgatory, and its associated vicarious masses, to fill the coffers of the priesthood, and to promote the aggrandizement of the leaders of the sect. There can be no baptism but by a *proper* person in the *proper* place; and of course the faithful will hasten to "gather" to that place; where they must pay handsomely for their privileges.

We may pass over all that is said of Mormon cosmogony, and of their views as to the *millennium*. But we must not forget to mention that the continuance of the power of working miracles is an essential article of the faith of this sect; and that its Missionaries every where pretend to exercise that power. But, even were we unable, in any case, to prove collusion and jugglery, we should refuse to be convinced by *apparent* miracles, wrought by bad men, in confirmation of unscriptural dogmas. The world has often been cheated by "lying wonders," and the "deceivableness of unrighteousness;" and, considering the vicious character of the authors of this imposture, and the nature of their peculiar tenets, we pronounce their success to be only another instance of the same melancholy kind.

"The gift of tongues" was early exercised by the more zealous Mormons; but, at that time, Smith found it convenient to denounce these gifts, by revelation, as "works of the devil." Nevertheless, when his *prophetic* stock in trade ran low, in consequence of some unfortunate guesses, he began to speak with tongues himself. The following is a specimen of his "gifts:"—*"Ak man oh son oh man ah ne commene en holle goste en haben en glai hosanne hosanne en holle goste en esac milkea Jeremiah,*

Ezekiel, Nephi, Lehi, St. John," &c. &c. A seceder testifies, that he himself, on one occasion, "was at length called upon to speak, or sing, 'in tongues,' at his own option. Preferring the latter mode, he sung, to the tune of 'Bruce's Address,' a combination of sounds which astonished all present." One Higbee, formerly an Elder, gives this as the rule: "Rise upon your feet, and look and lean on Christ; speak or make some sound; continue to make sounds of some kind, and the Lord will make a correct tongue or language of it." This is "the-gift-of-tongues-made-easy," with a witness.

Great pretensions have also been made to the gifts of healing, and of casting out devils. The specimens of the latter are too silly and profane to be inserted here; and, as to the former, when we find that, whether the patient recover at once, or only by slow degrees, or whether he die quietly, the miracle is equally genuine, we know what value to attach to these supernatural pretensions. A Mr. Bachelier, during the progress of a discussion with a Mormon teacher, investigated three cases of pretended miracles, and, in every instance, compelled his opponent publicly to confirm his testimony, that there was nothing miraculous about them.*

A singular story is related by Mr. Tucker. He says, that on one occasion a stranger, who had obtained accommodation for the night at the house of a farmer, awoke the family by the most dreadful cries and groans; and, in spite of all that could be done for him, expired before morning. At an early hour, two travellers came to the gate, and requested entertainment. On hearing of the disaster which had occurred, they requested to see the corpse; and, after looking at it for a few minutes, one of them said they were Elders of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, and empowered to work miracles,—concluding by offering to bring to life the dead man before them. At their request the neighbours were summoned, and,—

"The Mormon Elders commenced their task by kneeling and praying before the body with uplifted hands and eyes, and with most stentorian lungs. Before they had proceeded far with their prayer, a sudden idea struck the farmer, who quickly quitted the house for a few minutes, and on his return waited patiently by the bedside until their prayer was finished, and the Elders were ready to perform their miracle. Before they began, he respectfully said to them, that, with their permission, he wished to ask them a few questions upon the subject of their miracle. They replied, that they had no objection. The farmer then asked, 'You are quite certain that you can bring this man to life again?' 'We are.' 'How do you know that you can?' 'We have just received a revelation from the Lord, informing us that we can.' 'Are you quite sure that the revelation was from the Lord?' 'Yes: we cannot be mistaken about it.' 'Does your power to raise this man to

* Kidder, pp. 218-221.

life again depend upon the particular nature of his disease, or could you now bring any dead man to life?' 'It makes no difference to us; we could bring any corpse to life.' 'Well, if this man had been killed, and one of his arms cut off, could you bring him to life, and also restore to him his arm?' 'Certainly: there is no limit to the power given us by the Lord. It would make no difference, even if both his arms and his legs were cut off.' 'Could you restore him if his head had been cut off?' 'Certainly we could.' 'Well,' said the farmer, with a quiet smile upon his features, 'I do not doubt the truth of what such holy men assert, but I am desirous that my neighbours here should be fully converted, by having the miracle performed in the completest manner possible; so, by your leave, if it makes no difference whatever, I will proceed to cut off the head of this corpse.' Accordingly, he produced a huge and well-sharpened broad axe from beneath his coat, which he swung above his head, and was apparently about to bring it down upon the neck of the corpse, when, lo and behold! to the amazement of all present, the dead man started up in great agitation, and swore he would not have his head cut off for any consideration whatever.

"The company immediately seized the Mormons, and soon made them confess that the pretended dead man was also a Mormon Elder, and that they had sent him to the farmer's house, with directions to die there at a particular hour, when they would drop in, as if by accident, and perform a miracle that would astonish every body. The farmer, after giving the impostors a severe chastisement, let them depart, to practise their imposition in some other quarter."*

The most succinct and intelligible account of the discipline and polity of Mormonism which we have found, is thus given by Dr. Kidder, from the summary of Mr. Corroll:—

"There are in the Church two priesthoods: first, the Melchisedec, or high, priesthood, also called the greater priesthood; second, the Aaronic, or lesser, priesthood. In the first, or Melchisedec, priesthood, were ordained High Priests and Elders; in the second, were ordained Priests, Teachers, and Deacons. Each different grade chose one of its number to preside over the rest, who was called 'President,' and whose duty it was to call together those over whom he presided, at stated times, to edify one another, and receive instruction from him. The first, or high, priesthood was to stand at the head of, and regulate the spiritual concerns of, the Church; the second, or lesser, priesthood was to administer in the ordinances, and attend to the temporal concerns of the Church. Three of the High Priests were chose[n] and set apart by the Church to preside over all the Churches, of that order, in all the world, and were called 'Presidents,' and constituted what is called 'the first presidency.'.....The Church that was to be established in Jackson County was called 'Zion,' the centre of gathering; and those established by revelation, in other places, were called 'stakes of Zion.'.....Each stake was to have a presidency, consisting of three High Priests, chosen and set apart for that purpose, whose jurisdiction was confined to the limits of the stake over which they took the watch-

* For this, and the story about the abstraction of part of the Book of Mormon, we are indebted to our very valuable contemporary, "The British and Foreign Evangelical Review."

care. There was also to be a high council, consisting of twelve High Priests, established at each stake; also a Bishop, who stood at the head of the lesser priesthood, and administered in temporal things; he had two Counsellors, who, with himself, formed a court to try transgressors. If two members had a difficulty, they were to settle it between themselves, or by the assistance of another, according to the Scriptures; but, if they could not do this, then it went before the Bishop's court for trial; but, if either party was dissatisfied with the Bishop's decision, he could appeal from it to the high council. There was also a travelling high council, consisting of twelve High Priests, called 'the Twelve Apostles,' or 'THE TWELVE,' whose duty it was to travel and preach the gospel to all the world. They were also to regulate the Church in all places where it was not properly organized. One of their number presided over the rest in their councils. There were other bodies formed, called 'the seventies,' consisting of seventy Elders each, (not High Priests,) seven of whom presided over the rest in their councils. These seventies were to travel and preach in all the world, under the direction of the twelve, who were to open or lead the way, and then call upon the seventies for assistance. There were three of these bodies formed, called the first, second, and third seventies. The first presidency, the high council, the twelve, and each of the seventies, were equal in power; that is to say, each had a right to discipline their own members, and transact other business of the Church within their calling; and a decision of either one of these bodies, when in regular session, could not be appealed from to any other; for one had no right or power to reverse or overthrow the judgment or decision of the other, but they could all be called together and form a conference, consisting of all the authorities, to which an appeal could be taken from either one, and the decision reversed. These were the regular constituted authorities of the Church; but, besides this, Smith and Rigdon taught the Church, that these authorities, in ruling or watching over the Church, were nothing more than servants to the Church, and that the Church, as a body, had the power in themselves to do any thing that either or all of these authorities could do."—*Kidder*, pp. 121–123.

We are not told how far this privilege is reconciled with the prerogatives of the Seer and others, in receiving and issuing "revelations;" but we know that Smith and his colleagues always exacted, and generally secured, implicit obedience to their orders. It must be borne in mind, too, that the prerogatives of these various orders extend to civil, as well as ecclesiastical, administrations. The Mormons delight to call their system a "Theodemocracy," but it is quite evident that Brigham Young is "the most autocratic ruler in the world." By means of his high council, he knows as much about the private opinions and concerns of all around him, as a French Minister of Police, and probably far more; and, backed by the authority of "revelation," can easily secure the obedience of his vassals.

But one of the darkest features of Mormonism remains to be mentioned. We have hinted at the personal profligacy of the Prophet and his coadjutors; and in the system, as practised in

America, we find the image of the debasing lusts of its originators. This is a heavy charge, constantly denied by English Mormons, and, no doubt, disbelieved by many of them. But it can be abundantly made good.

The troubles at Nauvoo were immediately occasioned by the "spiritual wife" doctrine of Sidney Rigdon, and its application by the Prophet in the instance of Mrs. Foster. The charges then urged on this head were indignantly denied; but subsequent events have corroborated them. Indeed, Lieut. Gunnison testifies that equivocation on this subject is quite common:—

"An intelligent lady informed me that she had considered it right, when asked by her friends, during an eastern visit, to say, that 'it is no doctrine of ours to have spiritual wives;' and this, although the interrogators may have had in their minds nothing more than plurality and its supposed abuses."—*Gunnison*, p. 67.

The following statements on the subject of polygamy are from the same pen:—

"That many have a large number of wives in Deserét, is perfectly manifest to any one residing among them; and, indeed, the subject begins to be more openly discussed than formerly; and it is announced that a treatise is in preparation, to prove by the Scriptures the right of plurality by all Christians, if not to declare their own practice of the same."—P. 67.

"They go so far as to say that our Saviour had three wives,—Mary, and Martha, and the other Mary whom Jesus loved,—all married at the wedding in Cana of Galilee."—P. 68.

"That polygamy existed at Nauvoo, and is now a matter scarcely attempted to be concealed among the Mormons, is certain.....It is a thing of usual and general conversation in the mountains. I have often heard one of the Presidency spoken of with his twenty-eight wives; another with 'forty-two, more or less;' and the third, called an old bachelor, because he has only a baker's dozen."—P. 120.

It is not for us to enter further into this disgusting subject, nor to discuss the reasons which, according to the above friendly author, are adduced in justification of the practice. It should be enough to have established the truth of the accusation. The Missionaries of the sect in England continually deny it; and no wonder: for, were they to preach and practice polygamy among us, they would not make many converts. But there cannot be a doubt that Mahomedanism itself is not more remarkable for this form of licentiousness. And is it into a system like this, that our English matrons and virgins are to be enticed? And will our "farmers and mechanics" abandon the severe and holy virtues of the Christian commonwealth, for a people among whom the honour of their daughters and sisters is a thing of so small account? How will they feel when commanded by "revelation" to hand over their beloved ones to the harem of one of

the High Priests of this scheme of sensuality and lust? O that their eyes could be opened to see the social and moral perils into which so many of them seem disposed to rush!

Of course, such a practice poisons the very sources of society, and the moral taint affects all classes. Listen again to Lieut. Gunnison:—

“Of all the children that have come under our observation, we must, in candour, say, that those of the Mormons are the most lawless and profane. Circumstances connected with travel, with occupations in a new home, and desultory life, may in part account for this: but when a people make pretensions to raising up a ‘holy generation,’ and are commanded to take wives for the purpose, we naturally look at the quality of the fruit produced by the doctrines; and surely they would not complain of the scripture rule,—‘By their fruits ye shall know them.’”—P. 160.

In like manner, profaneness and extreme vulgarity are common among them, “both in the pulpit, and out of it.” Smith could swear like a trooper; and so, it seems, can his successors, the only caution used being, not to mention the name of God in their swearing.

These statements are confirmed by letters from emigrants to their friends in this country. The writers, in many instances, bitterly bewail their folly in being duped by the Mormon apostles. They represent them as “a gang of speculators and gamblers, who don’t value a man’s life more than that of a cat;” “unsatiated despots;” addicted to “gaming of every description on the Sabbath, such as horse-racing, rolling the ten-pins, playing cards, dancing, swearing, and every thing else that is beyond decency.”

Such is Mormonism:—“of the earth, earthy,” a religion of sensuality and blasphemy. Its steps “go down to death; its feet take hold on hell.” The rapid spread of such a plague among our agricultural and manufacturing population is a portentous occurrence. We are glad to find that the Religious Tract Society and the Wesleyan Book Room have issued tracts on the subject. In this country there has been, there will be, no persecution; but the surprising growth of the system shows that it is as unsafe to ignore, as it would be unwise to persecute, it. Let us, depending upon God, use all the weapons that reason and religion allow, to effect its suppression.

In the United States, Mormonism is felt to be a threatening political fact. The Territory of Utah has been recognised by the Federal Government; and already the Government officers have come into collision with the inhabitants. Indeed, it could not be otherwise. Their settled policy, in such matters, is thus described:—

“Their President of the Church is the temporal civil governor, *because* he is the seer of the Lord, and rules in virtue of that pro-

phetic right over the home and catholic 'Latter Day Saints of the Church of Jesus Christ,' usually styled 'the Mormons.' And should one be assigned to them not of their creed, or other than their chief, he would find himself without occupation. He probably would be received with all due courtesy as a distinguished personage, cordially received in social intercourse, *so long as his demeanour pleased the influential members and people*; but, as Governor,—to use their own expressive phrase,—'he would be let severely alone.' Were he to convoke an assembly, and order an election, no attention would be paid to it, and he would be subject to the mortification of seeing a legislature, chosen at a different time, enacting statutes, or else the old ones continued, and those laws enforced, and the cases arising from their conflict adjudicated, by the present tribunals of justice, under their own Judges."—*Gunnison*, p. 24.

Accordingly, the Judges originally sent from Washington either fled, or were recalled; and Mormon functionaries now administer Mormon law in the Territory of Utah. But how long will the inhabitants be content with the inferior position of a Territory? And, when they shall claim to be incorporated with the other States of the Union, how will the difficulties arising from their peculiar views and polity be adjusted? These difficulties have recently been forcibly put by the New York correspondent of "The Times" newspaper. He says,—

"There is rising into view, in the very centre of the American Republic, a structure of spiritual despotism, which puts to blush the pretensions of Hildebrand.....The whole system of Mormonism is utterly repugnant to all our moral, religious, and political ideas; and incompatible with the scope of all our institutions. The Church is every thing, and intermeddles with every thing. It utterly blots out private conscience. It controls the bodies, the souls, and the fortunes of its followers. The ascendancy of the priesthood treads under foot the great principle of popular suffrage. Let the popular voice take what direction it may, it is at once overborne by the awful and imperative voice of the heresiarchs at the head of the community. The Mormon district has already been inaugurated as a Territory, and in this capacity sustains important relations with our Federal Government. They send a Delegate to Congress, who may participate in debate, without the right to vote. The President also appoints their principal officers,—Governors, Judges, Marshals, Postmasters, &c. These officers are sworn to obey the laws and constitution of the Republic. Some serious conflicts have already arisen between the Mormons and the Federal officers. The laws and the authority of the Republic have been openly set at defiance, and its agents driven from their posts; while the President yielded so far for the time as to recall his official delegates, and intrusted Mormons with the execution of those laws which they had defied.....Utah will soon display a new phase: it will, in accordance with our constitution, become a sovereign State, but owning, thereby, a higher, more clearly defined, and far more sacred allegiance to the Federal Government."

The writer then goes on to show that its constitution must be

in accordance with that of the United States; that, therefore, religious intolerance must cease, polygamy be abandoned, and the country be open to settlers from every part of the earth; that not a vestige of the priesthood can be admitted into the civil government, nor the slightest interference of the ecclesiastical power be for a moment tolerated; and that, when any Mormon law tolerating polygamy, or any other social vice, comes up on appeal before the Supreme Court of the United States, it will be declared immoral and unconstitutional. He anticipates the most determined adherence to their own laws and usages on the part of the Mormons; and certainly their past history favours this anticipation. For a time, this may retard the incorporation of the Territory as a State; but, in the end, "the laws of the nation must be rigorously carried out in Utah, or the Republic submit to the utter prostration of its authority, which it will never do."

We hope that the serious aspect of affairs presented in the above remarks of an able and impartial American writer, will be deemed a sufficient apology for the length to which our own observations have extended. A question arises, as to what will be the solution of the difficulties enumerated. The writer suggests the probable good effect of that intercourse with their fellow-men, which the Mormons had intended to escape, but which Divine Providence has forced upon them by the discovery of gold in California, and by the measures in progress for constructing the high road from the eastern States to the American El Dorado through the very heart of their territory. The contact with modern ideas and influences, and the transforming power of steam, which the Great Pacific Railroad will introduce, may gradually ameliorate the character of the Mormons, and assimilate them, in spite of themselves, to the enterprising and progressive community, in the midst of which they are compelled to live, and may even effect the entire destruction of the system.

To this estimate of the influence of external circumstances must be added a still more comforting consideration arising out of the elements of disruption contained in the system itself. The student of Providence is often called to adore that retributive justice by which various evils, by the law of their own development, are made to work out their own cure. In the present case, Lieut. Gunnison enumerates at least five elements of disturbance in the social condition of the Mormons:—1. Polygamy, with its uniform attendant, *the social degradation of woman*. These men say,—

"That to give the post of honour or of comfort to the lady is absurd. If there is but one seat, they say, it of right belongs to the gentleman, and it is the duty and place of a man to lead the way, and let the fair partner enter the house or room behind him. The glory of a woman is constantly held forth to be a 'mother in Israel,' or, literally, a child-

tender. The delicate sentiment of companionable qualities and mental attachments finds no place in the philosophy of plurality of wives, separate from grosser sensuous enjoyments. While introducing this great cause of disruption and jealousies into families, they cultivate in schools the arts of peace, that tend to soften and elevate a community; and the antagonistic principles, one of rolling back to Asiatic stationary civilization, the other of progressive enlightenment, must come into collision."—*Gunnison*, p. 157.

Our readers will join with us in saying, "The sooner the better!" 2. Another cause is, the want of sympathy among the young with the views of the adult members of the community. The former are, generally, "no fanatics," care nothing for doctrines, are many of them quite opposed to "plurality," because of the mutual insecurities inseparable from it; and, by their liberal education, and occasional contact with Christian influences, are acquiring a dislike to the sensual and despotic hierarchy, under whose government they are living. 3. There is a project for publishing an edition of the Bible, "amended" by Joe Smith. This will be "no more the Christian book of the present Churches than the Alcoran, or the Zendvesta;" but will "necessitate an apostasy from one religion to a different creed, and to the worship of a different God." Then, many who have embraced Mormonism, under the belief that it was the purest form of Christianity, having their religious principles shocked by such impiety, may be expected to abandon the system. 4. The system of tithes is another element of disruption.

"By this engine, immense sums are accumulated, and put at the disposal of the Presidency; and its corrupting influences of irresponsible expenditure will, sooner or later, be developed. It cannot be long before those restless, ambitious, and talented persons, who are denied the great privileges which untold treasures secure, will become dissatisfied at the sight of ease and luxury in the managers of what they may consider a *religious speculation*; and some may envy the harems of the shepherds of the flock, supported indirectly by the labours of the hirelings," &c.—*Gunnison*, p. 162.

5. A fifth cause arises from the probability of disunion in the Presidency itself, as illustrated by the quarrels of Smith and Rigdon in the earlier history of Mormonism. Indeed, internal dissension has generally been the forerunner of the external assaults to which the people have been exposed. In fine,—

"All these seeds of distrust, ambition, and discontent are sown in a fruitful soil; and, if they are left quietly to germinate by the powers at a distance, cannot fail to destroy that unity which renders the Mormon community so formidable to any that might seek to control it."—*Gunnison*, p. 163.

We hope that these anticipations will be speedily realized. That Mormonism can exist for any great length of time, now that it is, in spite of its promoters, once more brought into contact

with the advancing civilization of the nineteenth century, we by no means believe. This and all similar outrages upon the common sense and religious convictions of the Christian world are under the ban of Him who has said, "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more, until He come whose right it is." *Until He come!* Are we near His coming? Is the hideous brood of heresy, contention, superstition, and infidelity, now arising in the bosom of evangelical communities, an evidence that "the last days" have already begun? a presage of the approach of the last and greatest conflict between truth and error, Christ and Belial? Questions of religion are now, more than at any former time, awakening the attention, arousing the passions, and marshalling the forces, of the world. A war of religious opinion impends over Europe; China is convulsed to its centre, and the throne of its Tartar Emperor, and the religion of the country, are tottering with the shock of an insurrection; the Churches of our beloved fatherland are torn by strife and division; and (let not our readers smile at the anti-climax) behind the rampart of the Rocky mountains, Mormonism is accumulating its resources, and preparing its array, for a conflict, not so much with the Republicanism, as with the Christianity, of America. "Not the earth only, but the heavens," are shaken. Let us pray and hope for the advent of "the Desire of all nations," and for the universal establishment of that "kingdom which cannot be moved."

- ART. V.—1. *Elements of Meteorology: being the Third Edition, revised and enlarged, of "Meteorological Essays."* By the late JOHN FREDERICK DANIEL, D.C.L., Oxon., &c., &c.
2. *Annales de l'Observatoire Royale de Bruxelles, publiés aux Frais de l'Etat.* Par le DIRECTEUR A. QUETELET, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, &c., &c. Tom. VII.
3. *Quarterly Reports on the Meteorology of England, the South of Scotland, and Parts of Ireland.* By JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S., Secretary of the British Meteorological Society. (Published with the "Quarterly Reports" of the Registrar-General.)
4. *Observations in Magnetism and Meteorology, made at Makers-toun, in Scotland, in the Observatory of General Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, Bart., &c., &c., in 1844.* Edinburgh, 1848.
5. *Observations made at the Magnetical and Meteorological Observatory at Toronto, in Canada.* Printed by order of Her Majesty's Government, under the Superintendence of COL. EDWARD SABINE. Vol. II., 1843, 1844, 1845. London, 1853.

6. *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences et Belles-Lettres de Bruxelles. Observations des Phénomènes Périodiques.*

MR. LAWSON, a gentleman resident at Bath, has devoted his time and wealth for many years to meteorological researches. He has accumulated numerous valuable instruments of research, and is himself the inventor of several. Amongst these latter we find catalogued, "the Atmospheric Recorder, which is a mechanical wonder, worked by clock-work ; by which the amount of rain, amount of evaporation, amount of electricity, direction and force of wind, height of barometer, height of thermometer, and degree of humidity, are constantly writing themselves down *day and night*, each change being recorded at the precise moment of occurrence, without the aid of an observer." The entire collection, and the sum of £1,000, were offered by Mr. Lawson to the public, on the condition that £10,000 more be subscribed, and a central observatory founded at Nottingham. It is almost unnecessary to remark, that the project was warmly taken up, especially at Nottingham, and that an ample proportion of the required sum has been subscribed. This movement may be considered as, in some degree, marking an epoch in the history of Meteorology, being the first in which a municipal body has had a share : we will, therefore, take our stand upon it, and, looking backward at earlier efforts, and forward to probable results, put our readers into possession of some facts as to the progress and practical applications of the science.

The first and most important researches into Meteorology were those which had reference to the influence of atmospheric changes on the health of individuals and the prosperity of nations. These will always, indeed, be considered of primary importance. Nothing is of such vital national interest as the supply of food : it is not astonishing, therefore, that the greatest political changes recorded in history have resulted from defective crops, the consequence of wide-spread and destructive atmospheric changes. All the nations whose history constitutes the history of ancient and primæval civilization placed Meteorology amongst their practical sciences. As a science, however, it can never exist except on the wide basis of astronomical knowledge. Hence it was that Astronomy and Meteorology constituted but one science amongst those nations, under the designation of "Astrology." This united science passed from the Egyptians and Chaldeans to the Greeks and Romans ; but, with the loss of the Pythagorean theory of the universe, it degenerated into empiricism, and has remained an empirical art to this day. So recently, however, as the close of the seventeenth century, that is to say, until the rise of the Newtonian philosophy, Astrology was cultivated by the learned, and constituted an important branch of the physical and medical sciences of the

day. It presents, indeed, in this respect, the same relation to Astronomy and Meteorology which Alchemy bears to Chemistry. Founded upon dogmatic assertions, as to the influence of the sun, moon, and planets, and their conjunctions, both upon the health and happiness of individuals and the prosperity of nations,—many of them fanciful, all of them traditional,—it was distasteful to the rising school of inductive philosophy, at the head of which Copernicus, Galileo, Kepler, &c., were found, and was therefore repudiated by them. Nor were some of those who cultivated the study of Astrology as a branch of physics ignorant of the doubtful basis on which it rested, or silent as to the best methods of strengthening its foundations, and harmonizing it with the rising spirit of the age. One of the earliest propositions for an extended and combined system of meteorological observations was advanced by an astrologian, with the hope of founding thereon “the restoration of Astrology.” In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Parisian, Jean Baptiste Morin, a Doctor of Medicine, and Physician to the Duke of Luxembourg, proposed to himself this object. A notice of his views is to be found in Gadbury’s Collection of the Works of Sir George Wharton, an astrologian of the Great Rebellion.* In 1628, Morin printed “Epistles to the South and North Astrologers, for Restoring of Astrology.” He also delivered Six Articles, &c., “as necessary for the confirmation and demonstration thereof by principles,” which we subjoin as a curious document in the history of Meteorology :—

“1. To collect from the histories of several nations of the world the most eminent and notable changes that have therein happened, in respect of sects, empires, kingdoms, wars, famines, deluges, &c., with the exact times of their changes, and the true posture of the constellations and planets preceding the same.

“2. To observe the changes of the air, in respect of heat, cold, moisture, and draught; as also the winds throughout the whole latitude of the earth; and then the different places of longitude, in their natures and qualities, at the same and at several times, erecting celestial figures most congruous for that purpose; and to mark well how from thence plants, brutes, and men are affected: and all these observations to compare one with another.

“3. To erect the several nativities of such as died not long after they were born; of those that be sickly, or any ways hurt, blind, lame, ulcerated, wounded, burnt, mutilated, &c., diligently observing the parts so affected; the which may most conveniently be done in a spacious city, (such as Paris is,) where are many hospitals, and poor people innumerable, many chirurgeons, and every day various casualties.

* “The Works of the late most excellent Philosopher and Astronomer, Sir George Wharton, Bar., collected into one entire Volume. By John Gadbury, Student in Physick and Astrology. London, 1688.”

"4. By the help of the physicians, to find out (if possible) the beginnings, species, accidents, and solutions of all acute and daily diseases, that every where abound; erecting celestial schemes to these beginnings; and that especially at Paris, where the exorbitant practice of frequent blood-letting does much disturb Nature's motions and crises in diseases, and very often elude and frustrate the astrological predictions of the ancients concerning them.

"5. What the ancient astrologers have delivered on every subject, the same to collect and observe in several, by diligent reading thereof, and to correct the figures of their experiments, in respect of the errors of the old Astronomy.

"6. To argue and determine, by physical and astronomical reasons, concerning the system of the world, now so much controverted between the Copernicans and Tychonists," &c., &c.

Morin, the proposer of this comprehensive scheme of meteorological observation in relation to Astrology, was no obscure empiric. He was Professor Royal of Mathematics, had high court patronage, as the intimate friend and confidential adviser of the two great French Cardinals, Richelieu and Mazarin, and occupied, therefore, a most influential and responsible position. In support of his scheme he argued that, if this plan were followed, Astrology would be demonstrated "in a more excellent method than either Natural Philosophy or Physical have hitherto been by any man whatever." A century later, Newton fulfilled the object of the sixth "Article:" in 1783 a Meteorological Society was established, to carry out the objects set forth in the second; and, during the second half of the present century, statistical inquiries have been instituted, to determine the influence of diurnal and seasonal changes on health and disease. The object of the third, fourth, and fifth Articles, Astrology itself, has disappeared from the cycle of the sciences.

Previously to 1774, meteorological observations were made by numerous private individuals as well in England as on the Continent; but in that year a "Meteorological Journal" was kept, for the first time, at the Royal Society's House, by order of the President and Council, which included observations of the variations of the magnetic needle. This was printed in vol. lxxv. of the "Transactions." In the same volume is a paper entitled, "An abridged State of the Weather at London in the year 1774, collected from the Meteorological Journal of the Royal Society. By S. Horsley, LL.D.;" which is followed by a notice (by Dr. Horsley) of a Meteorological Journal for 1774, kept at Bristol, by Dr. Samuel Farr. In this Essay Dr. Horsley remarks, that although the practice of keeping Meteorological Journals is, of late years, become very general, no information of any importance has yet been derived from it. This he imputes to the want of proper tabulation of the observations made, and subjoins tables, "as an example of the method that may be taken in future to

remedy this neglect." The greater portion of this Essay is an interesting disquisition on lunar influence, full of classical research, commencing with the earliest Greek writers. His eighth table is entitled, "For Trial of the Moon's Influence."

In 1780, a few years after this date, the Meteorological Society of the Palatinate was established, under the auspices of the Elector Charles Theodore, who not only gave it the patronage of his name, but furnished the means of defraying the expenses of instruments of the best construction, which were gratuitously distributed to all parts of Europe, and even to America. One of the first acts of the Association was, to write to all the principal Universities, Scientific Academies, and Colleges, soliciting their co-operation, and offering to present them with all the necessary instruments, properly verified by standards, and free of expense. Professor Daniel informs us, that this offer was immediately accepted by thirty Societies; and the list of distinguished men who undertook to make the observations, shows the importance which was attached to the plan, and the zeal with which it was promoted in every part of the Continent. The Secretary (Hemmer) appears to have been indefatigable in his exertions to perfect this truly princely plan of operations; and, even now, but little could be added to the precautions taken in the preparation of the instruments which he describes, or to the ample instructions for their use which he transmitted with them. Some idea may be formed of the comprehensive scale of the Register, when it is known that it contains observations, three times a-day, of the barometer, magnetic needle, direction and force of the wind, quantity of rain and of evaporation, the height of any neighbouring water, the changes of the moon, the appearance of the sky, and the occurrence of meteors and of the *Aurora Borealis*. To these must be added, in some places, observations upon the electrical state of the atmosphere, upon the progress of vegetation, the prevalence of disease, changes of population, and migration of animals. The field of observation extended from the Ural Mountains in the east, to Cambridge, in the United States, in the west; and from Greenland and Norway in the north, to Rome in the south. Unfortunately for science, the Secretary died in 1790, and from that time the Society languished, until it became extinct amidst the troubles and the wars of the French Revolution.

The Transactions, or *Ephemerides*, of this Society, extending from 1781 to 1792 inclusive, contain very interesting Essays upon various branches of Meteorology, and, according to Professor Daniel, especially the first exemplification of the method of representing the oscillations of the barometer by a curved line upon a scale,—a method of the utmost consequence in connecting detached observations, and exhibiting their mutual relations. Professor Daniel

extends this plan to show (in three plates) that, within certain limits, the movements of the barometer coincide, by some general law, over large portions of the globe, using the observations recorded in the *Ephemerides*. It is very remarkable, and, to an Englishman, somewhat mortifying, that the answer of the Royal Society to the invitation of this Society is the only one, out of a vast number, which does not appear in the Transactions. Strange to say, too, during the years of these recorded observations, no Meteorological Journal was published in the "Philosophical Transactions;" and thus an important break in the series of observations is made, and the comparison of them fails at a point which, for many reasons, is one of the utmost interest and importance. It would be curious to ascertain the true reasons of this conduct on the part of the Royal Society.

In the year 1839 the Royal Academy of Brussels led the way in a further extension of a part of the plan of observation; namely, the influence of meteorological changes upon living things. The PERIODIC CHARACTER of these changes has always been strongly impressed upon the observer, and has been exactly that character which gives the stamp of utility to the science, —the character which endues man with the gift of prescience in this as well as others of the physical sciences. Numerous medical writers have, in all ages, traced a connexion between physiological and pathological changes and soli-lunar influence, and few naturalists have omitted to note the periodic phenomena observable in Natural History. The various calendars and dials of Flora are founded upon observations of this kind. The great Linnæus turned his attention, in 1750, 1751, and 1752,* very particularly to this point, and estimated highly the utility which might be derived from simultaneous researches in the calendar of Flora in different countries. His views were carried out by individual observers, amongst the more note-worthy of whom are the Fosters, father and son, who, in 1838, had kept records for fifty years.

We have seen how the last of the scientific astrologers struggled to fix the relations of periodic change to vital actions; we have seen, too, how this point occupied the attention of the first scientific meteorologists: it is not surprising, therefore, that the establishment of a more widely-extended and more systematic method of observation should have been developed. In this respect, Quetelet, the Perpetual Secretary to the Royal Academy of Brussels, is a worthy successor of Hemmer; and it may be granted, we think, that the more systematic observation of periodic vital changes, in relation to meteorological changes, will have received as great an impulse from him, as meteorological observation received from Hemmer. It was in 1839 (as

* *Vide Amenitates Acad.*

we have remarked) that Quetelet first developed a system, of which the Royal Academy at Brussels should be the centre, for the observation and registration of periodical phenomena in animals and plants. Observations on the time of flowering were commenced in that year, and continued in the following, in the garden of the Royal Observatory at Brussels. At the end of 1840, towns in Holland, and Frankfort, Paris, Geneva, Parma, and Bologna, were in correspondence with Brussels. In 1841 Cracow, Warsaw, Lemberg, Milan, &c., were added, and simultaneous observations throughout Belgium were commenced, which have since enabled Quetelet to publish, in the *Annales*, an Essay on the Climate of Belgium. In 1842 the system was still further extended into other countries. It then included numerous observers in France, Russia, Germany, Italy, England, Holland, the United States, &c. In the following year (1843) Quetelet brought his plan under the notice of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at its Meeting at Plymouth, when a Committee was appointed to report upon it. This Committee presented its Report to the Meeting of 1845, adopting the plan, together with "Instructions"—mainly founded on those drawn up by Quetelet and his continental associates—for the proper observation and registration of periodical phenomena. A noticeable and very serious defect in these "Instructions" is, that they refer solely to such phenomena as are within the domain of Natural History, (and to these, indeed, imperfectly,) while those belonging to Physiology proper are wholly omitted. For example: we are instructed to observe the time of moulting of the genus *Mustela*, but not the duration of the moult; the period at which the magpie commences its nest, but not the period occupied in the completion, &c.; while the oviposition, incubation, &c., of all animals are wholly omitted.

It would be a long—although not wearisome—task, to trace the later progress of meteorological observation throughout the civilized world. Our space will not permit us this work of pleasure; nor is it within the scope of our present object. Suffice it to say, that there is no civilized Government which has not its Meteorological Observatory, and that scientific Societies vie with the Governments and with individuals, in the development of Meteorology by careful, systematic, daily observation. The Quarterly Report alone, by Mr. Glaisher, is founded on returns from FIFTY Observatories, the Royal Observatory being the only one maintained at the public cost; and the list undoubtedly does not contain the names of all the Observatories in the United Kingdom. But there is another kind of Observatory which we must notice, as having important relations to our subject.

TERRESTRIAL MAGNETISM is not so ordinarily included in the course of general education, as to render it altogether superfluous to remind the reader, that the earth and air, singly or

jointly, undergo periodic changes ; that terrestrial and atmospheric phenomena are materially modified by what is known as "the magnetic force." The earth acts on iron as though it were a bipolar magnet ; but the geographical and magnetic poles are not ordinarily coincident ; so that the needle of the compass rarely points due north, but to the east or west of north, constituting the magnetic declination, or the *variation* of the needle. There are, in fact, only two lines on the earth's surface upon which the needle points due north and south. Further : the end of the needle is depressed towards the earth at different points, so as to be directed towards it (in *dipping*) at different angles. At all places in the northern hemisphere the north pole of the needle is thus depressed, in the southern the south pole. In the neighbourhood of the Equator there is an irregular curve upon which the needle is perfectly balanced : from this line northwards the needle *dips* more and more until, at a point in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, discovered by Sir James Ross, it is actually vertical. The *intensity* of the magnetic force varies, as well as the declination and dip, being feeble near the magnetic Equator, and increasing as we approach the Poles.

Now it has been observed, that there are important changes constantly going on in these magnetic relations of the earth. About the year 1600, the needle in Europe pointed to the east of north ; in 1663 it pointed due north ; from which date it deviated westward more and more till the close of the last century. For a short period after the commencement of the present, the needle remained stationary ; but for the last twenty years its declination has decreased, turning, as if it would again become due north, and then deviate to the east again. Besides these *secular* variations, the needle shows *diurnal* and *annual* changes also, in evident relation with the sun's progress.

It is not surprising that a desire to know more of this interesting department of physics has been strongly felt, and that the collection of facts wherewith to lay the foundation of the science on inductive principles, has been a favourite passion with some of the most eminent philosophers of the day. The "Introduction" to the first volume of the "Toronto Observations," written by Colonel Edward Sabine, the veteran magnetician of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, is an interesting summary of the progress of magnetic research. It was in the year 1741, on April 5th, that Celsius at Upsala, and Graham in London, discovered, by contemporaneous and preconcerted observations, that magnetic disturbances occurred simultaneously over large portions of the earth's surface. The fact lay dormant, until its re-discovery by Arago in Paris, and Kupffer in Casan, by means of a series of observations made in the years 1825 and 1826. Singular interest was attached to this discovery by the scientific world ; and sanguine expectations have been entertained

that co-operative and simultaneous observation in different parts of the globe would lead to a knowledge of the cause of these variations, and thus contribute an important chapter to the physical history of our planet. Humboldt, Hansteen, and Ermann, on the Continent, undertook journeys to remote parts of the globe, with the special object of collecting facts as to the direction and intensity of the magnetic forces at different points of the earth's surface. Especially, the *periodical variations* of the magnetic direction and force, and their comparison with meteorological variations, also of a periodical character, was an object of great interest; not greater, however, than the relation of those *secular changes*, which, (in the words of Colonel Sabine,) with slow but systematic progression, alter the whole aspect of the magnetic phenomena on the surface of the globe from one century to the next; and which, in their nature, are not improbably connected with the cause of the Magnetism of the globe itself.

The phenomena of Terrestrial Magnetism, it is evident, like those of Meteorology, could only be successfully investigated by uniform, widely-extended, and long-continued observations. This conviction led, in 1834, to the formation of an Association for the purpose, the forerunner of which was the veteran Alexander von Humboldt, and which has since extended itself throughout the world, under the direction of Gauss of Göttingen. Already, (in 1828,) Humboldt had established a system of simultaneous observations on a small scale, and in 1829 he extended his operations, under the patronage of the Emperor of Russia. Under the protection of Count von Cancrin, and "the superintendence of Professor Kupffer, magnetic stations were fixed over the whole of the north of Asia, from Mirlajeff, by Catherinenburg, Barnaul, and Verlschinsk, to Peking."

Continental Governments speedily responded to the call of the Göttingen Association; and in France, Russia, Germany, and Italy, public establishments were formed for the purpose of aiding in the accomplishment of this object. But Great Britain did not move, except through the desultory efforts of individuals, until, at last, in 1826, the attention of British philosophers was specifically drawn to the undertaking, (we quote Colonel Sabine,) by a letter from Baron Alexander von Humboldt to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, President of the Royal Society, relative to the claims which magnetic science must be considered to have on a nation possessing such extensive dominions in all parts of the globe, and such unrivalled means of contributing to the advancement of the physical sciences, by the formation of suitable establishments in the localities in which researches might be carried on.

This letter had the desired effect. In the spring of 1837 the *University of Dublin* voted the necessary funds for the establishment of an Observatory, in which all the researches connected with the sciences of Terrestrial Magnetism and Meteorology

might be systematically conducted. In the summer of that year a site was allotted at the Royal Observatory at Greenwich for a *Magnetic Observatory*; and, in 1841, a *Magnetical and Meteorological Observatory* was erected and maintained at Makerstoun, in Roxburghshire, by Sir Thomas Macdougall Brisbane, at his sole expense.

But an impulse to increased and extended research was also given from another quarter. From an early period of its history, the British Association for the Advancement of Science gave to Terrestrial Magnetism considerable attention. It commenced in 1834 a magnetic survey of the British Islands, which was carried through in the two following years, although not a national work, in the sense of being at the national expense; and it was followed by similar surveys in other countries, made, however, at the expense of their respective Governments. This spirited proceeding on the part of the Association enabled it to address Government with effect, for aid in the prosecution of the inquiry into the geographical distribution of the magnetic forces, especially in remote parts of the earth; and thus originated the naval expedition, equipped at the public expense, in the year 1839, for the purpose of a magnetic survey of the high latitudes of the southern hemisphere. Certain points of prominent magnetic interest were also selected; and fixed Magnetic and Meteorological Observatories, at the instance of the Association, were ordered to be established at those points; namely, in Canada and Van Diemen's Land, near the points of greatest intensity of the magnetic force in the southern and northern hemispheres respectively; at St. Helena, the point of least intensity on the globe; and at the Cape of Good Hope, where the secular changes presented features of peculiar interest. These Observatories were placed under the management of the Board of Ordnance. While they were in preparation, the Royal Society made an application to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, to secure the co-operation of that body in India; the result being, that Observatories were ordered to be constructed at Simla, Singapore, Madras, and Aden,—the latter subsequently changed to Bombay.

Closely related to Terrestrial Magnetism are the phenomena of the *Aurora Borealis*,—that, to our ancestors, most portentous of all atmospheric phenomena, appearing to them as flaming swords, or as terrible armies in battle array in the air, or joined in fight with hurtling noise, and even cries of the wounded. At the Cambridge Meeting, the Committee of the British Association drew up special directions for observing these phenomena; and Professor Phillips proposed that York should be the centre to which such observations, at least, those made throughout the north of England, should be referred; urging, in favour of his proposition, that Yorkshire is not far from the southern limits

of vertical arches, is situate inland, and has a regular climate. Renewed attention has been given to these beautiful phenomena of late years.

It would be an interesting point, to ascertain exactly the total number of Meteorological Observatories, including those which are devoted to magnetic observations, and to map them out, so as to indicate, in some simple way, the activity and extent of the work of observation thus undertaken. Few persons, if any, are aware how widely they are spread, how much they have increased, even within recent years, and what large results are promised from their operations.

We have said nothing, in this general sketch, of the numerous *Astronomical* Observatories which have been established by the munificent zeal of individuals, by Chartered Societies, and by Governments; nor have we referred to the sedulous and widely-extended observations which have been, and are being, made,—at home as well as in remote regions,—on the *tidal movements* of the great masses of water which occupy so large a portion of the earth's surface. These researches have all an important bearing on the great principles of Meteorology, and should have their place in a history of periodical physical science. That history it is not our province to write; but we desire to lift a corner of the veil of retiring modesty and silence which enshrouds that army of observers, whose very existence is unknown to the heedless multitude,—men who, through the livelong day and night, watch with untiring assiduity the most trivial, as well as the most magnificent phenomena of earth, air, and ocean; gazing here through a telescope of gigantic dimensions at some far distant universe of suns and planets; there noting, with attentive and microscopic eye, the silent and mysterious movements of the magnetic needle, the index of mighty and deeply-hidden terrestrial forces: now looking every moment into ether for the first glance of the flashing meteor; now listening to the first notes of the lark and the thrush, carolled at early dawn: at one moment recording the flash and the peal of heaven's artillery; at another, measuring the speed of the hurricane, or the force of the electric lightning; at another, marking the weight of dewy moisture, the genial force of the solar rays, and the date of birth of the sweet flowers. If the simultaneous labours of twenty-four hours of this army of observers were made the subject of a panorama, (as well they might,) it would be, perhaps, as wonderful and stirring a spectacle as was ever presented to human gaze. We should see men climbing with wearied but undaunted step the highest attainable summits; travelling trackless deserts; voyaging in frail canoes on the wandering waves of unknown rivers; plumbing the depths of wide-spread oceans; encountering the "thick-ribbed ice;" enduring cold, thirst, hunger; watching

with eyes that long have known no slumber ;—nay, perishing variously, amidst their labours ; for science has also its martyrs.

There are higher motives for these labours than aspiring ambition or insatiable curiosity. Many of the labourers know that the deeper the inquiry, the clearer the knowledge of the nature and attributes of God. The ignorant impatience of science, betrayed by not a few professedly religious people, would never be felt, or, if felt, would not be so rudely expressed, if they were aware that, by a large proportion of scientific men, the book of nature is felt to be not less a revelation of God than the written word ; and that it is perused by them in a deeply religious spirit.

We need only turn to the posthumous edition before us of the late Professor Daniel's "*Researches*," for evidence to this effect. We subjoin a quotation from the first volume as an example of this, and as, at the same time, in some degree indicating the progress of meteorological science :—

"In tracing the harmonious results of such apparently discordant operations, it is impossible not to pause, to offer up a humble tribute of admiration of the designs of a beneficent Providence, thus imperfectly developed, in a department of creation where they have been supposed to be most obscure. By an invisible, but ever active, agency, the waters of the deep are raised into the air, whence their distribution follows, as it were, by measure and weight, in proportion to the beneficial effects which they are calculated to produce. By gradual, but almost insensible, expansions, the currents of the atmosphere are disturbed, the stormy winds arise, and the waves of the sea are lifted up ; and that stagnation of air and water is prevented, which would be fatal to animal existence. But the force which operates is calculated and proportioned ; the very agent which causes the disturbance bears with it a self-controlling power ; and the storm, as it vents its force, is itself setting the bounds of its own fury.

"The complicated and beautiful contrivances by which the waters are collected 'above the firmament,' and are, at the same time, 'divided from the waters which are below the firmament,' are inferior to none of those adaptations of INFINITE WISDOM which are perpetually striking the inquiring mind in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. Had it not been for this nice adjustment of conflicting elements, the clouds and concrete vapours of the sky would have reached from the surface of the earth to the remotest heavens ; and the vivifying rays of the sun would never have been able to penetrate through the dense mists of perpetual precipitation.....

"It is foreign to my present purpose to enlarge upon the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, as manifested in the creation of the atmosphere,—a subject full of interest, which has been already most ably illustrated in the '*Bridgewater Treatises*' of Dr. Prout and Professor Whewell ; but it never can be beside the purpose to show that, as we extend our acquaintance with the different departments of nature, so the proofs of the most exquisite and perfect design multiply, and thus to manifest, to the best of our most humble ability, that the great Creator is not only wise, but 'in wisdom infinite.' "

Before attempting to illustrate some of the practical uses and applications of Meteorology, it will be well to state a few particulars of the science itself. The atmosphere is a hollow sphere of matter in an elastic fluid state, which rests and presses upon the liquid and solid surface of the earth. It is the province of Meteorology to investigate the changes which take place in this aerial ocean,—the source of life to every living thing in it, or on the earth, or within the waters. The thickness of this sphere of fluid elastic matter is about fifty miles, or, in proportion to its superficial extent, in the ratio of 1 to 4,000,000; that is to say, is equal to about one five-hundredth of the proportions which the sheet of paper pasted upon a twelve-inch globe bears to the surface of that globe. Light and invisible as the atmosphere may appear, it has weight, and has been calculated to be as heavy as 8,448 cubic leagues of quicksilver. It is compressible, and is, therefore, heavier and more elastic in proportion as it is nearer the earth.* Just as in the watery ocean, so in this, the aerial, there are great streams or currents of different temperatures flowing in different directions, often turned aside by hills or by mountains,—here chilled by ice-bergs, there heated by the burning desert,—now loaded with aqueous vapours from the ocean, now deprived of the last particle of moisture by the dry land. The force of these currents varies, and, so varying, constitutes the various grades of wind from the zephyr to the hurricane. The velocity or force of these is indicated by the *anemometer*; their changing temperature is shown by the *thermometer*, their varying moisture by the *hygrometer*, their varying elasticity or weight by the *barometer*; and, inasmuch as the direction, temperature, degree of moisture, and density of these currents have a most important influence on the health and life of the organisms bathed within them, a knowledge of the variations which the atmosphere undergoes in these respects, is of the highest practical importance in medicine, agriculture, and navigation, and constitutes a large part of the science of Meteorology. Of all these the most important to know is the order of changes of temperature, since these affect and influence all the others.

The sun is the great source of heat. Hence the Meteorologist notes the temperature of day and night, and of the circling year, in different degrees of latitude from the Equator to the Poles; the changes of which constitute the changes in the *seasons*, the variations of climate, and the prevalent winds. Less directly these changes influence the hygrometric condition of the atmosphere, or, in other words, the amount of cloud, rain, and snow. There are two or three special points first treated of by Professor

* If the altitudes above the surface of the earth be taken in arithmetical progression, the densities of the air at these altitudes will be in geometrical progression decreasing.

Daniel, which we will notice, to illustrate the uses of meteorological science.

We have said that the sun is the great primary source of heat. For obvious reasons the amount received by the earth is greatest at the Equator and least at the Poles. Now if the air at any particular spot be heated, it is rarefied and ascends, and its place is occupied by the less rarefied or cooler air contiguous to it. It is in this way that a "draught" is caused in rooms. Hence it follows that a draught or breeze will be caused whenever the earth is heated, as it is within the tropics. This is the *primary* cause of the trade-winds. If the operation of this law were not modified, there would be currents setting in the direction north and south from the Poles to the Equator. But there are important modifications. Air is heated by radiation of heat from the earth's surface, and much more, therefore, by dry land than by water. It follows, necessarily, that where an open ocean is found, as the Pacific, the air will be less heated and consequently less rarefied than where there is continent, as the Mexican. This circumstance, therefore, modifies the direction and force of currents of air (winds) generated by the sun's heat. Again, the atmosphere is itself revolving with the earth on the axis of the latter; moving most quickly round at the Equator, hardly moving in the highest latitudes: at 30° latitude its movement is at the rate of 860 miles per hour, at the Equator at the rate of 1,000; so that the air has an easterly direction impressed upon it. From these two sources of motion, namely, thermal expansion and diurnal rotation, the atmosphere is moved between the tropics in currents (winds) in such a way that south of the Equator there is a south-east (trade) wind, north of it a north-east. This theory of the trade-winds (of which this is the slightest possible sketch) has been well worked out by Captain Basil Hall, who, in a letter to Professor Daniel, clearly illustrates the importance of a knowledge of the theory to the navigation of the intertropical waters. The monsoons in India and the westerly gales of the Atlantic have a similar origin. The land and sea breezes of the tropics are easily understood by an analogous theory.

Another point elucidated by Professor Daniel is the theory of hurricanes, water-spouts, and other similar phenomena, in which the air acquires a rotatory motion. Every one must have noticed, when travelling on a hot summer's day, the little whirlwinds which passed him or met him on the road, carrying up particles of dust and straw into the air as he travelled on. These are the representatives of the mighty tornadoes and hurricanes of the hot equatorial regions. From certain characteristics, (which we need not stop to explain,) air has a tendency to move in a rotatory direction, when put in motion in a certain way. This is shown very well by the rings of vapour arising from

ignited bubbles of phosphuretted hydrogen, or, still more familiarly, by the circling wreaths of smoke arising from the bowl of a lighted pipe. Now, whenever there is a column of air intensely heated by radiation from the earth's surface at a particular spot, it will be in the position of the hot air passing from the lighted pipe. As it rises into the upper *strata*, it meets with a current blowing in a contrary direction, or else moving in the direction of the earth's rotation, and it is immediately thrown into a *whirl*. If the mass of air thus put in motion extend over a large space, it is a *hurricane*; if over a less space, a *whirlwind*; if it be very small, and pass over water, it constitutes a *water-spout*; if it be on the sandy desert, it speeds forward as a vast *pillar of sand*. The present Governor of Malta (Sir W. Reid) was one of the first to lay down the "law of storms." By a knowledge of this law, the navigator, on finding himself *within* the skirt or circumference of a hurricane, may very soon ascertain the bearing of the *centre* of the vortex or whirl; and, knowing also the direction in which that centre is moving, he knows how to steer so as to get to the *outside* of the vortex in the readiest manner, and so to escape the hurricane altogether. On the other hand, for want of such knowledge, whole squadrons have perished in a single hurricane. Even in this country whirlwinds are sometimes dangerous. They are of frequent occurrence in valleys enclosed by lofty mountains, as the Lake Districts of England. Several years ago a respectable farmer, residing at Bowshall, near Mosedale, was carrying a large "shut" full of hay on his back, wherewith to feed his sheep on Carrock Fell, when he was suddenly taken up with his load by one of these whirlwinds. Fortunately he had the presence of mind to disentangle himself from the shut before attaining any great height, or he must have been killed, as the shut was afterwards found amongst the mountains at a great distance.

A third point, which well illustrates the uses of Meteorology, is the applications of the science developed in Professor Daniel's Essay, "On Climate, considered with regard to Horticulture," for which he received the medal of the Horticultural Society. In this Essay the laws of action of the aqueous vapour contained in the atmosphere are practically developed, and in so lucid a manner, as to render the subject very comprehensible to men of ordinary intelligence. A certain amount of fluid is necessary to the vital action of plants. This amount depends not wholly on the supply of water to the roots; for the leaves both absorb moisture largely from the air, and exhale it freely. This exhalation is specially increased, and absorption diminished, when the atmosphere is dry; and if it be very dry, the quantity of fluid may be so diminished as to destroy, or at least seriously impede, vital action in the plant. It is in this way that the *easterly* winds in spring are so destructive to vegetation, they

being the driest of the year. If, while these winds are blowing, the tender blossom of spring be exposed also to the direct rays of the sun, the result is doubly injurious. In this way, the fruit of the coming year may be nipped in the bud in a few hours. Now Professor Daniel not only devoted his energies to the invention of an instrument (his hygrometer) which should enable the gardener to read off the quantity of vapour floating in the atmosphere, as he would read off the temperature, but pointed out its practical applications to the due saturation of artificial atmospheres in green-houses and hot-houses, and to the protection of plants in the open air. No one can fail to see that, to the thorough gardener, the hygrometer is quite as important an instrument as the thermometer. It is not possible to enter into details, but, with Professor Lindley, "we strongly advise all who have the means, to study this paper with much diligence. They will still find it a store-house of valuable facts, and still more valuable suggestions."

Turning now from these applications of meteorological science to some more nearly affecting every man, let us examine its uses in reference to the health and well-being of the human organism living within its domain, and influenced by every variation of that atmosphere upon which man's existence depends. A very familiar illustration presents itself at once in the operation of the easterly winds upon the health. A familiar proverb contains the essence of much meteorological science:—

"When the wind is in the west,
The weather is the best;
When the wind is in the east,
It is bad for man and beast."

The difference in the influence of the two winds on health is, doubtless, to be explained, to a great extent, at least, by the difference in their hygrometric condition; for, although a low temperature is very injurious, whatever wind may blow, a dry wind at a low temperature is most injurious of all. Such a wind takes effect principally upon the skin and pulmonary *mucous membrane*, inducing inflammation by its action on the one, and affections of the muscular and nervous systems by its action on the other. The influence of an excessively moist atmosphere is also injurious by an opposite effect, that is to say, by checking perspiration through the skin and pulmonary *mucous surface*, and so impeding the excretory action carried on by means of the aqueous vapour they give off, and which can find no outlet in an atmosphere already at the dew-point, except by condensation on the surface. It is probable that various fever-poisons are rendered harmless by being carried out of the blood through these surfaces; and it is from the arrest of this protective process, that epidemics suddenly acquire a destructive violence concurrently

with a saturation of the still summer air, or as suddenly cease their ravages with the blowing of a cool dry wind.

It is the *periodic* phenomena in the domain of Meteorology which are the most interesting, whether to the statesman or to the physician, because a relationship, in the way of cause and effect, may be ultimately traced between these and periodically recurrent morbid states, not less of individuals than of nations, and so the latter be predicted and prevented. We shall only notice briefly two of these,—the *diurnal* and the *secular*.

The diurnal periodic changes in the atmosphere have had much attention directed to them, and have been satisfactorily ascertained. For the most part they depend directly or indirectly on the sun, although the variations in the barometric tension do not *apparently* follow this law, and the fact has even been doubted. Attempts have been made to determine how far vital action, whether in plants or in animals, has any relation in the way of effect and cause to these periods, and not without some degree of success. On one point, namely, the cessation of vital action, or death, at certain hours in preference to others, extensive statistical researches have failed to show any difference. Amongst those who have tried to illustrate this point, may be specially mentioned Quetelet, Buek, Virey, Metzler, and Casper. The latter concluded, from his own large statistical *data* in combination with those of the other inquirers, that the *maximum* mortality occurred in the hours before noon, and the *minimum* mortality in the hours before midnight. Now the defect in the arrangements of all these statisticians is this,—that they do not arrange their *data* in reference to the meteoric hours, or to the hours singly, but take ter-horal periods. The consequence of this is, that if a *minimum* and *maximum* hour come within the same ter-horal period, an average only is shown. We have ourselves ascertained the hour of death in 2,880 instances of all ages, and, by avoiding the mistakes indicated, have arrived at different and more interesting conclusions. We may remark that the population from which the *data* are derived, is a mixed population in every respect, and that the deaths occurred during a period of several years. If the deaths of the 2,880 persons had occurred indifferently at any hour during the 24, 120 would have occurred at each hour. But this was by no means the case. There are two hours in which the proportion was remarkably below this,—two *minima* in fact,—namely, from midnight to one o'clock, when the deaths were 53 *per cent.* below the average, and from noon to one o'clock, when they were 20½ *per cent.* below. From three to six o'clock A.M. inclusive, and from three to seven o'clock P.M., there is a gradual increase; in the former of 23½ *per cent.* above the average, in the latter of 5½ *per cent.* The *maximum* of deaths is from five to six o'clock A.M., when it is 40 *per cent.* above the average; the

next, during the hour before midnight, when it is 25 *per cent.* in excess ; a third hour of excess is that from nine to ten o'clock in the morning, being 17½ *per cent.* above the average. From ten A.M. to three o'clock P.M. the deaths are less numerous, being 16½ *per cent.* below the average, the hour before noon being the most fatal. From three o'clock P.M. to seven P.M. the deaths rise to 5½ *per cent.* above the average, and then fall from that hour to eleven P.M., averaging 6½ *per cent.* below the mean. During the hours from nine to eleven in the evening there is a *minimum* of 6½ *per cent.* below the average. Thus the least mortality is during the mid-day hours, namely, from ten to three o'clock ; the greatest during early morning hours, from three to six o'clock. About one-third of the total deaths noted were children under five years of age, and they show the influence of the latter still more strikingly. At all the hours from ten in the morning until midnight, the deaths are at or below the mean ; the hours from ten to eleven A.M., four to five P.M., and nine to ten P.M. being *minima*, but the hour after midnight being the lowest *maximum* : at all the hours from two to ten A.M. the deaths are above the mean, attaining their *maximum* at from five to six A.M., when it is 45½ *per cent.* above. To show the meteorological relations of this excess and diminution in the mortality of the twenty-four hours, we subjoin a table of meteorological hours, adding the ratio of the total deaths at each hour.

Hour.	Meteorological Changes.	Ratio of Deaths above or below Mean.
8-10 A.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Maximum.</div> <div>Maximum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Maximum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	<div> <div>— 19½ <i>per cent.</i></div> <div>(Corrected.)</div> </div>
8-10 P.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Maximum.</div> <div>Maximum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Maximum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	<div> <div>— 6½ <i>per cent.</i></div> </div>
4-5 A.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Minimum.</div> <div>Minimum Temperature.</div> <div>Minimum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Minimum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	<div> <div>+ 23½ <i>per cent.</i></div> </div>
4-5 P.M. ...	<div> <div>Barometer at Minimum.</div> <div>Minimum Electric Tension.</div> <div>Minimum Magnetic Variation.</div> </div>	<div> <div>+ 5½ <i>per cent.</i></div> </div>

The apparent exception in this table, namely, from 8 to 10 A.M., (as shown by the preceding statements,) disappears, when it is taken into consideration that the operation of meteorological changes on the vital powers is not instantaneous, but consecutive. We therefore find that the effects of the meteorological *maximum*, from 8 to 10 in the morning, are shown by a ratio of deaths during the following hour (10 to 11 A.M.) of 19½ *per cent.* below

the average, which in the table is placed as the corrected ratio. Doubtless the early morning hours are influenced, in addition to their lower temperature, by *physiological*, as well as meteorological, changes; the action of sleep being usually, in the first instance, of a depressing character; so that the combined action of *all* causes is much more energetic previously to the morning *maxima*, and, therefore, not only more influential, but more prolonged.

It would not be difficult to multiply illustrations of this kind. In M. Quetelet's "Essay on the Climate of Belgium," we have an induction founded on the observation of periodic changes in animal and vegetable life, in relation to meteorological changes; and in the "Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Brussels," commencing with volume xv., and in the "*Annales*" of the Observatory, abstracts of most extensive series of periodic phenomena. These constitute an ample source of illustration, to which we would rather, however, refer the curious reader, than occupy our space with extracts. There is one class of phenomena of the periodic kind, to which we would more especially call attention, principally on account of their bearing on the welfare of mankind in general, and on national prosperity. These are the changes which influence the harvests, and the rising and spread of epidemics.

The solution of the problem of recurring good and bad harvests, and their concomitant, or consequent, circumstances of commercial prosperity and depression, has been attempted in various ways. One method may be termed the *empirical*; namely, to determine by simple observation at what *periods of time* they recur, independently of their causation, or of meteorological phenomena. The records of history are not very precise, but they are sufficiently accurate to indicate a cycle of seventeen to nineteen years. Another method is, to determine the periods in reference to meteorological phenomena, or, in other words, to investigate the relation of cause and effect. This has branched out into some curious subordinate inquiries. To those who have traced imperfect harvests to an usually severe winter, the subject has presented itself in a point of view different from that taken by the inquirers who trace them to incessantly wet weather during seed-time and harvest, to volcanic disturbances, to mysteriously arising "blights," &c. Mr. Howard, a veteran meteorologist, thinks he has discovered a cycle of the seasons, occupying a period of about nineteen years, during which the mean annual temperature increases and decreases according to the principle following: "While the moon is far south of the Equator, there falls but a moderate quantity of rain in these latitudes; while she is crossing the Line towards us, our rain increases; and the greatest quantity falls while she is in full north declination, or most nearly vertical to us; but during her return to the south the

rain comes back to its lowest amount." Mr. Howard* has also discovered a similar cycle of years in the movements of the barometer. It cannot but be allowed that when a sufficient number of these cycles have been noted and established, the principle will be of great importance; at present, however, the sequence is by no means clear. Toaldo made extensive researches into the moon's influence, and we think modern meteorologists have had them in too little estimation. He proposed a cycle of nine years, or nearly the semi-lunar revolution of the lunar zones and apogee; and it was remarked, some years ago, by a writer in the "*Edinburgh Review*,"* that years remarkable for the extremes of temperature followed each other in cycles of this length. Thus, the year 1621-2, remarkable for a frost so intense, that the Venetian fleet was frozen up in the lagoons of the Adriatic, and the Hellespont and Zuyder Zee were covered with ice, was followed in four periods (thirty-six years) by the years 1658, 1659, and 1660, all remarkable for intense frost. In 1658, Charles X. of Sweden crossed the Little Belt on the ice with his whole army, artillery, and baggage. The price of grain was doubled during these years; and this, it is thought, contributed, with other circumstances, to the Restoration. In four periods more we reach 1695, another famous year for cold: in five periods more we come to 1740, when the Zuyder Zee was again frozen over, and the thermometer fell to 10° Fahr.: three periods more carry us to another sequence of three cold years,—1766, 1767, and 1768,—corresponding to 1658 and following years. Twelve periods, therefore, elapsed between these sequences of cold years. If we go back twenty-five periods, we come to another similar sequence; namely, 1432, 1433, and 1434: twelve periods further back than this bring us to 1323, when the Little Belt was again frozen; and twenty-four periods (from 1432) to 1216, when the Po froze fifteen ells deep, and wine burst the casks. Returning to modern dates, one period from 1767 brings us to 1776, a very cold year; and another to 1785, which, as well as 1784, was equally severe: three periods from 1785 bring us to 1812, a very cold year. These were not by any means the only cold winters; many others are chronicled; as, for instance, that of 1709, which appears to have been the most severe and destructive on record. Twelve periods (or 108 years) ago, a sequence of five cold years began with 1745; in one period after, (1754,) a sequence of two cold years occurred; and in five periods from thence, another sequence of two cold years; namely, 1799, 1800. Of the hot years occurring in periods of nine years, the chronicles mention 1616, 1652, and 1679; then, 1701, 1718, 1745, 1754, and 1763. The years 1784, 1793, 1802, and 1811, were also hot years at intervals of nine years.

* Vol. xxx., 1818.

Amongst the influential periodic agencies yet to be investigated, are those which determine or accompany the phenomena of *auroræ*, *meteors*, and *falling-stars*. The relations of these to important changes in the weather have been noticed perhaps from the earliest period of history, and are often referred to by classical writers. Thus Virgil, in his first Georgic:—

——“ Oft before tempestuous winds arise,
The seeming stars fall headlong from the skies,
And, shooting through the darkness, gild the night
With sweeping glories and long trains of light.”

Within the last few years, the periodic recurrence of these stars in large numbers, at annual and secular periods of seventeen years, has been fully established. The two most remarkable of the annual periodic displays are those of the second week in August and November, or about the 10th and 14th respectively,—epochs known by tradition, those of the 10th being the “fiery tears” of St. Lawrence. In November, 1789, and 1833, these stars fell in vast showers, the interval being thirty-four years; it is therefore expected that a similar display will occur in November, 1867. It is probable that there are other annual periods, namely, January, March, April, July, October. What is noticeable is this,—that the date when the sun enters the opposite point of the ecliptic presents important meteorological changes. Thus in February and May, corresponding to August and November, there is *always* a sudden decrement of temperature, more or less remarkable for its extent, but occasionally very singularly intense. There is also a concurrent unusual rise in temperature, before or after the cold. August the 10th is equally remarkable for its violent thunder-storms, and November the 12th for its “Indian” summer, or commencing winter.

The connexion between auroral phenomena and these periodic showers of meteors has been also observed, and is now fully established. The appearance of large solitary meteors belongs to the same group. The most interesting phenomenon of all, if its practical relations be considered, is that of the *obscuration of the sun*, which has been observed to occur at intervals. In the historical fragments of the elder Cato there is a reference to an official notice of the high price of corn, and an obscuration of the sun’s disc, which continued for many months. A chronological record of this phenomenon is given in Humboldt’s “Kosmos,” under the head of “the Sun’s Spots.” Some of these dates correspond to seventeen-year periods. Remarkable fogs seem to have also a connexion with these meteoric displays. Whether the *sun-spots* be the source of these obscurations of the sun’s rays or not, these latter also are found to be periodic in their occurrence, so far as they have been hitherto observed. Now it is of great importance to remember that a high temperature only is not

sufficient to ripen the fruits of the earth. Indeed, it seems to be established that a warm humid atmosphere, by which the sun's rays are intercepted, is rather injurious than beneficial to the vitality of the cereals, the vine, and the olive. The past year (1853) was unfruitful, quite as much from the want of sunshine as from the ungenial seed-times. In no year during the last twenty-eight was there so little sun or so much cloud. It follows, therefore, that the means of the *actinometer* are as important to be observed as of the rain-gauge and thermometer, in the discovery of a cycle of the seasons, and of fruitful and unfruitful years.

The seventeen-year period is one of some importance in the animal world. Epidemics are known to recur at this period, the cholera being one of these. In 1816-17 it commenced its ravages in India; it was prevalent in Europe in 1832-33, and again in 1848-49. Humboldt mentions a similar cycle as having been observed in South America in the prevalence of the small-pox. In the United States locusts have appeared every seventeen years in larger quantities, concurrently with the epidemical diffusion of cholera, namely, in 1832 and 1849. There is a species of *Cicada* which has its trivial name from its periodical recurrence at this interval of time,—the *C. septemdecem punctata*.

Amongst the phenomena intimately related to our subject, are those terrestrial changes which are the immediate cause of wide-spread volcanic action. That there is some relation between these and destructive diseases and atmospheric changes, is a doctrine which has long been popular, and will probably remain so, although the meteorological relation is doubted by so eminent an authority as Humboldt. The great earthquakes of Cumana, 1764-66 and 1799, were accompanied by showers of falling stars; and (as we have seen) these were years of extreme cold. The great earthquake at Calabria in 1783 (a seventeen-year period) was followed, in 1784 and 1785, by extreme cold. The great eruption of Cotopaxi in 1744, and the earthquake at Lima in 1746, occurred in the midst of a series of cold winters,—a series in cyclical relation to that of 1766. It is noticeable that the summer of 1745 was very hot. These coincidences might be multiplied. A more important relation of earthquakes to atmospheric phenomena is to be found in the fact, that the days of the periodic annual recurrence of falling stars, and their complementary days, as August and February, November and May, July and January, are also the days on which earthquakes and volcanic eruptions have most frequently occurred. On this head we would specially refer to Quetelet's researches.*

* *Nouveaux Mém. de l'Acad. Roy. de Brux.*, tom. xv.

We are inclined to think, with Quetelet, that the *nexus* of phenomena so widely different and dissimilar will be found in the study of Terrestrial Magnetism. The mysterious oscillations of the magnetic needle in what have been termed "magnetic storms," clearly indicate the wide-spread action of some mighty agent. "When the tranquil hourly motion of the needle is disturbed by a magnetical storm," (we quote the words of Humboldt,) "the perturbation frequently proclaims itself over hundreds and thousands of miles, in the strictest sense of the word, simultaneously; or it is propagated gradually, in brief intervals of time, in every direction over the surface of the earth." The observation of auroræ, shooting-stars, &c., is necessarily imperfect, because at night they may be obscured by clouds, and are rarely visible by day; they may therefore often occur and be never seen. It is different with the magnetic needle; and it is by no means impossible that, ere long, the oscillations of this delicate instrument may tell to the observers that mighty changes are occurring in the earth, in the ocean, and in the air, with more certainty as to the time and the place, than the practised eyes of the keenest watcher. Already important and unexpected results are being brought out by the reduction of magnetic observations under the able superintendence of Col. Sabine. In particular, it is expected that the magnetic influence of the moon on the earth will be demonstrated; and, probably, from the same *data*, the magnetic axis of the moon herself determined. The Makers-toun observations contain important illustrations of the connexion between the moon and magnetic changes.

In the present Article, we have limited ourselves almost exclusively to historical and empirical *data*, because the science of Meteorology is little advanced beyond them. The dawn, however, of a brighter day is manifest; and it cannot be doubted, we think, that this important branch of physics will advance in a geometrical ratio. Discovery will follow after discovery; unseen and hitherto unknown relations between physical phenomena will be made manifest, and their philosophy simplified. Popular ignorance and superstition will recede before the light of science, so soon as its foundations are laid in simple grand principles; and it is not too much to hope that, in another century, man will know more of the agencies which most nearly affect his well-being, than in any previous period of his history.

In a former Article we endeavoured to show how important to the national welfare was a popular knowledge of public and private hygiene, and we suggested that that science should constitute a branch of popular education. We would equally urge, and on the same grounds, the propriety and necessity of making the elements of Meteorology a part of a school course, in connexion with Geography and Astronomy. This alone would secure the general establishment of Observa-

tories, the progressive development of the science, and the application of it to the arts of political economy, medicine, navigation, and agriculture and horticulture. It is only by a multitude of conscientious and diligent observers, that phenomena so multiform, so extensively connected, and so varied, can be observed sufficiently for the purposes of philosophical deduction. We have seen how constantly the desire for combined observation has been manifested, and its necessity recognised, in proportion as the observers have multiplied. This is a lesson taught us by our present brief history. We cannot doubt, therefore, that when once Meteorology has become a branch of popular education, and the circle of those interested in it is enlarged, observers will be indefinitely multiplied, and combined observation extended, until at last no hour of the day or night, and no spot of earth, will be left unwatched.

- ART. VI.—1. *Biblical Researches in Palestine, Mount Sinai, and Arabia Petræa: a Journal of Travels in the Year 1838, by E. Robinson and E. Smith, undertaken in reference to Biblical Geography: drawn up from the original Diaries, with Historical Illustrations.* By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, &c., &c. In Three Vols. 8vo. With Maps. London, 1841.
2. *Reise in das Morgenland, u. s. w. (Travels in the East, in the Years 1836 and 1837.* By DR. G. H. VON SCHUBERT. With a Map, and a Ground Plan of Jerusalem. Three Vols. 8vo. Erlangen, 1840. London: Nutt.)
3. *Reise in Europa, Asien, und Africa, u. s. w. (Travels in Syria, forming part of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa; undertaken with special Reference to the Natural History of the Lands visited, in the Years 1835 to 1841.* By JOSEPH RUSSEGER. With an Atlas. Three Vols. 8vo. Stuttgart, 1846–1849.)
4. *Die Erdkunde. (Universal Comparative Geography. The Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Parts: Western Asia.* By CARL RITTER. Three Vols. 8vo. Berlin, 1848–1852.)
5. *Atlas von Palästina. (Atlas of Palestine and of the Peninsula of Sinai; intended to accompany Ritter's "Erdkunde," Vols. XIV–XVI.* By C. ZIMMERMANN. Large Folio. Berlin, 1850.)
6. *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea.* By W. F. LYNCH, U.S.N., Commander of the Expedition. With Maps and numerous Illustrations. One Vol. Crown 8vo. London, 1849.
7. *Voyage autour de la Mer Morte. (Journey around the Dead Sea and in the Lands of the Bible; executed from December, 1850, to April, 1851.* By F. DE SAULCY, formerly a Pupil in

- the Polytechnic School, and now a Member of the Institute. Published under the auspices of the Minister of Public Instruction. With Maps and Plates. Two Vols. Small 4to. Paris, 1852. London: Nutt.)
8. *Reisebilder. (Travelling Pictures from the East.* By DR. F. DIETRICH. Two Vols. 12mo. Berlin, 1853.)
 9. *Sinai and Golgotha; or, Journey in the East.* By F. A. STRAUSS. Translated from the German. With an Introduction by HENRY STEBBING, D.D., F.R.S. One Vol. 12mo. London: Blackwood. 1849.
 10. *Wanderings in the Land of Israel, and through the Wilderness of Sinai, in 1850 and 1851; with an Account of the Inscriptions in Wady Mokatteb, or "the Written Valley."* By the REV. JOHN ANDERSON. One Vol. 12mo. London: Collins.

INDEPENDENTLY of its religious associations, Palestine is a land of the deepest interest. Look at its position, in the centre of ancient and modern civilization, in the eastern hemisphere. The line that connects it with the Ganges, on the south-east, is nearly of the same length as that by which it joins Britain on the north-west. In its immediate vicinity lie the three great centres of primæval culture. Contiguous to its southern border is Egypt, the mother of letters; on its north-eastern side is Mesopotamia, whose highlands afforded a cradle to our race, and in whose luxuriant plains grew up and bloomed the first seeds of human society; while its northern border is a continuation of the lovely region where eastern culture found a new soil, preparatory to its passing westward to Greece, Italy, France, Germany, and England. Then, let it be observed, how easy Palestine is of access. Washed by the Mediterranean, and so connected with the Atlantic and the western hemisphere, it is open to Northern Europe by the Black Sea; while, by the Caspian, it is accessible to those who inhabit the inland steppes of Asia. The Arabian Gulf furnishes a channel of intercommunication with the coasts of India, with the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and even with the recesses of China; while the Persian Gulf opens to it the means of intercourse with the widely-stretching kingdom of the Medes and Persians.

Or, let a glance be cast on the interior of the country. Of its superficial characteristics we shall shortly speak a little in detail. A general remark may suffice for the present. Let the surface of the land be looked at with the eye of science: what does it resemble? It is a natural fastness,—a stronghold erected by God's own hand. Upon that ridge of lofty hills Civilization might build a safe nest, and in the prolific bosom of that deep valley might rear its young to maturity. Along the eastern side of that valley the Almighty has thrown up a wall, whose huge and towering rocks presented an effectual breakwater against the savagism of the

desert; the pressure into Canaan of the inferior races of Africa was hindered by a wide waste and steep ascents; a group of mountains was its northern defence; and the sea checked incursions from the west. One look at the map suffices to show that the position of Palestine is unparalleled. The land might have been made on purpose to be the great focus of light and heat for mankind. Or, to put the matter somewhat differently, no spot on earth could have been so well chosen for a centre of universal radiation. Imagine a Palestine, if you can, on the Don, or the Rhine, or the Clyde, or the Indus.

Accordingly, it is a very distinguished part that Palestine has played in the history of the world. Its deep and fertile vales, its bare and rugged hills, gave strength, energy, and independence, to the earliest conquering tribes, who, under the name of Hyksos, subdued the Delta of Egypt, and founded there a dynasty which bore sway for centuries. A handful of the natives of its soil bestowed on the same country a deliverer, by whom it was saved in a wasting famine, and from whose administration it received new strength. The descendants of that handful of men, when oppressed by the swarming myriads of Egypt, vindicated their liberty, and established their independence; and, from being a horde of slaves, became "a great nation," under the divinely appointed leadership of one who, as a patriot, a hero, and a legislator, has no equal in the annals of our race, and whose influence still remains, after the lapse of some four thousand years. Politically, indeed, Syria is the key of the East, as it is the link between the East and the West. So it was regarded by Alexander, and, at a later period, by Buonaparte. Commercially, it is the great *entrepôt* of the old world. Close on its southern border is the route which joins India to England; and on its northern coast stood Tyre and Sidon, which were the Manchester and Liverpool of primæval ages, connecting Ceylon with the Straits of Hercules in the bonds of civilizing commerce, and sending out explorers, who colonized the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean, discovered Britain, and circumnavigated Africa.

These facts themselves are sufficient to justify special attention to the study of Palestine. But we cannot forget the peculiar claims the country prefers in its religious relations. The district of which it forms a part is the earthly birth-place of religion. Eden, Ararat, Sinai, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Zion, Calvary,—spots hallowed by the most distinctly-marked footsteps of God,—are all in or near Palestine. Thither are our thoughts carried when we speak of Abraham, Moses, Christ. The mutually related and divinely true religions of the Circumcision and of the Cross sprang up in the district. Within its limits, too, the false religion of the Crescent had its origin. No wonder Palestine is regarded with loving eyes and yearning hearts by all who value the Bible. There were its blessed truths revealed to the

world. Thither does every page of God's word direct the thoughts. Around its localities gather and dwell the holiest reminiscences and fondest hopes of the Christian's heart. Were not its hills, valleys, and plains, trodden by His sacred feet, who brought redemption to the world? Every spot is hallowed, on which His eyes fell; every scene is endeared, which witnessed a display of His benignity. Even the cold surface of the country, and the dark impressions of the map, seem to kindle into points glowing with light, when one reflects,—“Here Jesus pronounced the Sermon on the Mount; here He fed the famishing thousands; here He rescued the sinking Peter from the waves; here He recalled the widow's son to life; here He took repose amid the endearments of the home of Lazarus, whom He called from the tomb; here He endured His agony; and here He gave His life a ransom for the world.”

The wonder is, that more attention has not been paid to the study of the Holy Land. Thither, every seventh day, do minds and hearts turn from every part of every Christian nation, people, and community, over the wide surface of the globe. Around that one point are grouped all the lights, all the grandeurs, and all the promises, of the Bible. And what is the Bible but the great charter-book of Christendom, and the chief hope of the world? Surely, whatever makes Palestine better known, throws light on the Bible. In its essential operation, indeed, the spiritual power of the Bible is independent of any earthly thing. The salvation of the soul is not wrought out by Geography. Nevertheless, whatever makes the Bible known, makes the Bible loved; and whatever makes the Bible loved, helps forward the work of God, who disdains not the employment of instruments in the production of the highest results. But the Bible—so to say—is inseparable from the soil of Palestine; and, if we would have an intelligent acquaintance with it, we must be familiar with the land, the water, the air, the sky, the productions, the animals, the inhabitants, of that region; for they come and go, appear and tarry, act and are acted on, in the pages of the Bible. There certainly is not a chapter—scarcely, indeed, a verse—of the sacred records, which may not receive illustration, or acquire point and emphasis, from discoveries regarding Palestine. In one view the Bible is a history. How can a history be understood, how can a vivid impression of a history be gained, apart from the ordinary aids of history? and is there any one science which may not throw light on history? What is history in its essence, but the earth and its inhabitants in times gone by?

How, then, is it that Palestine is not the chief point of convergence for the scientific interest of the world? Thither are directed the hopes of mankind, as well as the finger of Providence; and around it, and on it, consequently, might we expect the sciences to gather. What more proper than for Christian

nations and Christian Governments to direct their efforts to the lands of the Bible, in such a manner that every thing knowable respecting them should become known? What an expenditure of effort, of property, and of life, has been made in the regions near the North Pole! Fruitless as the result has been, the aim was laudable, and noble the heroism its pursuit has called forth. But a nation that has attempted so much, to achieve the North-Western Passage, might not inconsistently have explored the lands of the Bible, in every part and every relation. Nay, for the former object there has been a combination of nations:—why not for the latter? Could any thing be more seemly (few things could be more beneficial) than for the chief Christian Governments to unite in a well-digested and systematic effort to carry the torch of scientific inquiry from the summit of Lebanon to that of Sinai, and from the Tigris to “the great sea?” If such a union is impossible, then why does not England alone undertake the work? A Society is now forming to promote and give effect to the recently-born zeal for the study of Assyrian antiquities. We rejoice in the fact, if only because it affords a sure promise of bringing to light fresh illustrations of the Holy Scriptures. But why is Assyria preferred to Palestine? Or, at any rate, why should not Palestinian archaeology have the patronage of a Society of its own? We must, however, candidly confess that neither individuals, nor an association of individuals, can, in our judgment, effect what is required. Individual effort has been profusely bestowed. It has had its reward. Deep and numerous are the obligations which the biblical student owes to such names as Reland, Robinson, Schubert, Russegger, and De Saulcy. Nay, one Government has earned for itself the distinction of sending an expedition to explore a portion of Canaan, namely, the Dead Sea. And if the United States could effectually place explorers on its waters, why cannot England plant scientific investigators in every part of the land? For such a work our friendly relations with Turkey afford us special advantages. One word from the Earl of Clarendon would obtain the requisite *firman*s. Or, if an overture of the kind were likely to increase the perplexities of the “Eastern question,” then let France and Austria and Prussia, too, enter into partnership with Britain, to set on foot a full, systematic, and thorough exploration of “the holy places,” in which all have a common interest. Nothing short of national efforts can accomplish what biblical science requires. How much might be expected from the well-directed endeavour of even one nation, may be inferred from the great results achieved by the scientific corps which accompanied Napoleon Buonaparte in his expedition into Egypt; and by the learned men, with the eminent Egyptologist, Lepsius, at their head, whom the King of Prussia, not long since, sent into the same country. Examples of the kind will surely not be lost. Let England send a scientific expedition to Palestine

and Sinai. If needful, let "the British Association" press the undertaking on the attention of the Government. None know better than many of its members, how insufficient individual attempts have been, and must be. What can be done for a thorough and intimate knowledge of a country by the hasty tourist, or the unscientific visitor? Only by such a lengthened residence in the land, as would secure a close and familiar acquaintance with the peasantry, and so lead to a knowledge of the native traditions, in opposition to the ecclesiastical;—only by the possession of such power and authority as might, wherever necessary, turn up the soil, and minutely investigate heaps of real, or apparent, ruins;—only by such systematic scientific arrangements as could accurately ascertain heights, depths, lengths, and breadths, of both land and water; and, in addition to the geology, geography, and meteorology of the country, could study its natural history, the ideas, customs, and manners of its present inhabitants, as well as their relation to the ancient inhabitants;—in a word, only a full and complete investigation, under the light of pure science, and with the aid of the Government, and the sanction of the nation,—nothing short of this,—could satisfy the case, or ought to satisfy any sincere lover, or intelligent student, of the sacred records.

Meanwhile, we welcome any contribution to our knowledge; and by no means is it to be denied that many, and very valuable, contributions have been already made. The result has been proportionately satisfactory. Palestine is no longer, to the extent it was, a *terra incognita*. The mists of fable do not lie so thick upon it. The clouds, gathered during the dark ages, have partly passed away, and the land lies open to the eye.

One very marked, and very beneficial, effect has ensued from investigations in the Holy Land. That land appears, in the scriptural records, rich and fertile, as well as beautiful and attractive, and as sustaining, at times, a very large population. A superficial view of the country scarcely bears out these implications;—hence, questioning and doubt. The opportunity was too enticing to be let slip by infidelity; and Voltaire and his disciples began to chant a *pæan* of victory, as if the inspired writers had^o been convicted of mendacity. How short the triumph! As soon as the peace, concluded in the early part of this century, threw open Europe and Asia to the enterprises of research, piety and science led traveller after traveller into Syria and the adjoining lands, who came back loaded with exact and reliable information, which they gave to the world. As a consequence, we know that for all those biblical implications there is the broadest and surest foundation. Even after the neglect of centuries, and under the iron heel of Moslem despotism,—and although the land has been again and again wasted by conflicting armies, "from Dan to Beersheba,"—Palestine is yet "a good

land,"—a land worthy to be "the land of promise,"—a land for whose revival nothing is needed but, under the Divine blessing, a wise and benign Government.

With equal effect have other sceptical objections been confuted. What idle derision and unseemly pleasantry has unbelief poured out on biblical representations of manners and customs! The Patriarchs ate, drank, walked, and talked, in a different way from that in which these acts are performed in Paris. Consequently, "the narration is an old wives' fable." The rash and unworthy conclusion has received the most signal confutation. On its own soil the patriarchal life was seen and studied. Transcripts thereof were published. The infidel witlings were confounded. Yes; the biblical every-day life may still be contemplated in the biblical lands by every intelligent traveller.

A determined scepticism is, however, not easily reduced to silence. So recent and so learned a writer as Von Bohlen endeavoured to throw doubt on the historic reality of an event, on which we shall presently speak somewhat at large,—namely, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah,—by representing the Kings of those and the other "cities of the plain," spoken of in Genesis, as the mere figments of poetic invention.* Five Kings within the circuit of the Dead Sea! How absurd! What is a King? Ask Prussia; or let France reply; or look at the dominions of the Kings of England. There are kingdoms, and those are Kings. Five such around the shores of the *Lacus Asphaltitis*! We can imagine the mocking sneer with which the objection was put to paper. Yet is it not the learned Professor alone that merits rebuke? The earlier books of the Bible are full of illustrations of the sense in which it employs the term "King;" and a slight acquaintance with Western Asia might have informed the objector of the fact, that, even down to his own days, such *Kings*, under the name of "Sheiks," bear sway there in great numbers. Nay, the shores of the Dead Sea itself, at this very hour, are governed by five (or more) petty Kings, or Sheiks, who, within defined limits, exercise each an unqualified despotism. The reader may find proofs of the assertion in the work of M. De Saulcy, who, in his tour on "the Dead Sea shore," passed through the territories, as well as the hands, of three or four of these biblical "Kings."

In none of its attacks has unbelief been more signally unsuccessful, than in those which it has made on what may be termed "the outer world of the Bible." That "outer world" is now known to be a reality. Familiarity with the lands of the Bible, the result of popular travel and of learned investigation, has put its reality beyond the possibility of question, as well as thrown

* *Die Genesis Historisch-Kritisch erläutert.* Von P. VON BOHLEN. Königsberg, 1835.

floods of light on scriptural narratives. Make a map of the physical sciences, and apply that map to Palestine, and we say that not one department, scarcely one corner of that map, is there, which has not received illustration from recent discovery. Very true it is, that these are but beginnings; but they are beginnings of high promise.

The province in which most has been accomplished, is that of geography. The identification of biblical names with their several localities, has been prosecuted most successfully. Very numerous are the names of places in the Scriptures. If those names represent realities, the populousness and the fertility of the land are at once made unquestionable. But are those names mere names? Till recently, a large number of them had no assigned place on the map. A change has come. Dr. Robinson's classical work, the "*Biblical Researches in Palestine*," has produced a new era. Adequately furnished for the labour, by varied knowledge, and specially by an acquaintance with the contents of the Bible, the languages in which it was originally written, the languages spoken at present on its soil, and actuated by a spirit equally remote from credulity and scepticism, that eminent scholar and profound theologian, in 1837, undertook a lengthened journey in the Levant, the results of which proved pre-eminently instructive and interesting, and supplied means for fixing to their proper spots the names of many biblical places. The process of identification was continued by himself and coadjutors, after Dr. Robinson's return home to the United States, in the valuable periodical which is conducted under his patronage; namely, "*The Bibliotheca Sacra*." Last year Dr. Robinson again repaired to Syria. He shall state his reasons himself:—

"Ever since the publication of my work on Palestine, I had cherished the desire of once more visiting that interesting country; partly for the purpose of examining some points anew; but still more in the hope of extending my researches into those portions which had not yet been explored."*

The fruits of the journey are various and considerable. The following extract contains important facts. Dr. Robinson is on the plain of Esdraelon,—the great battle-field, as well as the granary, of Palestine:—

"The next morning (April 21st) we crossed the Mukutta, (the Kishon,) running over a gravelly bed, between banks from fifteen to twenty feet high. Passing through tracts of the utmost fertility, we came at last to the great Tell-el-Mutesellim, which stands out in front of the hill, on the back of which Lejjun is situated. This Tell affords a

* See "*The Journal of Sacred Literature*," No. ix., October, 1853, p. 9. The paper there copied from an American publication, first appeared in German, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; having been read before that learned body, at their annual meeting, held at Göttingen, October 2d, 1852.

magnificent view of the rich plain, (Esdraelon,) and, as we looked toward Taanach, we became fully persuaded that we had before us the battle-field of Deborah and Barak. Whether Megiddo lay upon this Tell, as some suppose, although there is now no trace of it; or whether it lay upon the hill-back, the south side of which is now occupied by Lejjun; it was, at any rate, a slightly and important place, and might well give name to the plain.* The stream flowing down from Lejjun is still the largest perennial tributary of the Kishon. That Lejjun is the representative of the more ancient Megiddo, there can be little doubt. Near Lejjun passes the great road from Damascus to Ramleh and Egypt. We followed it to the top of the pass; and then, without descending, took a more south-easterly course to Um el-Fahm, on the brow of a hill looking towards the western plain. Hence we proceeded on high ground, south-eastward, along the water-shed, between the heads of valleys running to the northern and the western plains; and came for the night to Yabud, on a hill overlooking another beautiful plain, extending far to the E. and N.E., and bending round Yabud towards the W. Far in the N.E. we had before seen Kubatiyeh; and in the northern part lies Kefr Kud, the ancient *Capharcotia* of Ptolemy. Here, too, in the eastern plain, we were delighted to find the name of *Dothán*; (Dothan;) it is now a fine green Tell, with a fountain in its southern base, corresponding entirely to the position assigned to it by Eusebius, twelve Roman miles north of Samaria. In this connexion, we were told at Yabud, that the great road from Beisan and Zerín, to Ramleh and Egypt, still leads through this plain, entering it west of Jenín, passing near Kefr Kud, and bending south-westward around Yabud to the western plain. It is easy to see, therefore, that the Midianites to whom Joseph was sold in Dothan, had crossed the Jordan at Beisan, and were proceeding to Egypt along the ordinary road. It is obvious, too, that Joseph's brethren well knew the best places of pasture. They had exhausted that of the Mukhna, by Shechem, (Nablus,) and had afterwards repaired to the still finer pastures here around Dothan. On the day after, (April 22d,) we followed the road by which Joseph was carried away to Egypt, down to Zeita and Attil, on the borders of the western plain, and then turned up again into the mountains, on the way to Sebastieh and Nablus. We supposed we were here upon Herod's road from Cæsarea to these places; and in many parts there were evident traces of an ancient road, but we saw nowhere any paved way."—Pp. 16-18.

The following deserves special notice:—

"At Hablah I was gratified at finding, close by our tent, an ancient wine-press, hewn in the rock. It was complete, with the upper shallow vat for treading the grapes, and the lower deeper one to receive the liquid; and might still be used, were there here grapes to tread."—P. 19.

Let those who doubt the ancient productiveness of Canaan read this passage; which we quote the rather, because it serves to illustrate that luxuriant fertility of the Valley of the Jordan, to which reference will shortly be made:—

* "'The waters of Megiddo,' Judges v. 19. Consult the context, and compare 1 Kings iv. 12: ix. 15; also 2 Kings ix. 27; xxiii. 29."

"We now turned north-west through a lower portion of the plain, (of the Jordan,) exhibiting the utmost fertility, and covered with the rankest vegetation. The grass and weeds came up to our horses' backs, and the taller thistles often rose above our heads, as we rode along. On the higher plateau, nearer the western mountains, the inhabitants of Tubas and other villages cultivate wheat. They were now in mid-harvest; and we pitched our tent by the side of a colony from Tubas, who were dwelling in tents and booths, with their women and children, horses and donkeys, dogs and poultry. What struck us here especially, were the many fountains and brooks in this part of the Ghor, furnishing an abundant supply of water, and giving rise to the most luxuriant fertility."—Pp. 27, 28.

The highest service, however, rendered on this visit by Dr. Robinson, is the identification of the ancient Pella, to which trans-Jordanic town the primitive Christians fled on the downfall of "the holy," then the doomed, city of Jerusalem, actuated by the awful warnings and express admonitions of their prescient Master. (Matt. xxiv. 16; compare Mark xiii. 14; Luke xxi. 21.) We quote what relates to the point:—

"We now turned to descend the mountain by a more northern path, leading directly towards Beisan; computing that if the ruins at Tabakat Fahil were those of Pella, we ought to reach the spot in about two hours. Our road to Beisan passed ten minutes north of the ruins, and we were opposite to them in just two hours. But our guides knew them only as el-Jerm, and we went on ten minutes further before turning off to them. They lie upon a low hill, or mound, having a broad area on its top, surrounded by higher hills, except on the west, where is a plain, which also runs up on the north side of the hill, or mound, described. As we approached from the north, we came upon ruins in the low plain, with many fragments of columns. The area on the hill is covered with like remains; and others are also seen below, in the western plain. Below the hill, in the south-east quarter, there is a large fountain, which sends off a stream towards the south-west. Near it was a small temple, of which two columns are still standing; and the valley below is full of oleanders. From men on the spot we learned that the name of the plain is 'Fahil;' (Pella;) the word 'Tabakah' (meaning 'a story of a house, a terrace') being here applied to the narrow plain which stands out like a terrace in front of the hills, several hundred feet above the Valley of the Jordan below. The situation of this spot in relation to Beisan and Wady-Yabis, (Jerash, Jabesh-Gilead,) the extensive remains, obviously, of a large city, the copious fountains, and also the name, left no doubt upon our minds that we were standing on the site of ancient Pella. The ruins were discovered and visited by Irby and Mangles, in 1817; but no idea of any connexion with Pella suggested itself to their minds. Since that time no Frank traveller has visited the spot. The first public suggestion of the identity of the place with Pella was given in Kiepert's 'Map of Palestine,' in which the name of Pella is inserted with a query. Our main object was now accomplished, in thus verifying the correctness of Kiepert's suggestion."—Pp. 29, 30.

With those who are not minutely acquainted with the struc-

ture and outlines of the country, a doubt may arise as to the alleged success, on the ground that our Lord commands His disciples to flee into "the mountains;" whereas the ruins of Fahil are here described as being "upon a low hill or mound." That low hill, however, forms part of a line of mountains, running along the eastern side of the Jordan, whose average height is near four thousand feet, and which is very appropriately described as "the mountains," especially by one who had been brought up at Nazareth, a comparatively low spot, lying in nearly the same latitude. To Jesus, "the mountains" would specially be the lofty range of *plateaux* which, branching off from Lebanon, line Galilee and Judea on the east. These are the high lands, to a portion of which—the north-east coast of the Lake of Galilee—reference is made in Matthew xiv. 23; Mark vi. 46; and John vi. 3; where the district is described as τὸ ὄρος, "the mountain," that is, the mountainous group or range. The reason, too, why the particular spot on which Pella stood was chosen as the place of refuge, may be inferred from the fact which appears in our citations; namely, that the high road from Jerusalem to Damascus, across the Jordan, in a north-easterly direction, ran near Pella, to which, consequently, the fugitives would have a comparatively easy access.

In speaking of the altitude of the mountains which line the Jordan on its eastern side, we have adverted to a new and very valuable source of biblical illustration, connected with the geography of Palestine. The elevations and depressions of the country in various parts have been measured, by scientific processes, with more or less exactitude. From the somewhat varying results, an average unit has in several instances been gained, which approaches to the reality with sufficient precision for general purposes. The task, indeed, instead of being completed, is only just commenced. But, so far as it has proceeded, reliable *data* have been gained; and these *data*, pertaining to leading districts, and running in several directions, give us the means of acquiring an exact knowledge of the general *contour* of the land, and of applying to biblical statements and implications a severe and rigid test.

In order that the reader may understand the application of that test, and intelligently appreciate its results, we must briefly describe Palestine, under the light thrown thereon by the measurements in question. For this purpose we ask attention to four lines of country. We further ask the reader to suppose himself on the southern extremity of Mount Lebanon, with his back turned toward the north. Let him carry his eye in the line of that river. It is the Jordan. It runs through one of the most extraordinary dykes or *crevasses* in the world, now known by the name of the *Ghor*. The bed of the river, deeply sunk below the country through which it flows, and inclining south-

wards with a general fall of 623 Parisian feet between the Sea of Tiberias and the Salt Sea, suddenly drops in the first of those lakes to the depth of 900 feet below the level of the ocean, and in the second to the depth of 2,662 feet below that level, though the intervening distance is not more than some sixty miles. The general character of the stream in spring—which, in a space of sixty miles of latitude and four or five miles of longitude, traverses at least 200 miles, including twenty-seven threatening rapids—may be learnt from these words employed by Lieut. Lynch:—

“For an hour or more we swept silently down the river, and the last tints of sunset were resting on the summits of the eastern mountains. The brief remainder of the day was rendered more perilous than even the commencement, from the frequency of the rapids, and the difficulty of navigation in the fast fading light. The swift current, as we sometimes turned a point of land, would seize us, and send us off at a salient angle from our course, as if it had been lurking behind that point like an evil thing, to start out and clutch us suddenly, and dash us upon the opposite bank. The scenery became also more wild, as we advanced; and as night, like a gloomy Rembrandt, came throwing her dark shadows through the mountain gorges, sobering down the bright tints upon their summits, the whole scene assumed a strange and savage aspect, as if to harmonize with the dreary sea (the Dead Sea) it held within its midst, madly toward which the river now hurried on. But altogether the descent to-day (April 14th) was much less difficult than those which had preceded it. The course of the river formed a never-ending series of serpentine curves, sometimes dashing along in rapids by the base of a mountain, sometimes flowing between low banks, generally lined with trees, and fragrant with blossoms. Some places presented views extremely picturesque,—the rapid rushing of a torrent, the song and sight of birds, the overhanging trees, and glimpses of the mountains far over the plain. Here and there a gurgling rivulet poured its river of pure water into the now discoloured Jordan. The sacred river!—its banks fringed with perpetual verdure, winding in a thousand graceful mazes; its pathway cheered with songs of birds, and its own clear voice of gushing minstrelsy; its course a bright line in this cheerless waste.”—*Lynch's Narrative*, pp. 216, 233.

The Dead Sea, to which reference has just been made, about fifty miles long and eight broad, is the last piece in the great water-system of Palestine, receiving the contents of the river Jordan into its bosom; the general level of which it preserves, with some variation of elevation and depression, by means of the intense evaporation produced in the deep narrow caldron, shut in on the west and on the east by limestone mountains. This spacious lake, for a knowledge of which we are chiefly indebted to Lieut. Lynch and M. de Saulcy, fills up the entire basin in which it lies, leaving only a narrow rim on most of the western, and a part of the eastern, side; while, at the two extremities, there

is a wide open space, the middle portion of which is marsh and swamp. Sterility is all but universal, and the whole aspect of the district is as if wasted by fire. Yet, where fresh water flows down in Wadys from the hills, rich and smiling scenes arise. The specific gravity of the water is extraordinarily great, owing to the mineral salts with which it is largely impregnated. Very briny in taste, it is also corrosive. But neither the water nor the environs are, as fable has said, fatal to animal life; which, however, by no means abounds in either the lake or the mountains; yet in the former fish have been found, and in deposits procured from its bottom Ehrenberg discovered the remains of microscopic animals. One name that the lake bears, *Lacus Asphaltitis*, is a permanent proof that it abounded in asphaltum of old. Still does the appearance of asphaltum in its waters justify the designation, though the supply seems to have fallen off considerably. In the presence of this bituminous substance, as also in that of sulphur, in the odours of certain gases, in luminous appearances on the surface of the water, as well as in the occurrence of volcanic rocks and signs of volcanic agency in the mountain ranges and in thermal springs, we are presented with indubitable tokens of a great and sudden revolution of nature, of which fire was the principal agent.

On the east of this line of water may be seen a long chain of table lands, forming, in succession, three or four chief *plateaux*, on whose hills "the bulls of Bashan" fed, and "the oaks of Bashan" grew, and on whose plains Amorite and Moabite contended, and in one of whose vales was enacted the lovely and touching episode of Ruth.

Thence let the eye be carried westward to the deep blue waters of that sea. It is the Mediterranean. Along its shore runs the third district, from the once fruitful plain of Phœnicia to rosy Sharon and luxuriant Philistia; a narrow strip of sea-board, broken by the promontory of Carmel; where civilization reaped some of its earliest fruits, and where commerce heaped up its rich rewards.

For the student of the Bible, however, most important is the fourth range of country, being a continued succession of highlands, extending, with one or two interruptions, from Upper Galilee to the very borders of the Wilderness of Sinai, in ridges of varying height, but generally rising as they go southward, until, at Hebron, they reach their pitch, in the elevation of 3,020 feet above the Mediterranean. Along this ridge extends the water-shed of the country, streams from which run down, on one side,—the shorter, and, of course, the steeper,—into the Jordan; and, on the other, into the Mediterranean. Along the same ridge stood of old the chief cities and towns of the country; the high position being preferred, as a means of safety against invaders and marauders. This long and broken range of lime-

stone hills, forming not so much the backbone, as the body, of Palestine, is frequently intercepted by vales, or broken by ravines, or opened into plains, within whose shelter, and in virtue of whose streams, vegetation luxuriates in a profusion of beautiful, lovely, and useful products.

Scarcely, however, can one have a full conception of Palestine, unless we carry our thought beyond the southern limits of the Dead Sea, and through the Arabah to the Ælanitic Gulf, the Red Sea, and thence, along a chain of mountains, to Sinai in the southern extremity of the peninsula of that name. There we have the counterpart of Lebanon, the highest points of the two running up to near 10,000 feet above the level of the sea; and thus, within the distance of some hundred miles, we find a difference of level which, including the depth of the bottom of the *Lacus Asphaltitis*, is little, if at all, short of 18,000 feet. This very peculiar stretch of country, extending from Lebanon to Sinai, bears features of identity of origin; and there is now perhaps sufficient reason for the declaration, that the sinking of the Vale of the Jordan was contemporaneous with the elevation of the Arabah, which rises from the southern end of the Dead Sea to the height of 495 feet above the ocean, and then falls to the Ælanitic Gulf; and that both the sinking and the elevation were produced by the same convulsion of nature. That catastrophe may be held to have involved the formation of the Vale of Siddim, or the Dead Sea, before the vale was overflowed. The inundation seems to have been produced at the same time, and by the same agency, as that which destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah.

There is one universal scriptural implication which may here be noticed and exemplified. Ruin—thorough and enduring ruin—fell on the cities of the plain, and desolation made the vale its permanent abode. Such is the clear declaration of the Bible. The declaration is repeated by non-inspired writers. Had we space, we would give their testimonies *in extenso*. Here it must suffice to say, that Josephus, Tacitus, Strabo,—not to mention inferior authorities,—combine to describe the condition of the locality as barren, desolate, and gloomy. And of modern reporters the declaration, in substance, is, “God’s curse lies on the district.” Those who would fully appreciate the desolation that reigns around those shores, and over those dark mountains, should peruse the details given by the Commander of the American Expedition. The following are a few of his descriptive words:—

“At one time to-day,” he says, “the sea assumed an aspect peculiarly sombre. Unstirred by the wind, it lay smooth and unruffled as an inland lake. It was enveloped in a thin transparent vapour, its purple tinge contrasting strangely with the extraordinary colours of the sea beneath, and, where they blended in the distance, giving it the appearance of smoke from burning sulphur. It seemed a vast caldron

of metal, fused, but motionless. The sea continued to rise with the increasing wind, which gradually freshened to a gale, and presented an agitated surface of foaming brine; the spray, evaporating as it fell, left incrustations of salt upon our clothes, our hands, and faces; and, while it conveyed a prickly sensation wherever it touched the skin, was, above all, exceedingly painful to the eyes. The boats, heavily laden, struggled sluggishly at first, but, when the wind freshened in its fierceness, from the density of the water it seemed as if their bows were encountering the sledge-hammers of the Titans, instead of the opposing waves of an angry sea. At 4:55, the wind blew so fiercely that the boats could make no headway, and I began to fear that both would founder. At 5:58, the wind instantaneously abated, and with it the sea as rapidly fell; the water, from its ponderous quality, settling as soon as the agitating cause had ceased to act. The northern shore is an extensive mud-flat, with a sandy plain beyond, and is the very type of desolation: branches and trunks of trees lay scattered in every direction; some charred and blackened, as by fire; others white with an incrustation of salt. The eastern coast is a rugged line of mountains, bare of all vegetation. On the north-western coast the scene was one of unmixed desolation. The air, tainted with the sulphuretted hydrogen of the stream, gave a tawny hue even to the foliage of the cane. Except the cane-brakes, clustering around the marshy stream, which disfigured while it sustained them, there was no vegetation whatever. Barren mountains, fragments of rocks blackened by sulphurous deposit, and an unnatural sea, with low dead trees upon its margin,—all within the scope of vision, bore a sad and sombre aspect. We had never before beheld such desolate hills,—such calcined barrenness. The weather was intensely hot, and even the light air, that urged us almost insensibly on, had something oppressive. The sun glared on us, but the eye dared not take cognizance of his presence. The black chasms and rough peaks, embossed with grimness, were, around and above us, veiled in a transparent mist, like visible air, that made them seem unreal; and, 1,800 feet below, our sounding-lead had struck upon the buried plain of Siddim, shrouded in slime and salt. While busied with such thoughts, my companions had yielded to oppressive drowsiness, and now lay before me, in every attitude of a sleep that had more of stupor in it than repose. In the awful aspect which the sea presented when we first beheld it, I seemed to read the inscription over the gates of Dante's *Inferno*: 'Ye who enter here, leave hope behind.' Since then, habituated to mysterious appearances in a journey so replete with them, and accustomed to scenes of deep and thrilling interest at every step of our progress, those feelings of awe had been insensibly lessened, or hushed by deep interest in the investigations we had pursued. But now, as I sat alone in my wakefulness, the feeling of awe returned; and as I looked upon the sleepers, I felt 'the hair of my flesh stand up,' as Job's did, when 'a spirit passed before his face;' for, to my disturbed imagination, there was something fearful in the expression of their inflamed and swollen images. The fierce angel of disease seemed hovering over them, and I read the forerunner of his presence in their flushed and feverish sleep. Some, with their bodies bent and arms dangling over the abandoned oars, their hands excoriated with the acrid water, slept profoundly;—others, with heads thrown back, and lips cracked

and sore, with a scarlet flush on either cheek, seemed overpowered by heat and weariness, even in sleep ;—while some, upon whose faces shone the reflected light from the water, looked ghastly, and dozed with a nervous twitching of the limbs, and now and then, starting from their sleep, drank deeply from a breaker, and sank back again to lethargy. The solitude, the scene, were too much : I felt, as I sat thus, steering the drowsily-moving boat, as if I were a Charon, ferrying, not the souls, but the bodies, of the departed over some infernal lake, and could endure it no longer ; but, breaking from my listlessness, ordered the sails to be furled, and the oars resumed : action seemed better than such unnatural stupor.”—*Lynch's Narrative, passim.*

Yet, while sterility and gloom are generally spread around these inhospitable shores,—as if to show what the district was, ere it was struck by the avenging thunderbolts of the Divine wrath, bright days shine sometimes over its heavy waters and gloomy rocks, and vegetation here and there flourishes. We have space for only one example. It is taken from De Saulcy's volumes, and refers to a spot on the south-eastern shore, occurring to the notice of the travellers immediately after they had passed the eastern extremity of Mount Sodom :—

“At the end of a few minutes the reeds disappeared, the ground became a little firmer, and we entered the Rhor-Safieh. There we were in a veritable forest,—but what a strange forest ! It consists of bundles of slender trunks of trees, intermingled and pressed together, like a bundle of faggots ; thousands of branches, bristling with pines, are intermingled, in every possible way, around those inextricable thickets, which form numberless masses, each several feet in diameter, which you cannot pass without being caught in some part of your dress or other. Between those thickets the moist fat earth is covered with withered stumps, the gigantic stubble of the last harvest. Every where the soil is deeply furrowed by wild boars, which abound in the Rhor, and which protect themselves there, as well as they can, from the panthers. On all the higher branches are perched delightful rose-coloured turtle-doves, who quietly look at us as we pass, and who obviously live on good terms with the Bedouins. Here and there, snakes, with necks frilled with ruby and emerald, leap from tree to tree.”—Vol. i., pp. 257, 258.

To attempt to furnish the *data*, supplied by the measurements of the inequalities of the surface of Palestine, to which we have referred, would lead us too much into detail, and unduly lengthen this paper. We must, however, be allowed to give one instance illustrative of their value, and to state their general effect. The scriptural student is well aware that he constantly meets in the Bible with the phrases, “he (they) went up,” “he went down,” and similar expressions. The older commentators passed these forms of speech as of no moment ; or, if they undertook their explanation, proceeded on inapplicable *data*, or indulged in unwarrantable assumptions. These forms of speech, however, represent actual inequalities ; and, what is of great consequence,

they prove, on investigation, to correspond with the measurements recently taken and published by men of science. Wherever altitudes have been exactly ascertained, there Scripture, if it mentions the places at all, uses words conformable to the discoveries; never speaking of a place as lying *up*, when it really lies *down*, nor as lying *down*, when it really lies *up*, but always employing a verb of ascent or of descent, as the comparative heights demand. The measurements alluded to have been taken in the chief spots, and along the main lines, of the country. The language of Scripture referring to those localities, has been minutely studied. The result is, that generally, and in relation to Palestine at large, the one exactly accords with the other.* Now, could this agreement have existed, had not the biblical authors lived on the spot, and seen the events which they reported? What so easy as to commit a mistake in such a matter? How natural for a stranger,—indeed, for any one,—to employ an ordinary verb of motion, instead of a verb specifically describing the surface, as to whether it rose or sank! Yet the scriptural writers adapt their phraseology to the ground on which they stood, and of which they spoke; and that, too, not merely in regard to the greater altitudes and depressions, but also to the minor and the inconsiderable. And this they do unconsciously. The exactness of the description falls from their pen unawares. They describe the land in its inequalities, without knowing that they are geographers as well as historians. Here is an evidence of reality against which objection seems impossible. There can be no collusion here. No designed coincidence can be suspected. The description dates back two or three thousand years before the scientific measurement which attests its exactitude, and converts a word into a demonstration.

We will give an example,—one that we have not seen previously noticed, and one that refers to a character and an event we are about to speak of in the termination of our task. Let us go back to Abraham and Lot,—an epoch in the dawn of civilization. Abraham came out of Egypt, and settled at Bethel. Bethel has been found at Beitin, twelve Roman miles north-east of Jerusalem. Others, and, we think, with more reason, have placed it at Sindshil, lying between Jerusalem and Samaria. Whichever may be the spot, Abraham, when in Canaan, obviously occupied a part of the central high land which we have described as running through the middle of the country. The elevation may be safely stated as being, on an average, 2,500 feet above the Mediterranean.† Along this lofty ridge the Patriarch seems to have

* See "Scripture Illustrated from Recent Discoveries in the Geography of Palestine;" and, "Scripture Vindicated against some Perversions of Rationalism," both by the author of "The People's Dictionary of the Bible." London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1849.

† The exact height of Sindshil is given as 2,520 Parisian feet; that of Jerusalem as 2,642; that of Bethlehem as 2,705; and that of Hebron as 3,029 English feet.

lived, wandering in unrestrained freedom. Now, in proceeding thither from the Delta of Egypt, where he had previously tarried, and which is nearly on a level with the ocean, he would have to ascend, within comparatively a few miles, a height of at least 2,500 feet. The fact is imprinted in indelible lines on the Scriptures; for, in the narrative of his journey, it is expressly said, "*Abram went up* out of Egypt to Bethel." (Gen. xiii. 1-3.) Shortly after, he and his nephew Lot divided the land between them.

Of course, the journey from the heights of Samaria or Judah into the Vale of the Jordan, would be a descent,—a descent varying, according to the point where it began, from 3,000 to 5,000 feet, and that within a few miles taken in a direct line. Accordingly, the Divine Presence that appeared on the plains of Mamre, (Hebron,) and there warned Abraham of the coming punishment of Sodom, employed these accurately descriptive terms: "*I will go down* now, and see," &c. (Gen. xviii. 21.)

After the same manner may we understand the graphic term employed to describe the journey made by the King of Sodom, in order to thank Abraham for the service he had rendered in the defeat and slaughter of Chedorlaomer. The emphatic word is, "*went out*:" "And the King of Sodom went out and met him at the valley of Shaveh." (Gen. xiv. 17.) The place whence the King of Sodom proceeded, was the ravine of the Ghor; the place where he met the conqueror, was a spot somewhat north of Jerusalem, in the highlands of Samaria. How could such a journey be described more appropriately than by the words employed? It was literally *a going out*. Indeed, the only appropriate terms that can even now be employed, if we wish to speak of passing from either the east or the west, the north or the south, side, to the Valley of the Jordan, and, specially, the caldron of the Dead Sea, are *up* and *down*, *into* and *out of*; no other words express the local relations of the district.

And thus are we led to the borders of one of the greatest and most important discoveries—should it be finally confirmed by the voice of impartial science—that any traveller has had the privilege and the distinction of making. We allude to the discovery of the five cities in the Vale of Siddim, claimed by M. De Saulcy, in the work specified at the head of this composition. We have advisedly employed the term "*claimed*;" for our own mind is not fully satisfied. Our hesitation is not a little connected with certain moral defects which we have been grieved to meet with in the work. M. De Saulcy obviously thinks it a good and clever thing to cheat a wandering Arab, forgetting, or not knowing, that sin does not lose its criminality by difference of latitude and longitude. While, too, we are compelled to doubt whether this learned "*Member of the French Institute*" possesses all the high quali-

fications requisite for his task, we are quite sure that he employs terms of self-confidence and asseveration which hardly befit the subject, and which, in the mind of the calm and impartial scholar, will beget distrust rather than conviction. In justice, however, we must add, that, though we question whether, as he triumphantly believes, he has discovered at Jerusalem King David's sepulchre, he has, beyond a doubt, made a valuable contribution to geographical science, by identifying many scriptural localities, and specially by laying open districts and portions of the Dead Sea, hitherto but little known. So important are M. De Saulcy's researches in that hitherto little-explored locality, and so severe was the endurance of labour through which the explorer passed, that we owe it alike to him and to the subject to bestow thereon a little special attention.

Without entering into the geological and scientific questions which offer a solution of the ruin visible in the Dead Sea, M. De Saulcy professes to have discovered the five cities connected with it, of which Scripture speaks. Denying that these five cities stood in the plain, he finds them on the shore, Sodom at the south-west end of the lake, with Zoar a little to its north, and Admah somewhat up the highland and in the interior, still more to the north; Zeboiim on the south-east, near Wady Kerek, at a point where, in recent maps, Zoar stands; while Gomorrah is discovered at the other extremity of the lake, on its north-western limits, not far from Feshkah. Before entering into the necessary particulars, we remark, that the author has quite needlessly burdened himself with an hypothesis; namely, that the Vale of Siddim was not overflowed by the causes which destroyed the Pentapolis, and that in its destruction water played no part. As, however, the subject is attended by misconceptions which encumber the problem, from the influence of which M. De Saulcy himself is not altogether free, we shall first endeavour to set forth, in a few words, the result of a critical investigation of the sacred text, and show exactly what the biblical statements are.

In proceeding to do so, we may resume the thread of our remarks by referring again to the local terminology of the Scriptures. In the battle which took place in the Vale of Siddim, between the Mesopotamian invaders and the Kings of the vale, the latter are said to have gone out: "And there *went out* the King of Sodom, and the King of Gomorrah, and the King of Admah, and the King of Zeboiim, and the King of Bela (the same is Zoar;) and they joined battle with him in the Vale of Siddim." (Gen. xiv. 8.) Very clear from this statement is it, that the Vale of Siddim was uncovered with water then. Equally clear is it, that the places whence the Kings went out into the battle-field were not the same as that battle-field into which they went: consequently, the Vale of Siddim is different from the locality on which the condemned cities stood. And yet these cities were within

the mountain enclosure. Where, then, could they have been but along the margin of that which is now the lake? On the higher levels of that margin were those cities likely to be built; for, as we have seen in the case of the chief cities of Palestine, which stood at different points on the summit of the central line of hills, a due regard to safety compelled the earliest races to construct their dwellings on heights more or less difficult of access. Yet the cities of the plain would not be placed in the recesses, or on the greater elevations of the mountain; for they were, as they are still, barren, and wholly unsuitable for human abodes. If, then, as was the fact, the luxuriance of the valley attracted human tenants, where could they fix their homes but on the margin? That margin may have been larger than is the present margin; it may also have extended round the whole plain; for there is reason to believe that the present margin differs from that of former times, the sea having contracted its limits, if it has not also altered its depths; and, before the sea inundated the plain, the habitable portion—the margin in question—may have been of greater breadth. But the actual margin offers space sufficient for the five cities, and much to spare. We seem, then, justified in conceding to M. De Saulcy his position, namely, that the cities stood on what is now the margin of the lake.

The bed of the lake was then a plain. What appears in our version as “the Vale of Siddim,” is properly rendered as “*the Vale of the Meadows*.” The condition is indicated, in part, by the name. Those meadows may be held to have resembled rather the American prairies, than our treeless fields so called. Those meadows, like the Vale of the Jordan in general, were visible to Lot; consequently, the soil had not sunk. That soil must have been very productive, for it was a virgin soil; it was also well watered; and, as it appears to have lain above volcanic fires, certainly its fertility would be much quickened and augmented by the heat of the vale operating in conjunction with the water. Bituminous pits covered much of its surface, rendering many parts sterile. Like the Vale of the Jordan in general, the Vale of Siddim was, however, a tract of country more desirable than the uplands of Samaria and Judah; for Lot, who had the option of the one or the other, took the former by preference, on the ground that, in consequence of its being well watered, it resembled the luxuriant plains of the Delta. We may, then, represent the general condition of the Ghor, understanding by that term the Vale of the Jordan in its entire length, as abundantly irrigated by the stream, and as in consequence covered with a luxuriant vegetation, after the manner of the rank growths which, as we have seen, at present cover a portion of the south-eastern angle.

And here comes into view an argument—unanswerable, as it

appears to us—in favour of the view which supposes that the Jordan, before the catastrophe, had an outlet in the south. Otherwise, the waters of the river would have produced, in the lower part, a swamp or lake—or both. Then the vale could not have been “*well*,” but, rather, *ill*, “*watered*,” and no object of preference to Lot. But if the waters of the Jordan found an issue southward, the elevation which now rises from the southern extremity of the Dead Sea into the Arabah, could have had no existence, and the Jordan was united with the ocean by means of the eastern arm of the Red Sea.

The rank luxuriance of the Vale of Siddim—the “Vale of the Meadow-lands”—appears to have acted upon its inhabitants in the way of a temptation to relaxation of morals. Licentiousness of the grossest kind prevailed; until wickedness, having reached its height, brought down the vengeance of the Ruler of the world. The cities of the plain were destroyed! The nature of the destruction may be learned from the terms employed to describe it: “The Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven; and he overthrew those cities, and all the plain, and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground. And Abraham gat up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord:” (the uplands of Judah:) “and he looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and, lo, the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace.” Of the cities destroyed, Sodom and Gomorrah are the only ones mentioned in the Book of Genesis in connexion with this “overthrow.” Hence it is natural to infer that these were the principal places. Not altogether without logical foundation is the conclusion that Sodom was at one extremity, and Gomorrah at the other extremity, of the blasted region. (Gen. xiii.-xix. Compare Jer. xx. 16.) And this bad pre-eminence was permanently retained; for it is found in the books of the New Testament. (2 Peter ii. 6; Jude 7. Compare Matt. x. 15; Zeph. ii. 9; Amos ix. 11; Isai. i. 9; Deut. xxxii. 32.) In the Book of Deuteronomy, however, (xxix. 23,) two other cities are mentioned, namely, Admah and Zeboim. Zoar, the fifth city, is omitted, agreeably with the original narrative, which states that Zoar was spared.

Four cities, then, with the region in which they stood, were utterly and suddenly destroyed, leaving “the whole land thereof brimstone and salt and burning, that it is not sown, nor beareth, nor any grass groweth therein;” (Deut. xxix. 23;) and in this condition, as appears from the language of Scripture, to much of which reference has been made, the country remained before the eyes of the Israelites from the days of Abraham to those of the Apostles. Such as it was then, such is it still.

And thus are we brought to the question,—whether M. De Saulcy has, in truth, discovered the five cities. Of chief conse-

quence is the identification of Sodom ; for, its locality ascertained, that of Zoar cannot be doubtful. Now Sodom is a name (in the shape of Usdum—Sdm, Sodom) which has remained attached to a considerable space, including the well-known mountain of salt, which stretches upwards from the south-west angle of the Dead Sea. On this spot De Saulcy found ruins, which the natives still call *Kharbet-Esdom*, (Es-Sodom,) that is, “the Ruins of Sodom.” The identification, then, of Sodom seems satisfactorily effected. For details we refer to M. De Saulcy’s interesting pages.

Zoar was not far from Sodom ; for, as the reader may ascertain by consulting the sacred record, it was within sight of Sodom, and at so small a distance, that it could be reached from Sodom in the interval (shorter in the East than here, for in the East there is scarcely any twilight) between the dawn of day and the appearance of the sun in the horizon. Now, about a mile and a half north of Sodom M. De Saulcy found the name *Zouera*, which belongs not only to a Wady, but to ruins on the margin of the lake, and other ruins somewhat within-land. Here, again, there is little to object to ; though Zoar, if its locality has been ascertained, can have been little else than a suburb of Sodom. This, however, instead of a difficulty, may be pleaded as a recommendation : for Zoar (then Bela) was a small place, and was spared on the very ground that it was small. How the place escaped the general overthrow, except by the sustaining hand of God, no one can say. Clearly, however, has our author proved that Zoar could not have stood on the opposite margin of the lake ; for the distance was far too considerable to be traversed by Lot in the brief space allowed for his flight : that distance it took M. De Saulcy and his company two days and a half to travel.

Yet the broad plain on which recent geographers have placed Zoar, M. De Saulcy, as other travellers before him, found strewed with ruins, obviously the remains of a considerable city. It was reserved for that enterprising explorer to ascertain that a spot near the sea bore the name of *Sebaan*. In Sebaan, then, he recognised Zebaim.

Gomorrah remained hidden. No trace of the name could be found on the southern shores. On the northern, however, a light seemed to dawn. On his way back, and when near Feshkah, M. De Saulcy discovered immense heaps of ruins, bearing the name of *Goumran*, (*Kharbet-Goumran*, “the Ruins of Goumran,”) which, from the similarity of the name, he took for the remains of Gomorrah. Some doubt, however, is expressed in the narrative, whether the heaps in question were ruins at all,—that is, the remains of a ruined city. And we confess our conviction is not increased by the dogmatic tone of assurance taken by the author.

Still less is our confidence, that M. De Saulcy has discovered the fifth city, namely, Admah ; the rather, as the place where,

from similarity of name, (*Thamah*,) he fixes it, is not within the Ghor, but somewhat high up in the mountains on the road to Hebron; nor did our traveller himself see on or near the spot any ruins at all. Yet is there no want of confidence in the terms employed by him, in claiming the additional honour of having identified the last city of the Pentapolis.

And here comes into play that lessened reliance which ensues from a tendency to undue claims, and a proneness to exaggeration, too obvious in his work. In inquiries such as these, much must depend on the capacity and reliableness of the explorer and narrator; and had it been Dr. Robinson who wrote these narratives, our belief would have been prompt and unqualified. As it is, we must withhold our assent from the two last alleged identifications. M. De Saulcy, however, has achieved enough to deserve and command our gratitude and admiration; and we do not doubt that his researches will call into the vineyard other labourers, by whom the subject will be prosecuted, and the truth be brought to light. Meanwhile, by one labourer after another, facts so numerous and so important have been ascertained and communicated to the public, as greatly to enlarge and improve our acquaintance with sacred geography, and to enhance, in the same degree, its importance as a source of scriptural illustration. At the same time, and by the same means, the Scriptures receive *incidental* confirmation of their Divine authority and truthfulness. Not that they *need* such confirmation. The Bible, historically considered, is an independent authority of the highest kind: as such, its function is to give, rather than receive, confirmation. And we are firmly convinced that, the more thoroughly the Bible is known, and the more carefully it is compared with ancient books and modern discoveries, the more will its historical value shine forth and be acknowledged. Here, as in every other department of God's truth, it is only scanty or imperfect knowledge that occasions doubt, or creates danger.

ART. VII.—1. *Canada in 1848*. By CAPTAIN HENRY MILLINGTON SYNGE, R.E. London: Effingham Wilson.

2. *The Isthmus of Darien in 1852*. By LIONEL GISBORNE, C.E. London: Saunders and Stanford.

AFRICA on the eastern, and South America on the western, shores of the Atlantic interrupt navigation, and greatly increase the danger and the duration of many voyages. Their form suggests a remedy. They are attached by narrow necks of land to adjacent continents; and the intersection of these necks by navigable canals is practicable. The two continents present some common features. They occupy corresponding positions, are

thinly peopled, yield similar productions, and have been inadequately explored. In some other important respects they are remarkably dissimilar. Africa has long had its classic regions, famed for their commerce and artistical civilization; while Southern America is almost new ground; for when the Incas of Peru perished, only fragments and wrecks of their history survived. Africa has a small supply of water on the surface; while South America is intersected by many navigable rivers, which, joining, in some regions, form a vast net-work of natural canals, and supply the means of perfect irrigation.

The Spanish discoverers of South America made Panama the capital of a district in 1519. They then crossed the Isthmus of Darien without extreme difficulty; and for more than three centuries they made no improvement on the road. We know that the continent at a point near the Isthmus was once crossed by a navigable channel, formed on the annual overflowing of the Atrato and the Rio San Juan; but the route was prohibited for political reasons.

Communication between the Atlantic and the Pacific may be effected by different means and routes. It may be accomplished by road, by rail, by water, or by a mixed system. It may be formed, on certain conditions, over the broadest part of the continent; but a thorough navigation appears to be advisable only in the soil of New Granada, of Nicaragua, or of Mexico; while the two latter countries can only be intersected by expensive works, calculated to cause a tedious passage.

Captain Henry Syngé, of the Royal Engineers, published in 1848 a plan of mixed communication through British North America; devised partly to extend colonization, and partly to guard the frontiers, endangered by imprudent cessions of territory to the United States. It embraced railway and water portage from Quebec to Lake Superior; and onwards by the Saskatchewan, — a river unknown even by name to three-fourths of the British people, although it is one of their own waters, navigable by boats for fourteen hundred miles from the lake; and would bring the communication to the last of five sections, embracing the entire breadth of British North America; leaving one-fifth, or nearly six hundred miles, for a canal or railway through British Oregon.

Major Carmichael Smyth, at a subsequent date, urged the construction of a railway by nearly the same route; proposing the employment of convicts on the earth-work, to reduce the outlay and render them useful. The recent mineral discoveries on Lake Superior, and the progress of Canada in commercial importance, will advance these great schemes. Canada rises more rapidly than any State of the Union. In 1838, its exportation of wheat was limited to 37,002½ quarters; in 1847, urged by high prices in England, it reached 485,394½ quarters; but in

1852, it amounted to 687,089 $\frac{1}{4}$ quarters; while the Canadians expect to beat the whole Union for this staple in 1856.

The owner of a property resembling British North America should divide it by parallel railways, at distances of twenty miles, not to accommodate existing traffic, but to open his land; and a nation should pursue a similar course. Some citizens of the United States have resolved to construct an Atlanto-Pacific railway through their territory, and have received more sympathy in England than Captain Synge, or Major C. Smyth. In August last, they agreed to form a capital of £20,000,000 for the work, and British capitalists, or contractors, are said to be engaged in the speculation. The capital is inadequate for the entire distance; but the promoters intend to commence at St. Louis, using the lines already constructed to that point. Their capital is, therefore, equal to £10,000 per mile for the remaining two thousand miles; but the mountains on the way can only be tunnelled at an enormous cost. In the meantime, without much agitation or Government aid, the Canadian lines are progressing; and a line to the extent of 1,200 miles is partly finished, in preparation, or under contract. It will not stand at 1,200 miles from Halifax; but, as the remaining 1,800 miles have easy gradients, will move on at a cost of £5,000 per mile, or £9,000,000 for the 1,800 miles not yet surveyed, and become our quickest route to China or Australia. The distance from British ports to Halifax may be steamed within six days. The passage on a railway from Halifax to the shore opposite Vancouver's Island will require five days; and the distance thence to an Australian port will permit the great journey to be closed within thirty to thirty-five days. All railways in North America increase the importance of Halifax, the nearest harbour to Europe on the eastern shores of America, which, with ample accommodation, open at all seasons, and surrounded by coal-fields, will become the central port for Transatlantic steamers.

The mixed or railway schemes will not pass vessels from ocean to ocean. They all involve the delay, expense, and inconvenience of trans-shipping goods and passengers, or they do not cut off the stormy and tedious navigation around the southern capes. Four grand routes have been proposed for the accomplishment of this cosmopolitan object:—the Mexican scheme, by Tehuantepec; the Nicaraguan, by the lake of that name; the Panama canal; and the Atrato river and canal.

The Mexican or Tehuantepec project is now converted into a mixed scheme, and therefore cannot supply the want. The number of plans affording perfect navigation is, therefore, reduced to three. The Nicaraguan, commencing on the Mosquito coast, and destined to pass through Lake Nicaragua, is partly completed. This line originated with Mr. Vanderhilt. A few years ago, a boy conveyed passengers to and from the New York

steamers for a cent. He was economical, and bye and bye purchased a large boat. Some years afterwards the young boatman bought a steamer, which soon provided a consort. The two gradually multiplied into a little fleet of well-conducted boats on the line to Stettin Island, where their owner built houses; but he was seized by the Californian mania, and sold boats, houses, and lands for £40,000. He did not emigrate to the gold regions, but established a line of communication from New York to San Francisco by Nicaragua; and the affair has been remarkably profitable. Navigation is practicable through the lake to a point within a short distance of the Pacific; but an intervening range of high and rocky mountains interferes with thorough navigation, although it did not prevent the accumulation of that large fortune, which enabled Mr. Vanderhilt to visit the maritime capitals of Europe in his magnificent yacht last summer; as the Californian diggers appreciated and paid for the regularity of his line.

The Nicaraguan route is in a direct course from Britain to Australia; is nearer to the eastern ports of the United States than the Atrato or the Panama routes: and yet the mountains between the lake and the Pacific will either prevent the formation of a navigable canal, or impose the necessity for enormous dues. The labour and outlay already incurred are not, however, on that account lost; for a wide tropical country will be opened to the Atlantic, the conveyance of its productions to markets will be facilitated, and the navigation of the Colorado will rapidly promote the prosperity of Nicaragua.

Mr. Gisborne discusses in his work the merits of the Panama route from Chagres. Dr. Cullen suggests the construction of a ship canal between those points; and Mr. Gisborne was deputed, by some capitalists of London, to survey the ground. He repudiates for himself a professional intimacy with geology, although in different pages he discourses on abstruse geological questions, if not with the skill possessed, certainly in the hard words used, by persons learned in a science which should be familiar to every man who professes to supply an estimate of the cost of cutting excavations, some hundreds of feet in breadth and depth, and many miles in length.

The frequenters of Capel-court were cast into a state of morbid excitement, on one of the last spring mornings, by the projection of a Company, with a capital of £15,000,000 sterling, for the intersection of the Isthmus by a ship-canal without locks. The scheme was backed by heavy names on 'Change and in scientific circles. It was known as Sir Charles Fox's project, and, therefore, its success was considered certain; yet its Prospectus was a rash production. The promoters state therein that Mr. Gisborne and his assistant, "after surveying the coasts on both sides, and the intervening country, ascertained, beyond doubt, that between the Bay of Caledonia, on the Atlantic, and

the Gulf of San Miguel, on the Pacific, there is a distance of only thirty miles between deep water, on either side, consisting of land generally level, and which in no case is of considerable elevation." They do not support this statement with any facts; but in the next paragraph,—after asserting that "the practicability of forming an inter-oceanic navigation without locks has thus been ascertained," namely, by Mr. Gisborne and his assistant,—they recommend the public to invest £15,000,000 sterling in the formation of this lockless navigation.

Mr. Gisborne's book does not sustain the Prospectus of his friends. He appears to have passed only a day and a night on the Atlantic Coast, near Port Escosses. He ascended two hills, descended into one valley, found a stream thirty feet wide,—“the deep water” on the eastern coast,—lost his way in the jungle, spent the night in the woods, and in the morning was turned off the grounds by the Indians, with the intimation, that if he was ever “found there again, he would be prosecuted to the utmost rigour of the law,” as a trespasser, and that this utmost rigour amounted to a summary mode of capital punishment. This was the extent of the survey, and the “deep water” found on the Atlantic side of the question. Doubtless Mr. Gisborne was in “deep water” enough on that morning, but not of the kind of water necessary to float “a homeward-bound” from Australia.

The two surveyors, having then crossed the Isthmus by the beaten and vulgar road, proceeded to San Miguel Bay, entering the Rio Darien, and, subsequently, the Rio Savannah. They found in this river, at the mouth, a breadth of two miles, and a depth of nine fathoms, at low water. Five miles farther, the breadth decreased to one mile, and the depth was from five to nine fathoms; and yet, immediately above this point, they were left high and dry, upon a gravel bank, by the retiring tide. The Savannah has a course of only thirty miles, and the great breadth and depth at its mouth must have been found by carrying the latter beyond its proper place into an arm of the sea. The adventurers abandoned the stream at a distance of fifteen miles from the Pacific, and cut their way five miles farther to the summit of a low hill. They then found a stream running to the north-east; and, assuming that it was the thirty-feet-wide river on which they had been so inhospitably treated on the eastern coast, they concluded the survey, and returned home to use the strong terms which we have quoted from the Prospectus, and advised an expenditure of £15,000,000 sterling.

A great work was never before proposed on a survey of this extent, which was entirely inadequate for the tile-drainage of a large farm. The volume affords no good reason to believe that on his journey from the western coast Mr. Gisborne came within sight of the second hill reached on his journey from the eastern. The stream which flows from the single eminence, reached on the

western journey, may not enter the Atlantic. The party had lost their way twice in a few days; and it is probable that the stream from the hill was a tributary of the Lara, or the Savannah, flowing, therefore, into the Pacific. Mr. Gisborne, in conjunction with Dr. Black of the United States, and some other parties, has undertaken a more minute survey, which is unnecessary, if the statements in the original Prospectus be correct; for if any matter is once ascertained "beyond a doubt," no further "doubt" exists on the subject. The promoters of this route have adopted Dr. Cullen's idea of an artificial strait, endorsed by Sir Charles Fox, and so far favoured by the New Granadian Government, that their consent has been obtained, with a concession of 200,000 acres of land, and the right to construct a canal, railway, or road, commencing at any locality, from the western mouth of the Atrato to the Mosquito Point on the eastern coast, in return for a loan of £24,000, repayable, without interest, on the completion of the works. The Government of New Granada, pressed for funds, want the loan; but they honestly refer the applicants to the Panama Railway Company for further arrangements, because that Company have obtained a prior concession of the same ground for similar purposes, and, by Article xlix. in their agreement, the right to bar any other carriers from that portion of the Isthmus.

This Company had a paid-up capital of £438,812 at the 30th of June last. Their earnings, although only one-half of their line was completed, with a balance of £4,997. 10s. from the previous account, afforded a dividend at the rate of 5 per cent.; leaving a balance of £12,288, after paying the royalty of the New Granadian Government and the working expenses. The Company will require a paid-up capital of £1,000,000, or more, to complete their line. In forty-nine years from the date of their concession, the lease will lapse, and the works merge to the Government. They must provide a sinking fund to meet this event, and replace their money. Their prospects are thus of a mixed character; but £1,000,000 will be required to buy their consent, which must be purchased.

The estimate for excavations on the canal is £12,000,000; for incidentals and preliminaries, £1,000,000; for interest during the progress of the works, £2,000,000: in all, £15,000,000 sterling. The promoters say that the work can be executed in five years from its commencement. The capital will be expended in equable proportions; and the charge for interest forms nearly a sixth part of the cost. But if a free and open navigation could be formed, equally accessible and more useful, for a trifle over the interest required during the progress of these works, it should be preferred. The world does not need a new wonder, but a canal or a river navigation. No estimate of the cost of the straight cut can be made. A guess has been given,—a very rough one,—but we can never

have a precise contract. The distance between the tides, according to Mr. Gisborne, is thirty miles. Expensive works may be required within, and must be wanted without, their currents. The diggings proposed are 150 feet wide, 30 feet deep from the tidal level, and variable above it. For the latter, Mr. Gisborne's *maximum* is 150 feet, which may be translated into 300 feet. If we assume an average of 50 feet to the surface of the water, with the depth of 30 feet, we have an excavation 30 miles long, 80 feet deep, and 150 feet wide, with all the work to be done within the tides; forming a dark, deep, long, tropical ditch, for the conveyance of passengers. A prudent contractor would examine the material before he gave an estimate for the excavations. Mr. Gisborne says that he has reckoned all rock, and has the gravel and sand in his favour. But rocks vary in hardness. The bill for this cutting in granite would be an affair for the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Gisborne affords few *data* respecting the traffic. "Statistics," he says, are "almost superfluous." "The progress of commerce is," he holds, "a safer" guide. From that opinion we expressly dissent; but we need not argue the point, for the author comes at last to statistics. The passengers numbered 150,000; who, he says, would last year have used the canal if it had been made: and the goods that would have been sent by it weighed 3,000,000 tons. We shall discount the passengers, because few persons would steam voluntarily through a tropical canal, with occasional walls of 150 feet, and an average of 50 feet on each side; and improve the goods' return, by an official statement of the tonnage between the Atlantic and the Pacific, for twelve months ending in 1852:—

	Tons.
British vessels	1,697,870
United States ditto	1,125,840
Continent of Europe Ports	677,290
Total	<u>3,500,000</u>

A dividend of 5 *per cent.* upon a capital of £15,000,000 is £750,000; but the working expenses may be taken at 40 *per cent.* on the proceeds, and the reserved fund should be 10 *per cent.*; consuming a revenue of £1,500,000 annually, or 8*s.* 7*d.* per ton on all the vessels at present in the Atlantic and Pacific trade. They might not all use the canal; but if six-sevenths of them adopted that route, 10*s.* per ton would supply the requisite revenue. A charge of 8*s.* 7*d.* on the entire trade would give the money,—nominally a high rate, although one which even guano vessels might pay advantageously: yet, if a cheaper route can be devised, its adoption would be more beneficial to commerce.

A concession was executed at Bogota, on the 12th of August,

1852, by the Government of New Granada, to the Senator for Socarro, M. Gonzalez, who conveyed the deed and its powers to parties in London. It embraces the right to construct inter-oceanic communication, by the Atrato and its tributaries, to Cupica Bay; generally expressed as from Point Garachino to Point San Francisco Solano, on the Pacific, combining over two degrees. The Atrato scheme has been under negotiation for some years in Europe, and was mentioned to Sir Charles Fox in 1851. The concession was conveyed by M. Gonzalez, for the behoof of any Company that might be formed to execute the works. Louis Philippe, the late French King, obtained a survey for his own guidance. And, generally, the promoters of this scheme negotiated, talked, wrote, and spent money, without materially advancing their project.

Dr. Cullen and Mr. Gisborne, at different dates, submitted their works to M. Humboldt. Europe is more indebted to that celebrated author for the knowledge of South America which we possess, than to any other traveller. He has now passed the eighty-third year of his age; but he answered each of the gentlemen named, in long letters, which, in the ordinary course of trade, were published. In both, but especially in the last, addressed to Mr. Gisborne, the aged writer commends the zeal of his correspondents; but plainly says that Cupica Bay must be the outlet in the Pacific of an inter-oceanic canal. It might, indeed, be further south, but must not go further north. Cupica Bay is not within the limits of their concession, and is not, therefore, recommended in their volumes. But, fifty years ago, M. Humboldt recommended the Atrato route, which appears to have been under consideration at the commencement of this century; for, in his work, he says, in reference to Cupica Bay:—

“The name of this bay has acquired celebrity on account of a new plan of communication between the two seas. From Cupica we cross, for five or six leagues, a soil quite level and proper for a canal, which would terminate at the *embarcadero* of the Rio Napipi. This last river is navigable, and flows below the village of Zitara, into the great Rio Atrato, which itself enters the Atlantic Ocean. We may almost say, that the ground between Cupica and the mouths of the Atrato is the only part of all America in which the chain of the Andes is entirely broken.”

This description of the Atrato route was written by M. Humboldt half a century since. During that period he has not changed his opinions,—because mountains, oceans, and rivers, continue unchanged. The scheme, however, was not then new. Three hundred years since, the Atrato navigation was open and used from sea to sea. The head waters of that river, flowing into the Atlantic, were, for several months in each year, during the rainy season, united in the ravine of Raspadura to the head waters of the Rio San Juan de Chirambua, which flows into the

Pacific. Captain Cochrane states, in his "Travels in Colombia," that he examined the ravine, proposed to re-open the channel, and dredge both rivers, at an expenditure of £120,000,—a smaller sum than £15,000,000. Alcedo, in "The Geographical Dictionary of the Western Indies," describes the Atrato as "a river navigable for many leagues; but its navigation is prohibited to all persons on pain of death, to avoid those evils which would follow to the provinces of the new kingdom, from the facility with which one might enter it." This sentence of gloom was passed on the poor Atrato by Philip II. of Spain, who had no crime to charge against his victim except its usefulness.

Mr. Patterson, the founder of the Banks of England and Scotland, and the best commercial authority of his time, originated the Scotch Colony of Darien. We may be satisfied that he contemplated the canalization of the Isthmus, or the navigation of the Atrato; although, for obvious reasons, the first body of settlers were located north of its mouth. The effort was zealously supported, in men and money, in 1695; but it was defeated by the jealousy of persons at the Court in London, whose narrow views, corresponding with those of Philip II. of Spain, cost the world all the lives, the property, and the time lost in circumnavigating Cape Horn, for the last hundred and fifty-three years, and entailed on us the existing dispute with the United States respecting Central America. William Pitt endeavoured to correct this error fifty years since, and the obstruction of his plans is one of the evils chargeable on the great war. Fifty years before the time of Pitt, a Biscayan pilot suggested a navigable line from Cupica Bay to the Napipi; but the Spanish Government was then incapable of action. The revival of this plan attracted Pitt's attention, and is recorded in Humboldt's work. The same scheme is again offered to the commercial world.

Dr. Cullen admits that the Gulf of Darien offers, in deep water, a safe anchorage at all seasons; but he asserts that the bar of the Atrato has only two feet of tide, and five feet of water; and he considers it an insuperable obstacle: yet by persons who propose cuttings of 180 feet in rock, the operations of a steam-tug for a few days should not be deemed impossible; nor a bar of the most auriferous sand in the world be thought to be insuperable. A few gold-washing machines, on a large scale, would probably do the work, or pay the cost of its performance. The promoters of this scheme can avoid the bar by cutting a new channel for a few miles, and thus drain the delta of the river, which would amply repay the outlay. But the bar is not an obstruction that prevents the Magdalena Steam Navigation Company from contemplating the navigation of the river by their steamers; yet the Chairman of that Company is intimately connected with New Granada, and has before him the best and fullest information on topics of this nature. The proposal shows that a

considerable local traffic may be developed; and we dismiss the shallow water, the accumulations of gold dust, and other obstructions at the mouth of this river, with the confident assurance that our engineers can cut a channel for a few miles through mud.

No difficulty exists within the Atrato, although, as it is occasionally named "the Darien," some misunderstanding has occurred regarding its internal character. The Atrato falls into the Gulf of Darien; but the river Darien, which has many banks and shallow places, flows into the Pacific. This confusion is increased by their proximity; but Dr. Cullen states that the Atrato has great depth of water within the bar. M. Landreau, who was officially employed by the late King of the French to investigate the line, gives its depth at fifteen fathoms; the Napipi, at its junction, ten fathoms; and, on "the shallowest" bank above Cupica Bay, four fathoms. The breadth of the first river narrows gradually from one mile at the separation of the channels, to one quarter of a mile at its junction with the Napipi. Captain Friend, R.N., navigated the Atrato for 300 miles, and the Napipi to the point where the proposed canals might join, in 1827, with a steamer drawing six feet of water. M. Landreau, in his Report to the French Government, describes the land between the Napipi and the Pacific as "generally alluvial and marshy;" and the bank which intervenes between the ocean and that river, as one mile in breadth, and forty feet in height. Another French gentleman struck a ridge, which, in his opinion, was not more than twelve feet high. Other authorities have been less fortunate. Captain Friend considered the summit of the Cordilleras, where he passed between the Napipi and the Pacific, 200 feet above the level of the ocean. Captain Wood, R.N., made the measurement from 200 to 300 feet; but he observed lower ground. Lieutenant Chimmo, R.N., says that "the Cordilleras fall out at this point in banks of 200 to 400 feet;" adding, that "in this gap there will, no doubt, be found a plain, not very elevated, but of a circuitous route." Mr. Robinson appears to have found this plain; for he says that "the country is a dead level." Captain Robert Fitzroy, R.N., considers it shown, that "the Atrato and Cupica Line is the most suitable for a canal." More implicit reliance may be placed on the statement of M. Landreau than on those of the other gentlemen named. He visited the country, at the command of his Sovereign, upon this special mission, and undoubtedly discharged his duty by taking correct altitudes; but either of the measurements given presumes an entirely different cutting from Mr. Gisborne's magnificent scheme.

The internal navigation, according to M. Landreau, would consist of six leagues from Cupica to the Napipi, ten leagues on the Napipi, and fifteen leagues on the Atrato; in all, thirty-one leagues, or ninety-three miles. The canalization on the first sec-

tion would be eighteen miles; the second section involves dredging casual shallows on the Napipi for thirty miles; and the third, a new cut for the Atrato of six to seven miles. M. Grieff, an engineer of Sweden, now employed by the New Granadian Government, considers "the new cut" unnecessary, as, in his opinion, the Coquito mouth of the Atrato can easily be kept open by dredging.

The anchorages and sites for harbours at each side form an important topic for inquiry; but those on the east coast are unquestionably good; while Dr. Cullen has a bad opinion of Cupica Bay, which is, he says, "a harbour of very small extent." This opinion is not supported by its general visitors. M. Landreau calls it a small bay, with which, however, he is perfectly satisfied. Captain Kellet considers it "one of the finest harbours," which Lieutenant Chimmo deems "both safe and spacious;" and, according to M. Berthold Seeman, it would furnish "fine accommodation for shipping." Lieutenant Chimmo says that it is "capable of containing any number of vessels during the northerly winds," has "three fathoms close to the rocks, with regular soundings out to forty and fifty fathoms, and good holding ground of sand and mud." The Admiralty chart gives this bay a breadth of six miles, and an indentation on the coast of eight miles, with soundings of from four to forty fathoms. The professional gentlemen thus emphatically contradicting Dr. Cullen's testimony, we are bound to believe that Cupica Bay may be a very comfortable locality for vessels.

The sanitary circumstances of the two projects cannot be widely different, but already a small population resides on the Atrato route. The Indians on the Panama Line are unfriendly, and the climate is a delicate subject for invalids. M. Landreau allows that both objections have been applicable to the Atrato Line, although they are now partially removed. M. Grieff, who lives in the country, reports the climate on the Atrato "hot, but sufficiently healthy." Captain Friend found the temperature of the valley during the day 80° Fahrenheit; and on the land between Cupica and the Napipi 75°. Lieutenant Chimmo marked the ranges of the barometer in December, January, and February, from 29·86 inches to 30·08 inches; and of the thermometer from 76° to 81° 5'. These figures do not imply an intolerable degree of warmth.

The Atrato route has a decided preference over that by Panama for local traffic. The latter, indeed, can obtain nothing that the railway will take; while the former must be already of some value, since the Magdalena Company propose to navigate the river by their steamers. The Rio Andageda, the Quito, and the Zatura unite at Quibdo, and form the Atrato. The Andageda is notoriously a golden river. The province intersected by these rivers is the most auriferous in New Granada. This region,

Choco, once had 3,000 slaves regularly employed in gold-hunting ; and a century since, its yield of gold was worth £600,000 to £700,000 annually. New Granada now contains no slaves. Civil and religious freedom to all men is its practice. "*No hai ni habra esclavos en la Nueva Granada*," is its watchword, to shame the North. This advantage will not prevent miners from striking veins of gold, and increasing indefinitely the yield of the precious metals. They all abound in Choco, where platina was first discovered. The Atrato drains a region of nearly 400 miles in length, exceedingly fertile, and capable, under cultivation, of supplying cotton for all our manufactories.

The outlay necessary to complete the works on the two plans is a most important consideration, in which the Atrato has a decided advantage over the Panama. The cost of the latter has been guessed at £15,000,000, and the estimate for the former is one-sixth of that sum, or £2,500,000. We have no details of the probable expenditure on the Panama Line, but contracts to complete the Atrato can be obtained in three sections ; namely, for cutting the canal, one million ; for dredging the rivers and building piers, a second million ; for contingencies, plant, and machinery, half a million ; forming the total of two and a half millions sterling.

Dividends of five *per cent.* are agreeable to parties wishing merely an investment, but speculators want a more florid attraction than this modest return ; but, reckoning ten *per cent.* for the reserve fund, and forty *per cent.* for working expenses, on the Panama scheme, a revenue of £1,500,000, or 8*s.* 7*d.* per ton on 3,500,000 tons of shipping, will be required to pay five *per cent.* on the capital. The concession for the Atrato route is perpetual ; and the only condition affecting the property is, that at the end of ninety-nine years the Government of New Granada may accept offers from competing lines, within the region now secured to the Company, if it do not interfere with the property of the latter. The ten *per cent.* for a reserve fund is, therefore, unnecessary in this case ; but, upon the same calculations adopted for the Panama scheme, we find that 1*s.* 5*d.* instead of 8*s.* 7*d.* per ton of dues will pay the proprietors of the Atrato system five *per cent.* The difference to a vessel of 1,000 tons passing twice, out and in, by the canal, in one year, would be £1,433. 5*s.* 4*d.* The extra cost of the Panama Line to the shipping trade, at its existing amount, would be rather over £1,200,000 *per annum.* This is the sum asked for permission to make an engineering achievement of doubtful success. Even if the Cupica Canal were increased in breadth from 100 to 200 feet, and the returns to the shareholders from five to ten *per cent.*, a rate of 3*s.* per ton would meet the expenditure, without that local traffic which will ultimately repay all the outlay. The only reduction from this estimate, in favour of the Panama Line, proceeds upon the assumption that it will

not require forty *per cent.* from its revenue for working expenses. If we, therefore, confine this calculation entirely to interest, the Atrato Line will cost £125,000 annually, and the Panama £750,000.

The land secured to the Atrato plan for ever, will ultimately pay a full dividend on the stock. This scheme, moreover, carries civilization into the heart of a great country, while the Panama Canal only intersects its neck. The open route by Cupica would bring a fruitful region into the competition between free and slave-grown tropical produce; and it is possible that for this reason the United States may oppose the development of these resources.

The shortest route for passenger traffic, by Halifax and Vancouver's Island, on British land, should not be forgotten. The distance to Sydney from Panama is 8,000 miles, and to Jeddo 8,250 miles; but from Vancouver's Island to Sydney the distance is only 6,500 miles, to Jeddo 4,500 miles, and to Pekin 5,500 miles. The journey from Jeddo, the capital of Japan, to London, might thus be completed in twenty-six or twenty-eight days; and from Pekin, in thirty-two to thirty-five days; while the quickest passage yet made from China to this country has occupied seventy-five days. This acceleration of travelling between the ends of the earth would aid commerce, and advance religion; for, wherever the merchant penetrates, the missionary can travel; and short routes for the conveyance of perishable, but precious, bales, may carry the imperishable and more precious word of God.

The inter-oceanic railway will not reduce the value of the inter-oceanic navigation; but, by increasing our commerce, will render even more necessary than ever a free way for our vessels on the waters. It will be a substitute for the North-western Passage, which Britain has expended so many millions of money, and thousands of lives, to discover. It will throw over the broadest part of the American continent a belt of cultivated land, studded with towns and villages, inhabited by our fellow-subjects, and yet, we may hope, fellow-workers in the faith, who will support and strengthen by the way our Christian missions to the East.

Our pressing and present duty, for the day or the year, relates to the inter-oceanic navigation. Extensive contractors and great speculators may wish to sell the Panama Railway, and make the world pay its price. We have only to look for the best and cheapest route; actuated by the desire to promote freedom, intelligence, morality, our faith, and even the world's "every-day" business. The Chambers of Commerce, whose members are associated to promote mercantile transactions; the Anti-Slavery Societies, formed to aid in breaking bonds and bursting chains that still gall millions of men; and the Churches, which should be Missionary Societies; all interests and all men in this country, so intimately associated with Australia, so closely connected with

the eastern Pacific, are warranted in asking from our Government a careful survey, by its professional servants, of the two schemes now proposed for securing deep water from sea to sea; that the best and the cheapest route may be adopted, constructed, and opened, without further expenditure of time than the works absolutely require: and, if a guarantee be necessary, the European maritime powers should give the requisite security for the independence of New Granada,—the first of the South American Republics that has consecrated political freedom by its association with religious liberty.

ART. VIII.—*The Works of the Rev. Richard Watson: with Memoirs of his Life and Writings.* By the REV. THOMAS JACKSON. In Twelve Volumes. 8vo. London: John Mason.

OUR intention in the present article is not to review the Works of Mr. Watson, but to endeavour from them to form some estimate of his mental character. The writings of a man are the best *memento* of his mind and of his intellectual *status*, as well as of his attainments. The soundness of his views, the strength of his reasoning, the depth of his feelings, and the characteristics of his genius, must appear in these imperishable impressions of thought and sentiment. There, too, must stand embodied the principles involved in his theories, whether of religion or of any other branch of knowledge. The author may be said to live as long as his works are read; he has secured for himself a species of immortality on earth; and though his form is no longer seen, yet his spirit lives and speaks amongst men.

Neither do we intend, except in the most cursory manner, to treat of the biography of Mr. Watson. The details of his life, as amply drawn by Mr. Jackson, are much read and extensively known; and we have not the means of adding any thing material to those records. Mr. Watson's "Life" is an ample account of his passage through the world, and is full of interest; but, in forming our opinion of his mental character and theological opinions, we prefer going to his own writings.

The remarkable man, whose mental character we thus wish to examine, rose to eminence in despite of many appalling difficulties in the commencement of his career. He seems to have owed little to birth, to his original position, or to education; and still less to the smiles and favours of the world. He had to begin at the beginning,—to work his way upward,—to struggle hard and long with adverse circumstances, and, by his own skill and energy, to enlist in his favour such assistance for the acquisition of knowledge, as, by a succession of casual

opportunities, fell in his way. The growth of the cedar, from its root to its gigantic proportions, may be considered a fitting emblem of the growth of the mind, the moral elevation, and the public usefulness of Mr. Watson, from the germ of life. We have unmixed pleasure in tracing the development of character from its starting-point, and willingly accord to those men our meed of admiration, who, in despite of untoward circumstances, have succeeded in reaching the height of that excellence which deserves and insures the affections and homage of their fellow-men.

The intellectual character of Mr. Watson seems to have been very much developed by the religious element. Placed in this element by his conversion and connexions, its effect was, to draw forth his powers, and to give them expansion, polish, and direction.

The religious and purely intellectual worlds differ as to their respective capabilities of eliciting mental power; and, as we think, the difference is greatly in favour of the former. In the latter case, the soul itself, with the use of the appliances that lie within its reach, being the basis of such strength as is found to exist, the mind may be morally bad, and yet be strong; the faculties may be all perverted to evil, and yet be vivid and acute; the imagination may revel in scenes of debauchery, and yet be poetic;—or, to put the same thing another way, the powers of perception may be penetrating and elevated, and yet be limited to the scenes of earth; the beautiful and sublime may be seen and appropriated, whilst all that belongs to these sentiments in morals and religion may be repudiated; the affinities of the soul to terrestrial objects may bring it into harmony with whatever in those objects touches the sympathies of human nature, and yet the wonderful loveliness of Christianity may leave this heart of susceptibility untouched. This shows that human nature, even in its ruin, is still great; and that, when circumstances are favourable, it can rise, in its own sphere, to beauty and eminence. But it shows, also, that this sphere is limited. The barriers of sense, of the material, cannot be passed by the unaided mind of the most gifted; and, as a consequence, all that belongs to the Divine must be lost to the consciousness of such persons. There is, no doubt, much in which the soul may expatiate, below things sacred; but an infinitely more expanded region is opened up, when the spiritual world, too, is within reach; since its enjoyment does not preclude or interfere with the true enjoyment of the earthly.

The religious character, then, rests on a double basis,—the mental powers, possessed in common with all other men, and that “faith of Christ,” which so greatly quickens and enlarges them. None of the individual characteristics are lost, in their fullest and most perfect absorption of the religious influences pass-

ing into the soul. If nature has given genius, this remains in its peculiarities ; if philosophical intuitions are found, these continue in their vividness ; if men are born poets, the poetic fire continues unextinguished ; if those passions which unite with reason to make the orator, are the gift of nature, they are undestroyed ; if judgment and common sense, they are left in their practical vocation ; and, even in case a man be an economist, a mechanist, or a politician, he may remain so, for any influence upon him by the Christian faith.

But whilst nature is left intact in all her gifts, religion, like the morning, brings many secret powers into beautiful prominence and vigorous activity,—which might otherwise have lain in perfect dormancy, covered over and hidden in the obscurities of an imperfectly developed manhood, as the world is lost to view in the dark. It exhibits persons and things in their true colours and dimensions ; presents to view the odious nature of vice and of crime ; rebukes folly and evil, by placing them on their own level of debasement ; and unveils the exaggerations and showy fripperies of worldly gaiety, and non-substantial pleasures. The truths of Holy Scripture and the dissemination of the Gospel must, as a general rule, do two things :—they must antagonize the depravity and ignorance of human nature, and, with more or less success, lay a new deposit of truth and principle in the public mind. How far society is affected by this twofold action, it is impossible to know ; but that a process of amelioration must be constantly going on, is certain. Men cannot be the same in the midst of the light of the Gospel, as in a state of pagan darkness. The intellect must be roused from its slumbers ; and though, perhaps, it may not be drawn into the *focus* of spiritual truth, yet the fact of its being awakened from torpidity, and put in motion, will, in the issue, lead to elevation of mind. In the nature of things, nothing can be so calculated to produce even mental activity, as that teaching which places man in the highest position of his being ; presents to him the most stirring motives to seek for himself intelligence and wisdom ; leads him to become conversant with the greatest objects ; and connects immortality with wisdom, goodness, and piety. As the genial influences of the heavens cannot descend upon the earth, without giving life to vegetation,—tints, colouring, and fragrance to flowers,—ripe harvests to the husbandman, and plenty and gladness to all,—so the light of the word of God cannot descend on a community, without mental effects of the most beneficial nature. These effects are twofold, namely, the entrance of the truth into the soul, though, perhaps, neither acknowledged nor recognised, producing a wholesome agitation of the faculties, and the presentation to the mind of the perspective of everlasting progression of being and of happiness. Men who are not living for immortality, are, nevertheless, influenced by

the idea; and this idea of itself must be a mighty stimulus to mental energy.

But our race is not made merely intellectual; other elements enter into the mysterious compound that we call "Man." In the operations of Divine grace, it is certain that the sentient powers are not always the first to be moved. On the contrary, the *primum mobile* is often to be found, not in the affections or conscience, but in the intellect; it is not a passion, but an idea. In this case truth, beaming upon the intellect, awakens emotion,—and not emotion the intellect. In the highest order of minds we are led to believe that this is the common process; it is analogous to the movements of our rational nature in other cases; it places faith on its valid ground of conviction; and it thus makes the feelings follow, and not lead, the intellect. It must, however, be confessed, that the phenomena of religious life give us no precise rules on the subject; only it appears to be granting more than the argument requires, to admit that, in all cases, the mind is agitated by the sentient emotions produced by religion, to the exclusion of the opposite,—the agitation of the feelings by the intellect.

We have been speaking, first, of the general effects of Christianity on communities;—next, of its effects on individuals, with an especial reference to the distinguished person now before our attention. Yet we trust our former remarks are not misplaced, as the general good is essential to the specific,—individual eminence always pre-supposing that which lies below, the substratum of moral worth amongst the masses. The amount of this is greater than we can imagine; and its effects on characters who ultimately rise above the common level, must, when examined with care, be seen to be very great. When we see men passing from the ranks of the people in any department, and obtaining the great prizes of the world for themselves, we may be certain that this could not have occurred but in English or some other similar society. The building supposes the foundation; the outspread branches of the tree, the root; the man, the child;—and ultimate eminence of character supposes a starting-point, corresponding to the final elevation. When Christianity is well diffused; when religious freedom prevails; when societies of Christians exhibit the virtues of our holy religion;—it will always happen that, every now and then, great minds will be attracted to the Cross, and become the pillars of the Church, the ornaments of their profession, and the lights of the age. Such was the case with Richard Watson.

It was well that he had to work his own way: the faculties are brightened by the uses of necessity, and the virtues of early life are deepened by trials. We shall give no more of the biography of Richard Watson, than to inform the reader that he was born at Barton-upon-Humber, in Lincolnshire, February 22nd, 1781;

that, after attending a dame-school, he was put under the tuition of the Curate of the parish at the age of six years, and remained two years, in which time he began Latin; that, on his father's removal to Lincoln, he was placed in the seminary of a Mr. Hescott, where his classical studies were suspended; that he then passed into the grammar-school of that ancient city, where he resumed these studies, and continued them till he was fourteen years of age, when he was withdrawn from school altogether; that he was soon afterwards awakened to a sense of religion, and united himself with the Methodist Society; and then, at the age of sixteen, was called to the ministry, and began his public career. Such, so far as outward things are concerned, were the germs from which grew all that followed. They are perfectly insufficient to account for the fruit which afterwards adorned his character. Something more profound must be sought as the basis of his attainments, than any thing which appears in the above enumeration. Where are we to look for this? Unquestionably, in the first place, to the riches of the grace of God, to the anointing and call of the Holy Spirit, to the effective influence of Divine truth upon his heart, to the sovereignty of God's providence; and then, in the second place, to the innate powers of his own mind. The precocity of his genius appears in the fact that he began to preach at so early an age; but precocious genius does not always turn out to be enduring, or of much strength. Many promising saplings which for a time spring up with great rapidity, soon expend their vigour and strength, and afterwards appear before the world as feeble and sickly plants. Not so with Richard Watson. The disproportion betwixt his boyhood and his mature manhood; his base and his altitude; his starting-point, and the goal he reached; his morning and evening of life; his scanty stock in the beginning, and his riches in the end; his first crude essays, and his finished performances; his unfledged efforts, and his eagle flights; his stammering addresses at sixteen, and his burning eloquence in the zenith of his pulpit power; his undigested knowledge when he first took pen in hand, and the breadth, strength, beauty, and sublimity of his style and sentiments, when he laid it aside;—the distance, we say, in his favour, betwixt these several points must have been as great as can well be conceived.

We have been furnished with the history of many remarkable men, who have surmounted great impediments in their career, and become very distinguished, without much school training; but we know of no instance equal to the gigantic strides made by Mr. Watson. Most men who are indebted to themselves alone for their success,—although they may attain to much massiveness, vigour, tone; and amass great stores of knowledge, and often a creditable amount of learning,—yet retain through life a certain rusticity, and possess but little power of arrangement

or analysis over their acquisitions. In the case of Mr. Watson, strength and elegance grew together : the expansion of his mind was like that of the morning into the brightness and glories of day. He turned everything he touched into gold. No truth, however great,—no subject, however practical,—no detail, however dry,—could pass into his mind, or from his lips, but a trace of beauty appeared.

We have no doubt Mr. Jackson is perfectly correct in saying, that "it was not till after his conversion that his true intellectual character appeared : up to that period, his mental faculties had never been fully called forth." But even after that event, although, no doubt, the spiritual change was complete, yet the mind of Mr. Watson could not at once be formed.

The chief mental effect produced seems to have been an ardent thirst for knowledge. The new power found a willing, an eager, and a glowing mind as its instrument ; only unpractised, like a bird attempting to mount the heavens for the first time. But the religious element is well calculated to produce intellectual activity, and to assimilate to itself every kind of truth ; and can adopt and receive into its own sphere all other forms of knowledge. To suppose that it is limited to questions of orthodoxy,—to creeds and symbols,—to Church-observances,—to the contemplative and mystic,—is to take a very narrow view of the matter. As the faculties of the soul have some relation to all existing things,—and religion has some relation to all these faculties,—it follows, that religion, through the soul as its organ, stands connected with all nature. The question is, in reality, whether a Christian man can so influence his own pursuits and acquisitions, as to bring them into the circle of his spiritual life. Certainly he may. If the spiritual life is ubiquitous in the soul,—if it reaches to the whole intellectual nature,—if it touches every faculty,—then it must be equally ubiquitous externally. The sensible may pervert the spiritual ; the natural, the Divine ; the philosophical and scientific, the devout ; but our position supposes that the religious power remains unimpaired, and, that being the case, it must be supreme ; mastering all other things by its own potency, and bringing them into its service, as God makes nature obey the behests of His will.

The philosophy of mind abounds in curious and difficult questions ; and the mind of Mr. Watson is a fine subject for this philosophy to try its principles upon. Both Scotch and German professors have tried to solve all difficulties connected with this intricate matter, and to reduce the phenomena of mind to the form of a science. With what success this has been attempted, it is not for us to determine ; but the common-sense English people have not, till recently, troubled themselves much about it. That men possess faculties in common, is certain ; but the difference in degree is so obvious, that it seems to us that

no standard can be fixed, no scientific classification of men can be scientifically made, no complete muster can be effected. We know not, for instance, to what class of men to reckon Mr. Watson as belonging: he was *sui generis*; he was not like any of his contemporaries; he possessed an individualism of a peculiar stamp: and his faculties moved in a sphere into which none entered. There is nothing singular in this,—it belongs to all great men. In the period in which Mr. Watson lived, there were other eminent persons, as well as himself, belonging to Christianity: but they occupied, each one, an intellectual and moral ground of his own. Who could fill the sphere that was occupied by the mind of Chalmers? He became the head of a school: he had many imitators in style and language, who, more or less, succeeded in their attempts to Chalmerize themselves; but no one got into his orbit, or thought, reasoned, and philosophized, on his elevation. Who trod in the track of Robert Hall? No one. He occupied a place of his own. His oratory, his writings, his imagery, are all unique; and no other mind of his day could have thrown off the same brilliant and pure light, the same glowing and burning coruscations of sublime thought, the same torrents of profound, but, at the same time, beautiful and polished, eloquence, as this extraordinary man. Mr. Watson belonged to the class of gifted and first-rate men, as much as these two lights of their age: but he was distinguished from both by characteristics of his own. He did not possess the vehemence of Chalmers,—that internal mental force which drove him along the line of his argument as an express-train is driven by the superior power of its fire and mechanism. An argument of Dr. Chalmers is very much like a journey by one of these trains: he neither gives himself nor his auditors opportunity to look about; for the time being, we have nothing but the argument; and from the earnestness with which it is impelled forward upon the attention of the listener, there might be no other in the universe than the one truth embodied in this specific theme. A sermon of Dr. Chalmers is like Paganini's playing of a fiddle on one string: *his* was, no doubt, a magnificent piece of cat-gut, and the touch of the artist exquisitely fine; he could make his one string utter many sounds,—but still it was but one string. The eloquence of a one-stringed instrument excites you, indeed, drives you mad, for the time: but when sober reflection returns, you discover that, in your eager following of your guide, you have left much more behind you than you have gained in the chase; and, moreover, that the one truth enforced upon your attention, has, by its undue prominence, been thrown out of harmony with other cognate truths. Hall was different from Chalmers, and, as we think, superior, in mental power, in beauty, in pathos, and in the balance of the faculties: and yet he was less effective; and he was probably so, because of the harmonious blend-

ing of one excellence with another ; it being found in experience, that the mind, like a fortress, soonest yields to the assaults of a battery, which plays upon it a succession of shot and shell in the same direction ; by this process, striking the soul at the same point till a breach is effected, and an entrance prepared for the admission of the principle enforced. Robert Hall did not possess this power as Chalmers did ; and hence, though his productions are amongst the most philosophical, broad, and beautiful of the human intellect, yet, because they strike not one sense alone, but every sense,—gratify not one taste in particular, but every taste,—administer not merely to one moral sentiment, but to all,—lift up not one faculty only to the ethereal regions of pure and heavenly light, but carry forward the whole nature alike,—the same effect is not perceived as when one of Chalmers's powerful batteries is playing upon one point. Through nature, the principle of equilibrium is always at work ; and, as the heavens resume their serenity after a tempest by the force of this law, so, after being agitated by one of the mental explosions of Chalmers, we are delighted to repose in the sunshine of Hall.

There seems to be a difference between the Church celebrities, and those found in the ranks of Nonconformity. Owen, of the Bible Society, was one of the most eloquent men we ever listened to ; and yet we are not aware that he had much fame beyond that of the platform. He was an extemporaneous preacher, and must have been an eminently accomplished one ;—Bishop Porteus saying, as we heard at the time, that Owen was the only man in his diocese fit to preach extemporaneously. And yet we hear nothing of his pulpit performances. What can be the reason of this ? Is it because in the "Church" pulpit eloquence is held cheaper than amongst others ? Is it because the people are more advanced in intelligence, and thus are less influenced by talent,—this gift only approximating to their own state of advancement ? We can understand how it may be essential for an Oxford or Cambridge man to possess very extraordinary attainments in order to his excelling amongst his fellows ; but the people are not of this class, and, consequently, remain open to the influence of popular oratory. They seem not, however, so much affected by it, as the people on the outside of the "Church ;" and the problem must remain unsolved. How it came to pass that, in the period of great preachers amongst the Dissenting bodies, no one rose to the distinction of Hall, Chalmers, and others, we know not. It augurs well, however, that, as a rule, distinctions in the "Church" arise from piety, simplicity, laborious exertions. Men possessing these requisites are invariably popular, whilst extraordinary talents and attainments seem only to have a limited sphere.

Be this as it may,—in the age of Chalmers, Hall, and Owen, Watson took rank amongst them as their equal. He had not the earnestness and force of Chalmers ; but he possessed much

more thought, philosophy, calm ratiocination, and harmonious fulness. He had not, perhaps, the metaphysical subtilty and rapid combination, the burning affections, and elegant diction of Hall; but he possessed as keen a reason, a more lofty imagination, an equal or superior power of painting, and, as we think, a much more vivid perception of the spiritual world, and a richer leaven of evangelical sentiment. Owen's oratory seemed to be more flowing, spontaneous, and impassioned, than that of Watson; but the latter exceeded Owen in stretch of thought, sublimity, beautiful imagery, and deep and touching pathos. We do not make these comparisons for the sake of exalting one of these men at the expense of the other. Each was great in his own sphere; they had few points of resemblance; and it would be illiberal in the extreme to judge one by the other. But it must be seen that one who can bear comparison with the greatest of his age, in mental power and the essentials of eloquence, must himself be great; and although party feeling and sectarian bigotry may cause the genius of Watson to be neglected or unknown, yet those who knew him, and those who have read his works with impartiality, will be ready to confess that he belonged to the highest order of humanity; and that, though his genius was different from that of his most gifted contemporaries, yet, in fact, it was second to NONE.

The mind of Mr. Watson seems to have been a *universal mind*,—universal, that is, in its sympathies. Let us be understood in this. No man can know all things; and even the attempt to master too many subjects must produce feebleness. But the universal mind will, at any rate, have a *passive* side for all things, if not an active. The *active* side of nature is developed in real pursuits; but they who attain to eminence in their own particular line and department, may, nevertheless, possess the universal mind in question; may listen to the hum of the world in their chamber; participate in all the ebblings and flowings of society; sympathize with the pulsations of the public mind; give their prayers and their help to all philanthropic exertions for the amelioration of our humanity; commingle their faith and zeal with the efforts going on amongst all Christians for the diffusion of the Gospel; and, moreover, though they may not be able to overtake all the improvements of the age, to speak *ex cathedra* on every subject, keep abreast of literature in its exhaustless creations, or be equal to the task of tracing all the radiations of science, yet they may have a love for all; and their own peculiar profession will receive accessions from every quarter, as one truth invariably strengthens another.

Some men possess this catholic idiosyncrasy. The sects claim them as their own, whereas they belong to universal humanity. By birth and language they are English, French, or German, but in fact they belong to the whole human family; the pro-

fession or science to which they happen to be devoted gives them a name, when, in reality, they, more or less, stand identified with all kinds of knowledge. The *universal* man is at home on every ground, in every sphere; the *sectarian*, only in one region. In this he may be eminent,—may argue with clearness and force,—set forth his dogmas with great confidence, and be a perfect master in his line. But bring him on untrodden ground, and he is bewildered, puts forth his powers in the dark, guesses at principles and conclusions with ludicrous indecision, and hastens with eager step back again to his old habitation. But, to do him justice, the world is much indebted to him. His one ideal, or line of mental action, having the effect of absorbing all the resources of life, gives him great strength. The man of general ideas and study is rarely an enthusiast; whereas the man of one pursuit is almost always so. But this enthusiasm is admirably adapted to carry him forward in his career. And as it must, of necessity, limit him to his one object, it enables him to devote all the energies of his mind to his vocation; and when charged only with such sentiments, passions, and knowledge as belong to one department, the soul becomes a mighty engine.

No doubt, theology has been much promoted by Professors who have given their attention not merely to this one object, but even to one view of it. Nothing could be more entire than the devotion of the Puritan Divines to their theories, both doctrinal and ecclesiastical. In their ponderous writings, biblical criticism, metaphysical subtilty, logical acumen, historical research, analogical deduction, the laws of human nature, the experiences of the Church, the nature of God, all are brought with infinite skill and industry to support the theory of the Genevan theology. And equal talent, and singleness of purpose, were displayed to demonstrate the *jure divino* claims of the Genevan platform of Church-government. We do not object to this; it has brought the whole case before us; we know, apparently, as much as we can know respecting the Calvinistic theory in both branches. It is easy for sectarian divines to make their single truth as prominent as the Pyramids on the plains of Egypt; but, in the end, other truths, neglected or repudiated for the time, will claim their place and find their position, as the waters of the estuary, dammed up for a season in some inland nook, rush back again to embrace the parent ocean.

Isolations can only be partially successful, and remain in their pristine state but for a season. This has been the case with Puritanism. It was, in its best days, a majestic structure, and seemed to bid defiance to opposition. Time, however,—with the progress and changes of the human mind; with its studies and discoveries; with its swell of events and developments; with the altered convictions and sentiments of mankind,—has, at length, undermined this noble system. We turn to the

piles of theology created by Puritanism, with a zest and a pleasure which few other writings produce. When we have any longing for the holy, the experimental, the beautiful, the profound, the sublime; when we desire to become better acquainted with the cross of our Lord; with the ways and works of God; with the soul's mysterious walk in the spiritual world; with the exercises of the religious life; with the modes of triumph over our sins and miseries; when we desire to get away from the cares and perplexities of this shadowy state, to converse with heaven and eternal life;—when these emotions are felt, we instinctively turn to these teachers. And the men were as great as their works: their spiritual life was a concentration of the truths they held in their own souls; their devotional exercises embraced the loftiest aspirings after God; their morals were austere and strict; their character as men amongst men, conscientious, firm, courageous, and eminently practical; and their devotion to God seems to have partaken of the nature of an offering, constantly presented on the altar of His will. But Puritanism is gone! Its age has passed away, never to return; and no class of religionists possesses its spirit. In accounting for this, we are willing to adopt the best theory within our power,—that is, the most charitable. May we not, then, consider Puritanism as *basal*,—the foundation-work of God, on which much, though not all, which has followed has been built? In this view of the case, it still occupies a most important position in our existing Christianity. The massive, granite-like character; the logical compactness and skilful bevelling of one doctrine into another; the depth and breadth of their great work; all this, considered as a foundation for succeeding ages, gives to their labours the highest place that can be given to men. Would the Protestant religion have been safe in the perils through which it had to pass, had it not been for Puritanism? Would religious liberty and the rights of conscience have been secured in Great Britain and in America, had not Puritanism uttered its voice? Would science, civilization, commercial enterprise, liberal legislation, and ameliorated laws, have found place in our national state, without Puritanism? Especially, would the Christian cause, in all its departments of home evangelization, educational progress and activity, and missionary enterprise, have been in its present position without Puritanism? One thing always springs from another; and in looking back for the motive power of the ever-progressive advance of Christianity, next to the Bible and to God, no sufficient cause can be found but Puritanism. We do not, by any means, undervalue the truth, as developed at the period of the Reformation; but the Puritans consolidated, amplified, and gave life and vigour to, the doctrines then elicited.

But Puritanism, though, as a foundation-system, admirably

adapted to serve the interests of Christianity, was, nevertheless, much too exclusive. It could not, for this reason, become a universal system. That which is too narrow to become general itself, may, however, put other principles and agencies in motion, by which universal effects may be reached. After securing the conservation of Protestantism in the world by its heroic spirit, is it too much to believe that Puritan piety has unveiled the mysteries of prophecy, and put men to work out the great results predicted; has given a practical turn to those glorious evangelical doctrines, on which they dwell with so intense an interest; has touched the springs of all Christian hearts, and drawn them forth towards their fellow-men in compassion and love? May it not have produced a spirit which has passed beyond its own doctrinal standard, and taken a more benign mould, a more catholic type, and exhibited a less restricted benevolence? This, we may believe, has led its disciples from the dogmas of man to the Word of God; from theories to principles; from metaphysical and logical demarcations to the broad and open evangelical system; and thus from the sectarian to the Christian spirit.

Methodism followed Puritanism, as an earnest religion, some sixty or seventy years after the noble-minded Puritans had quitted the Establishment on St. Bartholomew's Day. But, before this time, a great change had manifested itself in the theology of all religious parties, as well as in the thinkings and manners of the people in general. Calvinism sank to a discount in public estimation; and men in general seemed disposed to adopt a more expanded and charitable system. This process led gradually to the abandonment of evangelical doctrine itself, with the peculiarities which had served as its foundation. Methodism was the re-assertion of these doctrines, dislodged, in the case of the Wesleys, from the narrow foundations on which it had previously rested;—an event which not only inaugurated a revived religious life and feeling, put in motion new agencies to accomplish its purpose, and formed societies to preserve the piety of the disciples thus gained, but introduced what seemed at the time a new theology. This theology was planted on the principle of universality,—a universal love, a universal redemption, a universal visitation of grace to man; in fine, on the principle that the Gospel wears a catholic aspect, and invites to its privileges all the human race.

Mr. Isaac Taylor remarks, that “*Wesleyan Methodism*, so far as it was the product of its founder's mind, and the representation of his individual experience, and the symbolical record of his personal religious history, came forth—A CRAMPED Christianity.” Again: “We must think that he, less clearly than many, apprehended the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of the Christian scheme. If he had been less argumen-

tative, and less categorical, and more meditative, he would have set Wesleyan Methodism upon a broader theological basis." We cannot help thinking that Mr. Taylor, in this latter passage, confounds theology with religion; that is, with the religious spirit and religious observances. No doubt, with his views, Mr. Taylor would consider the latter as "*narrow*;" and, in a certain sense, this may be admitted, without any disparagement to Wesley and his opinions. What is distinctive in religion, must always be limited; and as primitive Methodism had this characteristic, aimed but at one object, the salvation of mankind, and neither the establishment of a Church-system, nor the promulgation of a theology, in the proper sense of the term, its oneness of purpose would give it the aspect of a "*cramped*" religion.

Be this as it may, we are at a loss to conceive how a "theological basis" can be "broader" than universal. The principle involved in this, it is well known, led to a long and somewhat fierce controversy, the Calvinistic party in Methodism desiring to place it on the old foundation, whilst Wesley, and those who thought with him, as strenuously laboured to free it from the bonds and "*cramped*" action of the dogmas of Geneva. But he did not attempt to establish a theological system scientifically worked out. His theology is found only in his religious teaching; which, as it was designed to be popular, and for the benefit of the common people, did not admit of an elaborate and systematic classification. But the elements of a theology on the broadest basis possible were introduced by the teaching of Mr. Wesley and his coadjutors. The process is the same with every system of science, and even of social and moral principle. Nations remain in a normal state often for many generations; during which period, one truth after another is brought to light and established; and it is not till these have been long tested, that the political philosopher can find a sphere for the exercise of his skill in bringing the undigested mass into form and harmony. This was very much the case with early Methodism. It elicited great truths,—it threw these truths upon the surface of the world,—it employed them in its mission to mankind,—it effected its work of conversion by their faithful enunciation,—and it saw the fruit of the whole in the union and fellowship of a people who heartily embraced them.

The time came, however, when these disjointed and fragmentary elements admitted of a cohesive, expanded, systematic, and scientific arrangement,—and Mr. Watson's Institutes sprang into existence. Will Mr. Taylor say, that the Methodist theology, as here expounded, rests on a "*narrow basis*," or that it stands out as a "*cramped Christianity*?" We observe that this gentleman limits his remarks to the theology of Wesley himself, and does not extend his censure to others; but it must be

recollected that the rudimental principles of whatever has followed, belonged to Wesley's own theology. Mr. Watson did not strike out any new path; did not originate any unrecognised doctrine; did not pretend to found his system on a basis of his own. The simple fact is, that Methodism from the beginning freed itself from the trammels of the old limitations of prescriptive churchism, both in doctrine and ecclesiastics, and sought for itself the open spaces of the entire Christian religion, making the Bible alone its foundation.

We are perfectly aware that Mr. Watson's Institutes are not the *legal* standard of Methodist doctrine, and never can be; yet it may be unhesitatingly asserted that they constitute the *moral and scientific* standard of that doctrine, and that they are worthy of the position which they occupy.

In the mean time, every period will have its type in living men,—the predominant opinions, doctrines, and spirit of the age, embodying themselves in persons, who, by their faith, talents, and susceptibility, become the representatives of the times in which they live. Mr. Watson was one of these men. When found, however, they are not limited to party, to professions, to sects. Each division will have its own chief; who, though not elected to the function, will be supported by the spontaneous suffrages of all who concede to him the acknowledgment of a mental superiority, and consider him the type of their class. Throughout all nature, we find that feeble creations are supported by strong: and in the world of mind we witness the same. Some are too idle to think for themselves, and require others to do their thinking work for them; some are too feeble to exercise their faculties with any thing like energy, and demand the support of stronger minds than their own; some are devoid of all volition in this polemic state, and look out for others to lead them to safe conclusions; some are placed in circumstances in which scholarship is impossible, and they need the help of those more learned than themselves; and, even in religion, the Priest is sought as an essential personage, to settle the faith, the scruples, and the embarrassing doubts, which hang upon the minds of the half-enlightened.

There could be no great men without little men,—the greatness of the one class arising out of the diminutive stature of their fellows, as the altitude of the mountain is measured from the plain below. The approximation of the many to the standard of the leading minds of the day would have the effect of lessening the distance, and bringing about a state of equality. Great men never reckon their equals to be great: there must be some distinction, some elevation above themselves, or this honour is sure to be refused. Men who feel themselves to be on a level with others—whether in mental power, or scientific attainment, or taste and literature, or reason and eloquence, or force and energy—will, of course, never concede the palm to their equals.

The contest of mind with mind never takes place, but between persons who are on a par, or think themselves to be so,—the masses always doing reverence to those above them in mental qualities, so as to limit the strife for superiority finally within a very narrow compass. What occasioned the long gladiatorship betwixt Pitt and Fox in the political arena of the House of Commons?—Merely their equality. Neither could be subdued, because each felt himself equal to the renewal of the combat; after each intellectual struggle, in which the eager listeners on both sides felt it difficult to award the prize of victory, the heroes of debate were constantly prepared to meet each other again, and nothing could decide the question of superiority, or ungrasp the hold of one of these *athletæ* upon the other, but that Power which unlooses all bonds and puts an end to all rivalries.

But in our analysis of the character of Mr. Watson, it is necessary to go into particulars. In mind, as in other things, the universal must be made up from the particulars. The body is one, but consists of many parts; and as to the mind, the perfection of the unit which we call by that name takes place by the harmonious operation of its several powers. In our attempt to arrive at something like a true notion of the mind of Mr. Watson, we may mention the *perceptive or intuitive faculty*. Only, in order to the better understanding of our subject, we may institute a previous inquiry into the nature of the faculty itself, and its relation to the other parts of our intellectual organization. Perhaps the *retina* of the eye, in its connexion with the brain, may present an analogy that may assist us. Light, form, colour, will necessarily produce an effect upon the soul, in agreement with the delicacy, acuteness, and truthfulness, with which they strike the eye. An obliquity, an obtuseness, a distortion of the medium, must have the effect of causing exaggerated or defective impressions; so that the estimate of the judgment will necessarily be influenced by the colouring given to objects by sensation.

This analogy may serve to illustrate the nature of intuition, which stands intimately connected with perception, the latter being defined as the knowledge of outer things gained through the senses. If we add to the *sensorium* the faculty of fancy, from which the *nebulae* of mental creations are continuously arising, it will be seen that the intuitive is an underlying power, connected with all the other faculties, and that all difference or degree of mind must primarily depend upon the comparative perfection in which this is enjoyed.

But in forming an estimate of the ultimate conception of the mind, we must by no means forget the influence of the moral part of our nature, from which our ideas receive a tinge, as surely as from perception itself. If we adopt the division of our nature,—referred to by St. Paul,—of body, soul, and spirit, may we not imagine that the spirit is peculiarly the centre or

determinator of the intuitions which are presented by the soul ; —and then, again, that the body in its entire constitution is the organ of the soul ? The order, then, of these faculties and sensations on this scheme will stand thus :—The phenomena of the visible universe, in all its forms, have relations to the senses of the body, the one being formed for the other : the senses have a relation to the faculties of the soul : and these, again, stand in the position of communicating *media* with the spirit. Now, the spirit, according to a late eminent philosopher, consists of the understanding and the will ; the latter, of course, being accessible to such moral motives as we have mentioned. Thus, then, we have the moral nature as joint arbiter with the understanding over the conceptions of the soul,—or, that part of our organization which lies most directly open to the appeal of the spiritual, the supernatural, the Divine.

If, then, our principle be right, it follows that intuition can hardly be considered the function of a faculty, but the consequence and effect of all the faculties of body, soul, and spirit. In case our intuitions relate to the mind itself, or to the ideal world, or to the spiritual and Divine, or to the moral system, or to the hidden agency at work in nature and in religion ; even then, they must be greatly modified by the organization of the entire man. In our present state, we see that the spirit is not alone, it is the companion of the soul : the soul is not alone, but is indissolubly united to the body : the body is not alone ; for every breath of heaven, every rising and setting sun, every agent at work in the universe, every object in nature, is constantly pressing upon its nerves, and sending their thrill of pleasure or pain through the whole manhood, to the depths within, where the spirit sits enthroned in intellectual majesty.

In the actual exercise of the intuitive faculty, the *subjective* and the *objective* necessarily meet. Even in the case of those perceptions which the mind exercises upon itself, this must be the case : the mind then becoming the object of its own reflections ; in meditating upon its own powers, analysing its own operations, examining its own motives, judgments, and passions, it is itself objective—the subject-object, as the metaphysicians call it. There may be action and reaction in this, as, in fact, there is ; but the principle mentioned cannot but be in operation. The invisible, the spiritual, the Divine, the ideal, is subject to the same law. God is an objective Being, to the mind exercising itself to comprehend His nature, to form an idea of His perfections, to trace His ways and will, to apprehend His grace and love. The acts of trust and adoration are of the same nature, inasmuch as faith must always have an object. The several elements implied in the notion of religion, so subtle, so ethereal, so impalpable to the senses, are all objective truths and agencies which the mind has to apprehend as it best

can. The eternal and immortal—so important to us—is also in the distance : we may have affinities of feeling and of nature with these glorious perspectives, but still they belong to the objective. The independent action of the intuitive power is a pure impossibility ; we might as well think of sensation without the objects of sense, as imagine that intuition can exist at all without the influence of objective nature and truth to put it in motion.

Whatever intuition may be in itself, it is generally thought to be the element of the philosophical character. Was Mr. Watson a philosopher? We hardly know how to answer this question, because of its indefinite nature. There are so many philosophies in the world, that when a person is said to be a philosopher, it is necessary to inquire what kind of philosophy is meant. A general philosopher is usually a muddy, dreamy gentleman, who lives in a murky, unreal region ; and, filling this region with the *genii* of his own fancy, considers these as the creations of his philosophy, whereas they are merely the indistinct conceptions of a diseased imagination. There is, however, a real philosophy, and, consequently, such a thing as a philosophic mind. Theology has its philosophy, as well as other departments ; and no one can be a great theologian, who is not a great philosopher. But theology is a mixed science, embracing many elements ; so that the conceptions of the divine may not be presented in separate analysis, as is the case with the professors of particular branches of knowledge ; and, consequently, his philosophy can only be found in his general teaching. A writer on natural religion, if competent to his task, as Howe, Butler, Paley, will, we presume, be ranked among philosophers. Men who have composed treatises on the philosophical method, as Locke, Stewart, Reid, Hamilton, Morell, and hosts of German authors, will have this honour accorded them. Others who have dealt with the question of ethics, as Plato, Aristotle, and the Christian writers, will also be considered philosophers. Why, then, should not the theologian, who teaches all this in his constant ministrations,—or, if he embody his opinions in a general system of theology,—why, we ask, should he not be ranked among the fraternity? Now it so happens that Mr. Watson is the author of “Theological Institutes” of great value and importance ; and although he has not written separate treatises on the subjects enumerated, they all have a place therein. Do we find on these points a vein of philosophy running through this work? or is it a production of dry detail and common-place? The answer is easy. The mind of the writer grapples with them all, with a masterly power ; a vast amount of original matter is introduced on every question ; new thoughts, new arguments, new deductions are found ; and the whole is given to the world in a style of perspicuity, beauty, and freshness, such as is rarely met with. It

is true that this work follows in the track of our best divines ; but will it be said that novelty is essential to philosophy ? And is there no philosophy in the productions of the elder writers ? Are questionable theories the test of the intuitive power ? Must some new deity be found, some new law of mind, some novel code of morals be propounded, some unrevealed spiritual world laid open, some region discovered, peopled with creations of spiritual essences, unthought of before ? Must these things attest the claim of a writer to the intuitive faculty, and to the philosophy which is supposed to spring therefrom ? We are sure that Mr. Watson would have repudiated any claim to intuition on such conditions as these ; and we now repudiate it for him, for ourselves, and for all our friends.

But, in truth, the old landmarks are far enough apart to allow the soul of the most gifted free scope ; the field of revelation is sufficiently ample for the range of the most elevated genius ; the realms of nature are deep and wide enough to find occupation for the studies of the most learned and industrious ; and the spiritual and moral system, as opened to us by inspiration, is equal to the loftiest aspirings and conceptions of the human intellect. If the modern notion of intuition means an independent power of the mind by which things sacred, true, and effective, can be apprehended, without the teaching of the Bible, and the influence of the Holy Spirit ; a central power from which a true religion, a true morality, a true social state, can be woven as the silk-worm weaves its web from itself,—then we entirely repudiate this notion, and deny its sufficiency : but if the range of the intuitive power is admitted to be the “*things which are freely given to us of God,*” then we adopt the theory, and believe that Mr. Watson possessed this intuitive and philosophical power in a very eminent degree.

He was distinguished, indeed, in nothing more than an entire deference to the teachings of the word of God. The Bible constituted the basis of all his theological opinions. He would have been afraid of any sentiment not in entire harmony with the sacred oracles. He was decidedly a man of one book, in all that related to “the faith.” Did he not find scope for his intuitions here ? Were his notions of sacred things jejune, little, and unphilosophical ? If we rightly apprehend him, his mind was kept in constant contact with revelation ; his eye ranged in its ample fields of light ; his soul delighted to expatiate in these regions of unsullied truth and beauty ; his moral sense was constantly refreshed and invigorated at this fountain ; and all his powers were preserved in intense activity by the genial influences of the great and holy subjects thus brought before his attention. And why may not the intuitive power employ itself in fathoming the depths of things revealed, as well as in attempting to fathom the depths of things unrevealed ! Why may not this faculty

work from itself upwards towards God by the light and grace of the Christian dispensation, as well as attempt this task without it? Why may not intuition become the centre of a faith which shall collect around itself the elements, the blessings, and the holiness of true religion, as well as involve itself in a web of unreal sophisms? What authority, even to itself, can there be in the intuitions of the mind, unsupported by revelation? Is it to be understood that we have in this a new infallibility,—that intuition is a Pope,—that man is a God to himself?

We cannot in this place forget an old-fashioned doctrine,—that of the fall of man, and its result, original sin. Has original sin corrupted everything in man, save his intuitive power? This is unintelligible. In point of fact, this—we believe—German dogma is only a new phase of a very old opinion. In all periods of Christianity there have been men who have failed to apprehend and acknowledge the teaching of Holy Scripture, on the subject of the fallen state of our nature. The Gnostic and Pelagian sects of ancient times were of this class; many of the Roman theologians and schoolmen, and the extreme Arminians of this country, adopted similar sentiments; the object all along being to discover a power in human nature, unassisted by grace, to recover itself from the degradation of ignorance and sin. In some of these theories, natural religion, as a whole, has been relied upon; in others, the will has been considered as the unfallen power, and by its exertions every thing was to be set right; in others, the conscience has been the demi-god of the soul, with the power of independent action; and now, intuition is the substitute of all the rest; and man, by its means, is supposed to be capable of rectifying his moral course when wrong, and working out for himself a sort of human salvation, embracing the knowledge of God, the line of his own being, the spiritual world, and all the great interests of religion. The theory seems to be, that all this is from within; that the Holy Spirit has nothing to do with the process, but that the mind does everything for itself; that *objective* truth has the smallest share possible in forming the character to piety and virtue, the intuitive faculty supplying the place of God's revelation; that, in fine, this central power of the soul, like the chrysalis, throws off the incrustations of error, darkness, and vice, one after another, till the open firmament is gained, and the perfectly fledged soul wings her way through the spaces of light and wisdom, as the eagle cuts the air.

In the mean time, may we ask,—Is intuition a power or faculty in the soul? If so, then how comes it to pass that this intuitive faculty, or whatever it may be considered to be, does not share in the catastrophe of the fall,—that in the midst of the general ruin it continues in unimpaired perfection? Or, if it is said that the intuitive power does not belong to the indivi-

dualism of the man, but is an element, an atmosphere, a halo, distinct from this individualism,—a sort of oil supplying the lamp with light,—then we ask, What is meant by this? Here we get back again to our starting-point; we have been moving in a circle; and, after all, on this principle, intuition is, in effect, the super-sensual, that is, as we should say, the Spirit of God, giving instruction and power to the spirit of man.

It is thought that the intuitive and philosophic mind is creative; and that those who fail to create, have no claim to this distinction. But, properly speaking, there can be no such thing as human creations. The poetic art is generally considered as such; this is a mistake,—the inspiration of the poet is an intuition, but cannot be said to be creative, in any other way than mechanical genius. The man who made the steam-engine was a poet in his way: he gave life, embodiment, motion, to dead masses of material, on the ideal of his intuitions. The poet does the same. The “*Paradise Lost*” is an epic castle,—if the reader will,—an epic world; but the material was prepared by God,—some on earth, some in heaven, and some in hell. It turns out, in reality, that all fictitious things presented in the works of the most imaginative writers, consist of things that are known,—just as the strange figures found by Layard, in his interesting researches at Nineveh, are nothing but monsters made out of the union of several animals, so as to form one fanciful nondescript. In like manner, a close analysis of the imagery of Milton will be found to partake of this character: his most sublime, beautiful, or frightful pictures, are made up of a skilful grouping of nature, or a horrible combination of elements and agents, all of which are known, but thrown by his masterly hand into new positions.

Things sacred do not admit of this fanciful distortion. The religious mind feels itself impelled to keep within the limits of the truth, as taught in Holy Scripture; so that, in reality, all that is left for intuition to do, is to follow out this radiant path as far as it can be followed. Is not this sufficient? In fact, does not this path lead infinitely farther than any one can go by his unaided intuitions? But let us not be mistaken in this. We do not refer merely to the letter of the word of God, but to those things which stand out in these wonderful discoveries.

The Divine revelations do not terminate in themselves; they are not the *objective* of the Christian faith, but the *media*, the light, through which objects are seen. The truth taught us respecting man himself, as a starting-point, leads us to an interminable destiny. Is there nothing in man’s spiritual and moral life, as revealed in the word of God, to engage intuition, as well as faith? Again, there is God himself,—God in his being,—in his providence, or relation to man,—in his kingdom,—in his inscrutable decrees and will,—and in the whole unfolding of his perfections. Can the full powers of the mind fail to be

called forth in grappling with this sublime idea,—or could any unassisted exertion of the intuition have attained to it? And the light of revelation places the world itself in a peculiar aspect; so that it appears not merely as a natural, nor yet as a moral, but as a Divine, system; inasmuch as it is made the theatre of the greatest and most glorious interposition of which we can have any conception. Now let us look at the difference between things considered through the medium of philosophy alone, and of philosophy assisted by revelation. In the one case, human nature is a riddle; the nations of the earth appear the slaves of despotism, of cruel laws, of economical schemes,—as if made for tariffs,—as rushing without guidance upon some fearful destiny: in the other, it appears the subject of God, directed by laws equally wise and good, and as approaching the goal of a happy emancipation and redemption. In the one case, a great system is seen to be at work without meaning, without any adequate result,—the world seems an ocean, affording no landing-place for the millions embarked upon it: in the other, by the simple connexion of eternity with time, of heaven with earth, a bright shore is seen in the distance, satisfying desire and producing content. The darkness thrown over all things is, without Redemption, impervious to philosophy; the light imparted by this great fact penetrates every where. Nothing can be more alien to the truth, than the notion that the spiritual mind is incapacitated to form an enlightened and philosophical opinion of things around. The fact is, that all that is beautiful, true, great, moral, in the human systems of our day, has been borrowed from Christianity; and the puerile, the confused, the abortive, is to be placed to the account of unaided intuition. In the separation of the one from the other, the pure gold would be found to belong to Christian, the refuse to infidel, philosophy. Let the latter take what is its own; we grudge not the treasure, but claim for ourselves and our cause all that is true and Divine.

Mr. Watson, then, was a *Christian* philosopher. His taste, and, doubtless, his inclinations, led him to go over the whole ground of Christianity. We read the productions of his profound and sanctified genius with the consciousness that we are following a great mind through all the regions open to human observation. There is a difference, as we have seen, between theology and religion. Theology is a science; religion, a spirit. The mere theologian may prosecute his task in a logical and exact manner, but the system he erects may be as dry and lifeless as a statue or a skeleton. Not so with the religious theologian. His science may be as complete and elaborate as that of the other, but it will be kindled with the warmth and animation of his better feelings. Mr. Watson is a theologian of the latter class. Though exact and scientific, argumentative and profound, yet every where you meet with his spirit, and are conscious that his is not

a mere professional performance, but that he is unveiling the whole with his spiritual perceptions. These invariably carry him as far as revelation leads, and there he stops. But he saw more in revelation than the mere theologian can do ; and this is invariably the case with the religious mind. His practice is to follow every doctrine to the utmost verge of demonstration, and to clothe it in the clearest language ; never seeking to establish one position to the neglect of another. Hence the admirable harmony of his system. Truth, in his hands, is a beautiful whole,—a stately and exquisitely-proportionate temple. He is equally distinguished for the breadth of his views, the profundity of his thoughts, the strength and clearness of his reasoning, the calm but vigorous spirit of his conceptions, the brilliance of his imagination, and the piety of his aim.

There has been much discussion as to the relation of religion to science in general, to nature, and to politics. In the midst of the corruptions of Christianity by science, “falsely so-called,” caution has been commendable. In the presence of a catastrophe so fearful as a fallen Church,—a catastrophe originally owing to the influence of heathen philosophy and idolatry, which introduced the sublimations of Gnosticism, sullied the lustre of Christian faith, bedizened the Church in meretricious finery, and made the priesthood the officials of unmeaning and idolatrous ceremonies,—it behoves Protestant Christianity to be on its guard. But there surely must be a right use of the philosophy of the world, the laws of nature, and the political developments of nations. So, we presume, Mr. Watson thought ; for his productions are enriched from all these quarters. It may, perhaps, be thought that one who wrote so much on one subject, must have spent his life in the study of it alone. This is a very erroneous conclusion. He was conversant with every thing. Politics, the social state of nations, the doctrines of economists, the progress of trade, the balance of interests, alike engaged his attention. On some of these subjects he wrote copiously and ardently, at the very time that he was preparing his most recondite theological works. His opinions quadrated with those of his country ; he felt as a true patriot during the eventful struggles of the nation and the world for existence and freedom ; and he contributed his *quota* of support to the cause of enslaved and suffering humanity. Besides this, he was occupied with general literature, the arts, the advancement of science, and cognate subjects. And what is there in the cross of our Lord to prevent converse with the beautiful and sublime in nature ? Must not the vast realms of God presented to our view, seem more lovely, more nearly perfect, from this point ? Must not the religious sentiment throw its own light and fragrance over all things, making the believing soul to join in every melody, and to rejoice in every form of beauty ? What, again, is there in art and metaphysical philo-

sophy to injure the work of revealed grace, while the Bible is pressed to the bosom, and a firm hold maintained by faith on its leading truths? And what of political and economical truth? So long as the kingdom of God is possessed, and the higher interests of the spiritual world preserve their supremacy, it seems that these questions can do no harm. The only danger is in the desertion of evangelical ground.

The theology of Mr. Watson, so far from being weakened or diluted, is rendered firmer and stronger, by the rich infusion of all kinds of knowledge, which he brings to bear upon its doctrines. Every thing in nature and science must, rightly considered, be the exponent of theological truth. The book is the same through all ages, but its illustrative evidence is always increasing; the text remains, but the commentary accumulates; fundamental principles remain, but their development is constantly going on. It is somewhat singular that the sceptical tribe, and some of the most sincere friends of Christianity, have laboured together to exclude religion from every department of science, and to limit it to a conventional and narrow system. We can account for this proceeding in the infidel: in the Christian it seems a strange oversight. Do not all things emanate from the same Being? Are not all events and circumstances under the control of the same Providence? Is not the will and sovereignty of God a living power? Is not the equity of Deity an eternal equilibrium, a balancing influence over the discordant elements of the universe? Do not the doctrines of revelation relate to God, on the one part, and to the world, on the other? Are not these doctrines designed to produce certain moral results, to be tested by facts? Is not the prophetic volume always evolving its truths, and becoming manifest by events? Is not the kingdom of God on earth, though spiritual in its nature, yet visible and palpable in its growth? The answer to each of these questions will show that religion embraces all things, and must be increasingly illustrated and confirmed by the progress of events. We would speak in particular of the connexion of Christianity with politics. Political societies may pass by the religious element, and strive to build their fabrics without it,—but this course of action soon fails. All history is a faithful, but sad, comment on the miserable consequences of banishing religion from the government of the world. How often do we hear, in our House of Commons, the assertion that *that* is not a proper arena for the introduction of religious questions! But there is a religion above party-spirit and sectarian level; a religion of truth, equity, honour, wisdom, love, which constitute the peculiarities of Christianity. The history of nations is a progressive illustration of the truth of the Bible, not only in its predictions and narrations, but in its imperishable moral sentiment and teaching. In these respects it is the law of society, never to be transgressed with impunity. Pride,

ambition, hypocrisy, cunning, states'-craft,—the idea that man is made for government, and not government for man, leading to the practical deification of the heads of states,—war, devastation, pomp, idleness, luxury, and the unbounded gratification of the passions, at the expense of the blood and labour of the millions ; and then the entire demoralization of the people in the midst of its splendours and crimes ;—these are among the lessons of history ; these have, again and again, majestically illustrated the moral truth of the word of God.

But in a direct manner, as well as incidentally, is history the expositor of Scripture. It is Christianity that is the peculiar subject of prophecy,—Christianity in its corruptions as well as its triumphs. The rise of the former, their progress, the dominance of the “man of sin,” the cruelties of this anti-Christian power, under the guise of religion itself, the slavery of the nations, the overthrow of this system, and, finally, the triumph of the Gospel,—these things are specially the subjects of Divine prediction. The great truths of Christianity come out in the history of these events. Violation of the moral system, established by the Deity, in the name of the Church, is seen to have the same result as in secular states. Wrong can no more be sanctified by religious ceremonies than by temporal power. Iniquity, chicanery, hypocrisy, profligacy, is as hollow in the Church state as in the political state. The fabric built by fraud has no more foundation to rest upon, because spiritual, than if it were secular. In the presence of God, and the immutability of his greatness and equity, the daring outrages committed against his holy laws, and the principles of his kingdom, in the name of religion, are no more safe from retribution, than similar crimes committed in the name of Atheism. The injuries inflicted upon bleeding humanity, the fetters placed upon the limbs and faculties of mankind by priestly despotism, the imposition of a burdensome and costly yoke, the drain upon the property and resources of nations to pamper a luxurious and sensual caste,—all the wrongs done to the human race are done to God, inasmuch as the rights violated are rights bestowed by him ; and the vengeance of mankind on their oppressors is the vengeance of God, asserted in his offspring by the exercise of those instincts of right which he has planted in their hearts.

Now, for the theologian to neglect all that may be gathered from these sources, is to shut out the most impressive, if not the most fundamental, knowledge belonging to his task. We distinguish between fundamental and illustrative truth. The former is always the same ; and it is impossible to construct a theological system, but from fundamental doctrines. But it is clear that a body of divinity, formed upon the principle of a mere statement of doctrines, would be as dry as a book of law ; whereas, if enriched with the illustrations belonging to its several departments,

whether from nature, from science, from history, from the social state, or from the developments of Churchism, it will be a body instinct with life. This is the excellency of Mr. Watson's "Institutes." The advanced knowledge of the age has been blended with the work, and few men have known better how to avail themselves of these stores. The breadth of his own views, and the strength of his genius, not only gave him a very sufficient ideal to serve as a basis, but led him to see how the superstructure should be built; whilst his accumulations of knowledge, skilfully adapted, and his untiring activity, enabled him to finish what he undertook.

It is not our intention to examine all the teaching of this work. The question for our consideration is, whether the work is true to the primary idea of the author, namely, Evangelical Arminianism. It is easy to see that this idea, if consistently ramified through an entire system of theology, must not only place that theology on a basis of its own, but present it, under peculiar aspects, in its more elaborate and finished details. The argument must affect every thing. The Divine Nature itself,—in purpose, in counsel, in predestination, in grace, and love;—the redemption, if not in the person of the Redeemer, yet in the extent and objects of his atonement;—the spiritual kingdom, together with the functions and influences of the Holy Ghost;—all these questions, as well as the modes of interpretation of the Sacred Oracles, must necessarily be profoundly affected by the first idea. We do not stop to settle the moot point, whether this idea itself is true or false; but we ask, whether Mr. Watson has succeeded in building a massive and finished fabric on the foundation chosen? We are making no novel statement, nor do we desert the province of the reviewer for that of the panegyrist, in expressing our conviction, that, in harmony, in coherence and unity of facts, this book is complete; and proves demonstratively that an Evangelical Arminianism is not only a possible system, but also a true theory.

We have much doubt, indeed, whether the Christian economy, considered as a whole, can be reduced to the conditions of a science, properly so called; it seems to us that the kingdom of God is too ethereal, too complicated, too sublime, too sovereign,—to allow of all its elements and agencies being so defined. But the standpoint of Mr. Watson is *UNIVERSALITY*, which seems to be the only principle of interpretation that admits of every species, form, and mode of truth.

In avoiding the shoals and rocks of one extreme, there can be no necessity to rush into another. The rejection of the Supralapsarian scheme can surely be no good reason for adopting the Pelagian or the Socinian heresy. This has often been done to the detriment of religion, and the pestiferous extension of fatal error. We believe, however, that in these "Institutes" this

was perfectly avoided. The universal love and grace of God is seen to be consistent with all we know of his perfections, with the language of Scripture respecting the redemption of Christ, and with the doctrines and promises of the Gospel, as well as with the phenomena of human nature.

But it must be seen that none but a mind of peculiar intellectual power could bring into harmony all the elements of universal truth, so as to present to the student a consistent and luminous system. Can the word of God be rightly studied, or properly understood, unless this catholic principle be adopted? As it strikes us, the great bane of religion, even amongst its true disciples, has been a partial and sectarian belief of the truth. By the process of textuary isolation, we find that, in all ages, classes of men have held to a hot-house Christianity, and have grown up sickly plants; whereas, had they placed themselves under the teaching and influence of the entire Bible, their mental and spiritual growth would have been very different. The mind of Mr. Watson sought the open spaces of the kingdom of God; yet not as a vagrant, rambling at hazard, but to meditate upon the beauties and glories of the entire scene, to imbibe the spirit of the universal Gospel, to embody all its truths, hopes, and joys; and the productions of his pen are the result of the faith wrought in his own mind. We only know of one Christian divine who seems to us to be in any way like or equal to Mr. Watson, in grasp of mind, in the power of apprehending and bringing to a focus the greatest truths of Christianity,—in penetrating into the hidden and Divine,—in his lofty flight into the purest heaven, sunshine, and glory of the kingdom of God, so as to be able to reflect in his teaching the great things he had seen and heard;—we say, we only know one spirit like, or equal to, Mr. Watson,—John Howe. The “*Institutes*” are imbued with all this. As the palace or the temple is the architect;—that is, his mind, his ideal, his science, in material shape;—so these works are Mr. Watson;—his faith, his spirit, his conceptions, thrown into the form of a theological system.

These “*Institutes*” are not dogmatic in their spirit. We presume that the Protestant principle which lay at the foundation of the Reformation, namely, the right of private judgment and free inquiry, had its weight with Mr. Watson: for we find, he reverts in every statement of truth to the obligation of furnishing proof. Nothing is assumed, or made to rest on the authority of the Church, or of “*catholic truth.*” Creeds and Confessions, if appealed to at all, are appealed to only as human productions; and every doctrine is supported by evidence, the word of God being always the test.

In offering this evidence in support of the Christian system, Mr. Watson found much prepared to his hands. In the nature

of things, the demonstrations of truth are constantly increasing ; the assaults of its enemies themselves, by their refutation and defeat on the part of its supporters, tending to this result. The arguments in support of Christianity may be considered, in some of their aspects, as exhausted ; and all that remains to be done is the selection of the most conclusive, the condensation of the vast stores of learning found on the subject, and then a luminous arrangement. In all this Mr. Watson was eminently successful. The difference betwixt the technical and commonplace mind and that of the philosopher, is as much perceived in the use made of the labours of others, as in the production of original matter. In the one case these productions stand alone as disjointed fragments ; in the other they cohere with the entire argument and design : in the hands of the mere compiler, quotations are without life, as branches separated from the tree ; in the hands of a master, they are brought into the sphere of his own mind, and blend with his thinkings and feelings. With ordinary writers, employing the learning and reasonings of others, it is seen that the level is lost ; the citation being in ridiculous contrast to the lucubrations of the author himself, as if he were ambitious to exhibit the meanness of his own performance by flashes of dazzling splendour from a foreign source. These contrasts are never seen in Mr. Watson ; and though he quotes largely from the highest authorities, it is never perceived that his book is less his own on that account,—that his own reasonings fall short of others',—that he moves on lower ground, or is only able to pace the field of universal truth as he is led by a borrowed lamp. In expressing his opinion of these "Institutes," an eminent Clergyman once remarked to the present writer, that they "contained all the learning in the world." Without subscribing to this observation in all its breadth, we may venture upon the opinion, that they contain all the research, argument, criticism, evidence, essential to the undertaking, and stand, and will long stand, a luminous proof of the vastness of the genius of the author.

The key to the principle adopted by Mr. Watson, as the basis of his theology, is found in a series of arguments to show the insufficiency of reason in matters of revelation. We shall refer to this subject again ; and it is rather as a specimen of the manner in which he treats his subject, than as a full elucidation of his principle, that we give the following extracts :—

"The opinion that sufficient notices of the will and purposes of God, with respect to man, may be collected by rational induction from his works and government, attributes too much to the power of human reason, and the circumstances under which, in that case, it must necessarily commence its exercises. Human reason must be taken, as it is, in fact, a weak and erring faculty, and as subject to have its operations suspended or disturbed by the influence of vicious principles and

attachment to earthly things ; neither of which can be denied, however differently they may be accounted for.

"It is another consideration of importance, that the exercise of reason is limited by our knowledge ; in other words, that it must be furnished with subjects which it may arrange, compare, and judge ; for, beyond what it clearly conceives, its power does not extend.

"This (the descent of all religious truth from God) is rendered the more probable, inasmuch as the great principles of all religion,—the existence of God, the immortality of the human soul, the accountableness of man, the good or evil quality of the most important moral actions,—have, by none who have written upon them, by no legislator, poet, or sage of antiquity, however ancient, been represented as discoveries made by them in the cause of rational investigation ; but they are spoken of as things commonly known among men, which they propose to defend, explain, demonstrate, or deny, according to their respective opinions.

"If such facts prove the weakness and insufficiency of human reason, those just thoughts respecting God—his providence, his will, and a future state—which sometimes appear in the writings of the wisest Heathens, are not, however, on the contrary, to be attributed to its strength. Even if they were, the argument for the sufficiency of reason would not be much advanced by them ; for the case would then be, that the reason, which occasionally reached the truth, had not firmness to hold it fast ; and the pinion which sometimes bore the mind into fields of light, could not maintain it in its elevation. But it cannot even be admitted that the truth, which occasionally breaks forth in their works, was the discovery of their own powers.

"The subject to be examined is, the truth of a religious and moral system professing to be from God..... We are not, in the first instance, to examine the doctrine, in order to determine, from our own opinion, of its excellence, whether it be from God ; (for to this, if we need a revelation, we are incompetent ;) but we are to inquire into the credentials of the messengers, in quest of sufficient proof that God hath spoken to mankind by them..... If that be satisfactory, the case is determined, whether the doctrine be pleasing or displeasing to us. If sufficient evidence be not afforded, we are at liberty to receive or reject the whole or any part of it, as it may appear to us to be worthy of our regard ; for it then stands on the same ground as any other merely human opinion. We are, however, to be aware that this is done upon a very solemn responsibility.

"The proof of the Divine authority of a system of doctrine, communicated under such circumstances, is addressed to our reason ; or, in other words, it must be reasonable proof that in this revelation there has been a direct and special interposition of God.

"On the principles, therefore, already laid down, that, though the rational evidence of a doctrine lies in the doctrine itself, the rational proof of the Divine authority of the doctrine must be external to the doctrine ; and that miracles and prophecy are appropriate and satisfactory attestations of such an authority whenever they occur ; the use of human reason in this inquiry is apparent.

"Another distinction necessary to be made, in order to the right application of this rule, is, that a doctrine which cannot be proved by

our reason is not, on that account, contrary to the nature of things, or even to reason itself. This is sometimes lost sight of, and that which has no evidence from our reason is hastily presumed to be against it. Now rational investigation is a process by which we inquire into the truth or falsehood of any thing, by comparing it with what we intuitively, or by experience, know to be true, or with that which we have formerly demonstrated to be so. 'By reason,' says Cicero, 'we are led from things apprehended and understood to things not apprehended.' Rational proof, therefore, consists in the agreement of that which is compared with truths already supposed to be established. But there may be truths, the evidence of which can only be fully known to the Divine mind, and on which the reasoning or comparing faculty of an inferior nature cannot, from their vastness or obscurity, be employed; and such truths there must be in any revelation which treats of the nature and perfections of God, his will as to us, and the relations we stand in to him and to another state of being.....If our natural faculties could have reached the truths thus exhibited to us, there would have been no need of supernatural instruction; and if it has been vouchsafed, the degree depends upon the Divine will, and he may give a doctrine with its reasons, or without them; for surely the ground of our obligation to believe his word, does not rest upon our perception of the *rationality* of the truths he requires us to believe.....This, surely, is conceivable; for what is similar occurs among men themselves. The conclusions of Sir Isaac Newton have been understood and admitted by thousands whose minds were utterly incapable of pursuing the processes of calculation and reasoning by which they were reached, and who have never, in fact, become acquainted with them. They have been received upon the authority of a superior mind; and, if he were right, his followers are right, though their reason, properly speaking, has had no share in illuminating them. In like manner, there are truths in the revelations, the evidence of which is withheld; but they are received under his authority; and as the eternal reason of God is absolutely perfect, the doctrines we thus receive are true, though neither in this nor in another world should we be able, for want of evidence, to make them subjects of rational investigation, and ourselves work out the proof."

The reasoning powers of Mr. Watson came out in their greatest strength in his polemic writings. These are pretty numerous, consisting of his "Letter to Roscoe," his "Letter on the Eternal Sonship," his "Defence of the Methodist Missions," his "Observations on Southey's Life of Wesley," his "Letters on the Witness of the Spirit," and of many Reviews. They present an almost endless variety of topics, requiring a corresponding extent of information and intelligence. And in this mood, Mr. Watson appears to great advantage. His philosophical and penetrating genius enabled him to see all sides of every subject, whilst, at the same time, his general knowledge threw a beautiful light upon the questions discussed. As a polemic, he is fair, but sometimes severe; his mode of warfare is hardly ever defensive, and usually his artillery is sufficiently heavy: not content with beating an enemy, he seems to consider his work as incomplete, unless he crush man and argument together. We have some-

times shuddered at some of these thunder-claps, these bursts of withering flame, this rolling lava, carrying destruction before it; and have involuntarily wished that arguments so consummate had been left to their own bright demonstration, without these finishing strokes of devouring rebuke. But even in this we have a noble trait developed. Mr. Watson never attempted to crush a little man. To persons of simple mind, unpretending bearing, and honesty of purpose, he always manifested kindness, both in personal intercourse and in his writings. But when what he considered grave and serious error was maintained by those whose position seemed likely to give currency to their opinions, against them he bent all his powers; and, it must be confessed, showed them but slight mercy. Milton was a polemic as well as a poet, and, of all the writing in the English language, the polemics of Milton are perhaps the most eloquent, and, at the same time, the most sarcastic, biting, and abusive; the splendours of his vituperation being equal in their way to the splendours of "*Paradise Lost*."

But with or without severity, the reasoning powers of Mr. Watson, as seen in his writings, must be acknowledged to be of the first order. There is, indeed, little or nothing of the technicality of logic in these productions. That fine art had, no doubt, been cultivated by him; but the reasoning faculty is, in the noblest natures, independent of the art. This, too, seems to be intuitive; with perfect ease these natural logicians reduce every thing brought before them to the test of reason. But here again we encounter a difficulty,—except as relieved by Mr. Watson's principles in the above extracts. What are the true *data* of reasoning? Are they the innate power of this faculty itself? Is reason the ultimate judge of truth and error, good and evil? or is it under an obligation of deferring to a law beyond itself,—in fine, to the Word of God? This, we conceive, is a primary question in all such considerations as this. We confess that we cannot perceive that a logic, working on merely human conceptions, can possibly be either true or adequate, as respects the Divine. Reason can go no further than the intuitions of the mind; but the mind cannot apprehend the infinite, the spiritual, the Divine, by its own unaided powers. Conclusions argued from human nature must be in agreement with this nature; they cannot rise above it, they cannot go beyond it. Hence a ratiocination constructed upon this principle must, it seems, exclude the Divine. Reason may judge of the evidences of the supernatural, but the supernatural itself cannot be apprehended by reason. Reason may analyse its own powers as an instrument, may scrutinize the phenomena of nature, may, moreover, judge of morals, determine many of the questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, truth and falsehood; but can it pass into the invisible state, and judge God? All the things enumerated above may

belong to a natural logic, and, passing through this crucible, their truth may be eliminated: but the being of God, the manner of the Divine Existence as in a Trinity of Persons; the agencies at work in the Divine government; the conditions of religion, and religion itself; the future destinies of man, and the invisible state,—cannot be conceived by reason alone: they belong to the supernatural, and the idea of the supernatural excludes them from this sphere. It is only on the hypothesis that these things are adopted as absolute, that what lies beyond them has been considered as untrue.

It is undeniable that reason can work only on the material of its own conceptions;—that is, on that collected from experience, or from the visible phenomena around. But as all that we have mentioned belongs to things natural, does it not follow that things supernatural must lie beyond its sphere? Human nature is uniform; the same essentially in all ages and amongst all people: the savage is a man, and the most civilized is only a man: the faculties are the same; the material for these faculties to work upon, the same: and yet we find that instead of this reason operating with anything like the same results, the differences amongst men are infinite. What can occasion this, when in their nature all are alike? It is certain the cause lies in the difference of the position of the parties as to supernatural assistance. Historically it is found that the peoples living nearest the primitive stock of the human family, as to time and location, were the most intelligent. It is equally found that when peoples have lost their intelligence, whether through the lapse of ages, or the wearing away of their divine traditions, science, laws, and religious beliefs, they have sunk into barbarism; and that—what is material in this case—they have never, as far as we know, recovered their lost standing-point. How is this? Reason, it is thought by some, is self-existent in the soul; its basis so deep and broad as to be beyond the accidents of time and events; its underlying power indestructible and immutable; its conceptions certain, and sufficient for all the purposes of knowledge and faith. In the estimation of philosophers holding these sentiments, faith must pervert reason, as all alien elements destroy health. Well, in the great majority of cases, this perversion has not taken place. Reason exists in all its unsophisticated purity amongst vast tribes of men,—it is alone, it is free to do its best: neither Priests nor Bible are found amongst them, to mutilate reason. How is it, then, that these people do not rise from their prostrate state, assert their dignity, clothe themselves in the bright robes of intelligence, work themselves up into the open and spacious fields of knowledge and virtue; and, as there is a God, apprehend Him; as there is such a reality as religion, attain it; as there is a bright immortality, prepare for it? Facts are the best test of theories; induction is the best form of demonstration on

these questions, as well as on those of physics; "the tree is known by its fruits," in the region of mind, as well as in the region of faith; and the long-continued and unbroken barbarism of tribes and nations, who, having sunk into mental imbecility, never rise again by any reason of their own, fully shows the insufficiency of this faculty when left to itself.

Looking, then, at the question of reason in any light, we arrive at the same conclusions. No doubt this faculty is found differently both among various peoples, and in individuals of the same race. But since all men are endowed with understanding, we are warranted in our conclusion, that unassisted reason cannot "find out God" in any manner which can be sufficient for his worship; find out religion, so as to attain its knowledge and enjoyment; find out the true moral system, so as to embody it in real life; or find out immortality, so as to be impressed with its grandeur, and be prepared for its bliss. If reason could, working from its own centre, raise the individual to the elevation of intelligence and goodness, why, we may ask, is not this process constantly going on? Reason in all ages has busied itself with things sacred; religion has engaged its attention as intensely as philosophy; its resources have been tasked to the full; and all the aids of external nature have been brought into requisition; and yet the whole has issued invariably in the adoption of a grovelling system of idolatry. The sages of Greece have confessed that they received the principles and elements of whatever was true in their philosophy from foreign sources; so that, although their systems possessed some radiations of light, yet, according to their own confessions, this was derived, not from their own reason, but from the traditions they had picked up. Do we decry reason by these remarks? Because we refuse to make reason God, shall we be accused of undervaluing it? Inasmuch as we believe it incompetent to the task of producing mental miracles, does it follow that it can produce nothing? Reason is the great distinction of man; the lamp of the soul; the centre of mental power; the faculty recipient of truth; the organ of intelligent volition; the eye by which our race ponder the path of life; and the instrument of all just conceptions of religion itself.

To deify reason has been the fault of what are considered philosophical Christians. In this process a distinction has been made betwixt reason and faith,—the one being represented as inimical to the other. Fairly examined, it will appear that faith is the highest reason,—reason ennobled by the sublimest truth. Faith is perception, persuasion, consciousness, or assurance, all combined. In case religion had no better evidence to rest upon than any other system, it must be more exalting and purifying, inasmuch as it is in itself more influential and sublime. The mind is affected by the objects with which it is brought into contact;

and since Christianity is the greatest, as well as the most holy and benevolent, objective truth, of which we can have any knowledge, its effects upon the mind must harmonize with its own nature. The Deity of Christianity is not only revealed as Almighty; He is also revealed as the God of love, as the Father of the human race, as the Fountain of grace, as the Hearer of prayer, as pardoning sin, and as admitting to his own communion. In the midst of the mysteries of redemption, we are made acquainted with the person of Christ,—the embodiment of all virtue, goodness, and mercy; with his life of humility, patience, and magnanimity; with the sacrifice he made for our sins by his death; and with his ascension to heaven in our nature, and as our forerunner. The Christian religion teaches us the purest morals, as it propounds to us the holiest duties; it invites us, nay, incites us, by the highest considerations, to the exercise of charity and mercy to all men; it places before us the race of immortality, and presents before us a crown that "*fadeth not away*;" it opens to us the dazzling future, the visions of God,—the world of unsullied purity and glory; and it assures us of the certainty of the prize. The faith of the Gospel is the admission of all this into the moral consciousness. Must not reason be made divine by the process of transformation? Must not the intellect be lifted to the highest point by receiving these truths? Can a man's faith embrace all these noble and magnificent objects, and his mental *status* remain the same? Even allowing for a moment the truth of human theories, yet, inasmuch as faith so much transcends these theories, it follows that faith is the perfection of reason.

It is curious to observe the identity of many of the errors of men, *in principle*, though modified by the progress of time. This is seen in the old notions of the *à priori* theory on the Being of God, and the immortality of the soul,—as well as the *universal sense* of God, supposed to exist, entertained by many persons a hundred years ago,—and the new theory of intuition. The only difference is, in the objects to which the principle is applied. The first class contented themselves very much with limiting the *à priori* principle to the Divine Nature alone; whereas the German philosophers, and their followers in this country, apply the intuitive theory to the whole spiritual life. And, if the *à priori* principle was admissible and valid in the first-named case, we see no ground, in reason, why it should not be equally so in the latter: for, after all, intuition and the old mode of reasoning are exactly the same; the *formulae* only of the two methods are different. Where is the difference betwixt Dr. Samuel Clarke attempting the demonstration of the Being and Perfections of God, without any reference to the phenomena of nature or the teaching of revelation, and the German Neologist constructing an entire religious system on the principles of intuition?—between the idea of a universal sense being found in man, leading

him to the knowledge and belief of God, and a similar sense existing in all men, leading to the knowledge and belief of religious truth in general?—betwixt a proof of the soul's immortality founded on the *à priori* argument, and the discovery of the soul's path to this state of highest being by the process of intuitive inspiration and guidance? We confess that we can see none: If man can do without teaching in the highest points of religion, he can also do without it in the lowest; if he can see the end, he can see the means to the end.

Mr. Watson deliberately, as we have seen, renounced the one system of reasoning, and adopted the *à posteriori* principle as the basis of his theological opinions. Indeed, he argues as strongly against the one, as he does in favour of the other. This placed him entirely on the ground of revelation,—of nature,—of fact,—and gave to his logic its legitimate range; inasmuch as logic can have nothing to do with principles, but must be limited to phenomena, whether found in the word of God or in the universe. Hence, the premises of his reasoning being thus recognised, the processes and conclusions are fairly established. The strength, compactness, coherence, and unity of his ratiocinations, are as remarkable as the brilliance of his diction and imagery. The basis of all his conclusions being laid in the truths of Scripture and of nature, the structure built upon it is seen to be most majestic. His deference to, and jealousy for, the integrity and truth of the word of God caused him to assail every opponent who had the temerity to adopt the other principle. Criticism is another matter; and he used his best endeavours, and made it his constant study, to understand the sacred text.*

Many of the subjects discussed by Mr. Watson had a national and general importance; others had a more limited bearing, and referred as well to certain principles of reasoning, and doctrinal sentiments arising out of those principles, which in his day began

* We might adduce examples from various parts of his writings, especially the Reviews, in which the science of logic, though not its technicalities, is finely exhibited. We refer to *Erskine on Faith*, No. iii.; the three Reviews of Dr. Chalmers, Nos. vii., viii., x. of the Series; *An Inquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination*, by Dr. Copleston; *Vindicia Analogica*, by Grenfield, &c., No. xi.; *Mahometanism Unveiled*, by Forster, No. xvi.; *Works on Popery*, No. xx.; *The Works of Arminius*, No. xxiii. Here we have calm, lucid, and majestic reasoning on many of the most vital questions; showing Mr. Watson's intimate acquaintance with the most abstruse subjects of religion and philosophy, as well as of political economy, the science of government, and the principles of society. At the same time, these Reviews, compared with his discussions in the "Institutes," of all the great questions designated by the terms, "Atheistic," "Deistic," "Socinian," and "Calvinistic Controversies," all of which he has most ably elucidated, will give some idea of the extent of his inquiries, and the profundity of his mind.

We do not adduce these examples to show that Mr. Watson was right in all his conclusions; but to indicate the characteristics of his intellect; the extent of his information; the sort of questions which occupied his attention; and to prove that his mind was so constituted as to have a face to look upon all quarters of truth and knowledge.

to tell upon the state of the Methodist community. Without any designed disparagement of the talents, the learning, or the virtues of any one, we may say that bases of opinion,—rules of criticism and interpretation, claims of mental independence, irrespective of Divine authority and guidance,—somewhat after the manner of the German Rationalism, had begun to disturb the quiet faith of the Methodist body. All this turned upon one point,—the principles of reasoning; and these it was Mr. Watson's aim to place in their true light, and employ in their legitimate use. At the time he began his literary labours, a sort of Eclectic school in theology was beginning to exercise some influence in the body. Arguments, *à priori*, on the Being and Perfections of God were put forth; the person of Christ was judged of by these rules of reasoning, and his Eternal Sonship denied; the Divine Prescience was subjected to a similar process, and similarly repudiated; many of the miracles of Scripture were resolved into natural causes; the immortality of man was held to be demonstrable from mental phenomena; and the whole series of Scriptural truth, in some degree, made to pass through the crucible of a rationalistic examination. Allowing the legitimacy of the starting-point in this process, the *à priori* principle, in respect to the Being of God, it must follow that the revelations of God must be subjected to the same process. If reason is competent to judge of God, then reason must be competent to judge of what God does and teaches; his counsels, working, and revelations must, as a matter of course, be subjected to the same scrutiny. We cannot see how it is possible to stop in this career at any half-way house. Hence reason is made, in this theory, first, and God second; she becomes the primary authority, and judge of all things; instead of submitting herself to faith, she schools faith to her own standard; and, in place of keeping steadfastly to things revealed, she holds things revealed as subject to herself. Mysteries must be discarded; miracles must be reduced to the level of things natural; the influences of grace on the mind must be stripped of all inexplicable elements; the spiritual world and the agencies at work must lie within the ken and compass of the intellect; and all divine operations must be in exact agreement with the laws of nature. In this sphere there can be no room for a personal and particular providence of God, which does not harmonize with man's conceptions; nothing can be given, nothing done, nothing interposed, by the favour and grace of God, which does not square with an intellectual ideal. If reason cannot reach the Incarnation, the Redemption, the Intercession, then all these must be fables; if the Holy Ghost exercises an agency, produces a regeneration, and confers gifts, which reason cannot fathom, then all such agency, together with the existence of the Agent, must be repudiated; if sin is the growth of elements essentially human, then it is fallacious to conclude that there can

be any future punishment ; and in case man's reason is his all-sufficient guide, then the idea of anything imputed, whether the sin of the first Adam, or the righteousness of the Second, must be a dream of fanaticism. We cannot imagine that the *a priori* principle of reasoning can possibly admit any thing miraculous. It must, to be consistent, reduce every thing to one dead level :—nothing can rise higher than itself.

The thin end of the wedge had entered the religious system of Methodism at the time in question. The matter had not gone very far, or gained many converts ; but it had proceeded far enough to produce alarm. The time had come for some one to replace the theological edifice upon its old foundations ; and, by a singular providence, Mr. Watson had been prepared for this service. It seems pretty clear that the loose opinions of the period had engaged much of his attention, and were the *occasion* of his entering upon this controversial path, and, in fact, of his becoming a systematic writer of theology. It has often been said that circumstances make men ; and there is some truth in this, though, if the men were destitute of the requisite qualities, they could not perform the services demanded by great exigencies. We have no doubt but that the "Theological Institutes," and the Controversial Papers, together with many of the Reviews, sprang from the circumstances alluded to : the design being to place, or keep, the theology of Methodism on its only legitimate ground,—the Holy Scriptures.

The events here referred to will explain the reason of the caution and decision with which Mr. Watson propounds his principles ; the controversial form into which many portions of his works are thrown ; and the elaborate argumentation employed to refute the opposite notions. The times were critical, the task delicate, the errors to be refuted portentous. The form adopted for the embodiment of his refutations gave him the means of establishing the great truths of Christianity without entering upon personal controversy, except in one or two instances. The Methodist body is very much indebted to these writings for deliverance from a danger which began to be imminent,—from a leaven which was gaining influence, especially amongst the younger Ministers,—from a corruption of doctrine, which, though entirely alien from the purpose of the upholders of the Germanizing principle, must have led, at no distant period, to serious consequences, in the hands of less skilful and more adventurous parties. Let a false principle be once admitted, let an inclined plane be once entered upon, let a human dogma take the place of divine truth ; and then a descent from the elevation of the pure Gospel into the quagmire of a bewildering heterodoxy is certain. Mr. Watson had the double merit of providing the Methodists with a body of divinity ably and lucidly arranged,—a *desideratum* to them of vast importance,—and then, of rescuing their religious system from an impending

danger. His efforts were entirely successful. His writings became a healing element; and, demonstrating the consistency, coherence, and extent of the Scriptures as the only foundation of theology, he settled the opinions of those who had been shaken, and gave proof to all of the invulnerability of the Christian system.

It follows that these writings have an historical importance as respects the Methodist body. Crises will arise in all religious communities; but a doctrinal crisis is most to be dreaded. This was approaching, if it had not actually arrived; old men were alarmed, and young men were on the *qui vive*; orthodoxy trembled, and free-thinking exulted; the lovers of the "*old ways*" stood aghast, and the men of progress and development were looking forward to some grand consummation. Mr. Watson stepped in to the rescue, and, though a philosopher himself, and a man of vivid intuitions, yet he renounced philosophy for the Gospel, and bowed his own intuitions before the revelations of God. We see in his case that reason is a noble faculty, when legitimately applied; is capable of lofty flights in the clear and bright sky of God's revelation; is competent to build a noble structure, when lawful materials are selected; and, in the panoply of sacred truth, is able to meet any enemy, and surmount any difficulty. Mr. Watson's intellectual capacity was great; but it was the evangelical system itself, which he so tenaciously held, that gave him his power.

The greater number of Mr. Watson's published sermons were collected from the manuscripts of friends who had taken them in short-hand. The few written by himself are on special occasions, but they are sufficient to give a clue to his peculiar power in this department. Here that lofty imagination, which was one of the chief characteristics of his genius, found free scope. He never devoted serious attention to the art poetic, but in all its essentials his beautiful and sublime conceptions are poetry; without effort or design, he was in the habit of thinking in its language. But he never allowed himself to run riot. The theme of his lofty musings being religion, he gave himself no licence to revel in regions unilluminated by the sacred oracles. Taking his stand on God's own truth, he sometimes suffered his fancy to adorn and beautify that truth by gorgeous imagery, but never to hide it or endanger its sense; he found ample range for his perceptions of the beautiful and the sublime in the Gospel. The imagination can never rightly perform its functions without taste, without the power which directs it to its proper sphere,—the beautiful. The latter faculty is, doubtless, connected with the physical organization, the ear; but the inner soul must be its real seat, though reached only through the organs of sense. On this principle there will be an original power of taste, just as of judgment and understanding; and this power may be as susceptible of education and

training as the others. This being the case, there can be no training and education equal to religion,—the influence of divine grace purifying the soul from the grossness of corruption and sin. It should never be forgotten that the spiritual and divine present an ideal of beauty as well as of holiness. But with the majority of true Christians, it must be acknowledged, and without blame, that no disposition exists to separate the two,—to look at the “beauties of holiness” æsthetically, and compare them with the beauties of the world of sense. This course has produced many most estimable men,—men who have been the ornaments of religion and the benefactors of their age. Let us not mistake them. They are not devoid of taste, but the range of their taste is the spiritual alone. Many in the lower conditions of life possess this gift, and, amidst their daily toils and privations, their cares and sorrows, are in possession of a delicate sense of the excellencies of religion. Still it by no means follows that the study of nature is to be excluded, or that Christianity is irreconcilable with art. In the ears of the Christian, music is the voice of God; and to his vision, the different forms of life, the orders of created things, the hues and colours flung in rich profusion around, the infinite diversities of beauty, are the embodiment of His glorious perfections. Neither is religion an enemy to art. Indeed, she has contributed more to it than any thing else. Take away the *religious* from art, and little of value would be left. The æsthetic principle, through all the languages it has uttered,—poetry, painting, sculpture, architecture, and music,—has striven after a spiritual ideal. It is rooted in religion; without this it could find no adequate development.

But have not the arts been prostituted to superstitious and idolatrous purposes? Have they not been given up to the world, and by common consent excluded from the evangelical system? An affirmative answer must be returned. Whether this state of things should be, is another question. We are of opinion that the evangelical canon admits of the appropriation of all belonging to taste and imagination; and that the kingdom of God embraces all that is beautiful, as well as what is “lovely and of good report.” Nay, we go further, and say that the Holy Scriptures contain the elements of true science, the models of the most exquisite art, and the most perfect examples of poetic beauty and sublimity to be found in human language.

To give up the regions of taste and art to the world, is to abandon much of all that interests and engages the human mind to the enemies of religion. It is perfectly Utopian to imagine that men, as at present constituted, will ever resign these things. It would require a new formation of human nature to detach it from the sphere of the beautiful: its innate taste, its passions and sensations, its imaginative faculties, must necessarily attach it to the region of art. Then, as nature cannot

be changed, would it not be judicious in the lovers of sacred things to carry the purity and truth of the Divine into these departments? If religion is to progress in the world, must it not bring every thing into its own element? Will the world be less scientific when it is more enlightened? Can it be supposed that taste, imagination, and art will be barbarized by the advance of knowledge and the elevation of our race? Will the souls of men be less poetic by becoming more pure, believing, and replete with love? Is it possible for the echoes of melody to be less impassioned, and the world less jubilant, by its increased enjoyment of God and the blessings of salvation? To suppose an affirmative reply to these queries, is to suppose that science and art are not laid in the depths of nature, but are merely an accident.

The solution awaiting the social and political world is the acceptance of the Gospel as the basis of society; and the solution awaiting the sensuous world is the acceptance of Christianized art in the place of its corrupt rival. Does the social state admit of the *morale* of the Gospel passing into its domains? of modifying all legislation, all law, all government, all international transactions, all commercial affairs, and all domestic arrangements? Does it admit of human life becoming the embodiment of Christian faith, wisdom, holiness, instead of being the embodiment of selfishness, pride, passion, avarice, and chicanery? If not, then the world must go on in its old track of war, anarchy, tyranny, and misery; if it is, then we have the prospect of a regenerate earth,—of peace, justice, good-will, love, and brotherhood. Again we ask, Is the Gospel competent to refine and purify the souls of men? because, if so, taste and imagination—the parent of all that we have referred to—must partake the purifying process. We do not say, “destroy taste and imagination;” for, in reality, religion does not destroy the faculties, but refines them. Time must solve this problem; but, in truth, if religion cannot enter this region, if it cannot take hold of the sentient in man,—if it cannot sing as sweetly, paint as vividly, model as truly, and poetize as tenderly and sublimely, as the old artists,—then, infallibly, the human race must remain under the dominion of its old masters.

We entertain no such notion. There is scope enough in religion for the full and eternal development of whatever is true in taste. We do not desire to see Christianity adopt the practice of the sensuous world, as the Jesuits put on the dress and imitated the manners of the Brahmins; but what we do wish to see is, the establishment of a Christian system of art, of so elevated a nature as to have the effect of rescuing the minds of men of taste and refinement from the purlicus of vice. But the ancient and only true models remain. Yes, these models remain, and must remain. Who would destroy them? Let them stand in all

their glory. But their real beauty does not consist in their objectionable appendages. The ideal is always true to nature; and this is the secret of their immortality. This ideal belongs to all times, all people, all systems,—because the true and the Divine does so. The progress of Christian art could, consequently, destroy nothing essentially belonging to ancient art. Even a new æsthetic development on the purest principles of Christianity might, as we conceive, embrace all the excellencies of former times, without at all destroying any intrinsic quality belonging to the past. Our principle is a very simple one; it is, that all nature belongs to the domain of God,—that all that is true and beautiful belongs to nature,—and that, consequently, all this is admissible in Christian art. But we attach an important alternative to this; namely, that if this department is not occupied by what is Christian, it will be occupied by that which is unchristian,—just on the principle that art is nothing else than the expression of the tastes and feelings of mankind in visible or oral form.

The writings of Mr. Watson show that he was a man of refined and exquisite taste. Purity and clearness, connected with strength and majesty, are the ordinary characteristics of his thoughts. A confused perception is as impossible to a man of taste as an inelegant expression. In the sense of perspicacity he is simple; and simplicity is an attribute of taste. Great thoughts may be simple as well as little ones; but then it requires a great mind to make them so. A common mind grappling with great ideas is sure to produce confusion, and the very effort itself is a violation of good taste. We never see Mr. Watson attempting any thing beyond his powers; he never falters, never bends beneath the pressure of an unmanageable subject, never falls to the ground, like an eagle wounded in the wing. Every mental labour must have its aim and purpose; and it belongs to good taste not to overload the instrument employed to effect this purpose, just as it is wise not to attach to a machine appliances unnecessary to its proper design. The admission of extraneous material into a process of thought, is like the rush of the land-flood into the river,—it swells the volume of water, but it muddies the stream at the same time. For a productive mind to know how much to leave out, is a difficulty,—perhaps greater than the process of production. It must have cost an author so voluminous as Mr. Watson some pruning, that is, some exercise of taste, to leave in the mind of his readers the thought that they know not where to put their finger and say, "This had better not have been written." We believe few of the readers of Mr. Watson have expressed this desire. But its absence is proof of the taste of the writer. His keen sense of what was proper to his theme preserved him from all superfluous and exaggerated detail; and voluminous as the productions of his pen are, we do not recollect

to have met with an inconclusive argument or a vapid passage in the whole series.

But the taste and imagination of Mr. Watson went much further than clearness and perspicuity. His mind travelled through all nature, all art, all literature; not, however, as an empiric or a plagiarist: he entered into the philosophy of the one, and the elements of the other, to enrich his own stores, and polish and enlarge his mental powers. All nature lay at his command, and he collected from this inexhaustible storehouse of thought and imagery a rich profusion of illustrative material. His writings are full of elegant tints and beauties, drawn from every thing on earth and in heaven. The rich and glowing, often gorgeous and sublime, decorations which adorn his most eloquent and poetic effusions, are truly enchanting. We cannot help referring to a passage or two illustrative of this felicity of elucidation.

The following passage from a Sermon preached on occasion of the Peace of 1814, will have some interest at present:—

“But it may be asked, Will the Peace, as we expected, quicken our commerce and increase our wealth? Are there not both fears and indications to the contrary? There may; but they are founded on partial facts and narrow views. The affairs of the world, for so long a time diverted from their proper channel, will not at once revert to it. In the mean time, temporary and partial inconveniences are to be expected. But, if no moral causes prevent it, peace must be favourable, not only to our commerce, but to that of the world. It evidently enters into the plans of Providence to foster commerce in all nations. By this the Almighty brings them together to improve and moralize them. It is an important instrument in his hands of civil and religious improvement. As long as the sun shines obliquely upon the Poles, and directly on the Tropics; as long as his unequal effusions of light and heat shall create a variety of climate and productions; so long will one country remain dependent upon another, either for its necessities or its comforts. This mutual dependence is the basis of commerce; and as long as the earth can be rendered more productive, and human ingenuity still find room for its exhibition in impressing upon its productions new and improved forms, (and no limit has hitherto been assigned to either,) so long, if peace be used to promote Christianity among mankind, the wealth and refinement of every nation under heaven may be indefinitely increased, till civil refinement and happiness, and religious light and influence, shall become the equal portion of all the inhabitants of the globe. We trust in God to continue prosperity to this land; and that portion of our wealth which is offered in acts of benevolence will consecrate the rest. We rejoice in peace, as it will give us better opportunities to prosecute the glorious idea of Christianizing the world.”—*Sermons*, vol. i., p. 32.

In the Sermon on “Religion a Part of Education,” we have the following passage:—

“We undervalue neither useful nor elegant acquirements; but if education comprise not instruction in the ‘things’ which, before all

others, 'belong to our peace,' it is a venerable name unfitly and deceptively applied. From a process so partial and defective, no moral influence can spring; it gives no virtue to the individual; it corrects no evil in society. To this the refined nations of antiquity bear mournful but instructive testimony; and why, on a subject so solemnly important to our children and to our land, is not the voice of history regarded? She has written them refined, learned, and mighty; but she has recorded their vices, and points to their desolations. If learning could have preserved them, why has their science survived their political existence, and why does it live only in other climes? Were they without that knowledge, the attainment of which we have too often considered to be the chief or the exclusive end of education? Were they destitute of genius, and taste, and arts, and philosophy? In all they are the confessed models of modern nations; and that state has the highest fame which most successfully, though still distantly, approaches them. These they wanted not, but they wanted a true religion, and a people instructed in it. The politics they erected and adorned were built like Babylon, the capital of a still older state, with clay hardened only in the sun, and which has long become a mass of ruin undistinguished from its parent earth. They were without perpetuity, because they were without the elements of it. The fabric of their grandeur has tumbled down, because it was not combined with the imperishable principles of virtue; and their want of virtue resulted from their want of religion. Shall examples, so frequently suggested to our recollection by the books of our boyhood, the studies of our riper years, and the very terms and allusions of our language, admonish us in vain? Yet, if reflection fail to teach us the absolute inadequacy of knowledge, however perfected, to sustain, without the basis of religion, either the virtues of private life or the weight of national interests, let us suffer ourselves to be roused into conviction by evidences which are ocular and palpable. Go into your public libraries, enriched by the literature of the classical states of ancient times, and see them crowded also with their mutilated marbles, brought from the fallen monuments of their greatness, and saved from the final wastes of time and barbarism, to be placed in monitory collocation with the 'wisdom of this world,' mocking its imbecility; as though Providence had thereby designed to teach us, that length of days is the sole gift of that wisdom whose beginning is 'the fear of the Lord,' and whose great lesson is 'to depart from evil.' Athens mourning along the galleries of our public Museums, over the frail ægis of her Minerva, admonishes us to put our trust within the shadow of the impenetrable shield of the truth of the living God."—*Ibid.*, p. 49.

On the Divine Love, we have the following passage, in the Sermon, "Man magnified by God:"—

"The philosopher of this world leads us to nature, its benevolent final causes, and kind contrivances to increase the sum of animal happiness; and there he stops,—with half his demonstration! But the Apostle leads us to the gift bestowed by the Father for the sake of the recovery of man's intellectual and moral nature, and to the cross endured by the Son, on this high behalf. Go to the heavens, which canopy man with grandeur, cheer his steps with successive light, and

mark his festivals by their chronology; go to the atmosphere, which invigorates his spirits, and is to him the breath of life; go to the smiling fields, decked with verdure for his eye, and covered with fruits for his sustenance; go to every scene which spreads beauty before his gaze, which is made harmoniously vocal to his ear, which fills and delights the imagination by its glow, or by its greatness: we travel with you, we admire with you, we feel and enjoy with you, we adore with you, but we stay not with you. We hasten onward in search of a demonstration more convincing, that 'God is love;' and we rest not till we press into the strange, the mournful, the joyful scenes of Calvary, and amidst the throng of invisible and astonished angels, weeping disciples, and the mocking multitude, under the arch of the darkened heaven, and with earth trembling beneath our feet, we gaze upon the meek, the resigned, but fainting Sufferer, and exclaim, 'Herein is love,'—herein, and nowhere else, is it so affectingly, so unequivocally demonstrated,—'not that we loved God; but that God loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.'—*Ibid.*, pp. 74, 75.

We give one other passage from the Sermon on the "Religious Instruction of Slaves:"—

"In the second class are our minute philosophers, who take the gauge of intellectual capacity from the disposition of the bones of the head, and link morality with the contour of the countenance; men who measure mind by the rule and compasses; and estimate capacity for knowledge and salvation by a scale of inches, and the acuteness of angles.

"And yet, will it be believed, that this contemned race can, as to intellect and genius, exhibit a brighter ancestry than our own? that they are the offshoots—wild and untrained, it is true, but still the offshoots—of a stem which was once proudly luxuriant in the fruits of learning and taste; whilst that from which the Goths, their calumniators, have sprung, remained hard, and knotted, and barren? For is Africa without her heraldry of science and of fame? The only probable account which can be given of the Negro tribes is, that, as Africa was peopled, through Egypt, by three of the descendants of Ham, they are the offspring of Cush, Misraim, and Put. They found Egypt a morass, and converted it into the most fertile country of the world; they reared its Pyramids, invented its hieroglyphics, gave letters to Greece and Rome, and, through them, to us. The everlasting architecture of Africa still exists, the wonder of the world, though in ruins. Her mighty kingdoms have yet their record in history. She has poured forth her heroes on the field, given Bishops to the Church, and martyrs to the fires; and, for Negro physiognomy, as though that should shut out the light of intellect, go to your national Museum; contemplate the features of the colossal head of Memnon, and the statues of the divinities on which the ancient Africans impressed their own forms, and there see, in close resemblance to the Negro feature, the mould of those countenances which once beheld, as the creations of their own immortal genius, the noblest and most stupendous monuments of human skill, and taste, and grandeur. In the imperishable porphyry and granite is the unfounded and pitiful slander publicly, and before all the world, refuted. There we see the Negro under cultivation. If he now pre-

sents a different aspect, cultivation is wanting. That solves the whole case; for, even now, when education has been expended upon the pure and undoubted Negro, it has never been bestowed in vain. Modern times have witnessed, in the persons of African Negroes, generals, physicians, philosophers, linguists, poets, mathematicians, and merchants, all eminent in their attainments, energetic in enterprise, and honourable in character; and even the Mission schools in the West Indies exhibit a quickness of intellect, and a thirst for learning, to which the schools of this country do not always afford a parallel."—*Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95.

This was Mr. Watson's manner in his more elaborate orations; but his less polished productions are full of images of a similar character. It would, indeed, be difficult to select a single page without the discovery of some vein of gold. These riches were indigenous; they existed in his own mind; his intuitive sense of the beautiful drew them to his mental consciousness, and deposited in his soul all that lay within his reach; and then, as from a centre of light, these rays were reflected upon others. It has been thought by some, that Mr. Watson's least elaborate sermons were his best; and, judging of the matter by the outlines given in his works, we are not surprised at this opinion. Some of them are certainly exquisite gems of thought; and, supposing the filling up to have been equal to the outline,—and, no doubt, it would exceed even this,—we cannot help believing that his ordinary ministry must have been, at any rate, equal to his greatest efforts, in the matters of taste, of beauty, and of tenderness of feeling.

We wish we could present to our readers a real sketch of a religious service conducted by this eminent Minister. This, we feel, is prodigiously difficult. Twenty years have passed away since his voice has been heard in the Church below. A new generation has sprung up, who know him not, or only recollect him as children. Time and change unite to throw the past into a distance which is ever increasing. Impressions, perceptions, and opinions, existing vividly at the time, become less and less vivid; and the dead are often like the last cliffs of fatherland to the voyager, as he passes away to another clime,—for a while seen distinctly, then in the midst of haze, then as a speck, and then not at all. Let us, then, endeavour to recall Mr. Watson to those who knew him, and convey some idea of a religious service conducted by him, to those who never enjoyed this privilege. Let City Road Chapel be the scene,—the occasion, a Missionary Sermon,—and the text, "Be silent, O all flesh, before the Lord: for He is raised up out of his holy habitation." The spacious chapel is full, long before the time announced for the commencement of the sermon. Many strangers are present, evidently of an intellectual cast; they have not much the appearance of Methodists, in dress and manner; the Hymn-book is absent,—

that never-failing symbol of the Methodist, when in the house of God ; the audience is still and thoughtful, but apparently anxious, as if eager to witness something in which they have a deep interest. At length the clock strikes six, and out of the side door leading to the pulpit a tall figure walks forth : his step is deliberate and easy ; he throws no furtive glance around, but goes straight to his place of prayer and of prophesying, as if only thoughts of God and his message filled his mind ; his countenance is serene, but somewhat flushed, and not devoid of anxiety ; as he ascends the pulpit-steps, every eye is fixed upon him ; the home part of the congregation have smiles of delight depicted on their countenances, whilst the strangers look with intense curiosity, outstretched necks, and dilated eyes, to obtain a fair view,—then whisper to one another,—then fall back into their seats, as if saying, “ Well, report is true.” This majestic figure prostrates himself in prayer when he has reached the pulpit, and is lost to the gaze of the congregation for some minutes. This does not seem unmeaning,—a form,—a shadow : he appears to be really engaged with God, to be penetrated with a sense of the responsibility of his position, and to be seeking divine aid. This ended, the preacher stands up, and presents himself fairly to his audience. No gown hides the symmetry of his person : his figure is fully seen. Thoughtfulness is impressed on every feature, but there is no agitation, no nervous contortion. The whole body is at ease ; every limb moves naturally ; grace is in every action ; and there is not the shadow of affectation :—surely this man understands his vocation, and is the master of his work. The Hymn-book is opened, and the worship proceeds. But what is this ? We never understood these Hymns before. They are living ; they speak ; they have meaning ; they reveal things sacred ; a fire, a spirit, a sincerity is in them ; they are poetry ; they strike our imagination ; they come home to our faith ; they thrill through our souls ; they are like sunshine upon our affections ; they enrapture and excite our devotions. Surely this is worship. The secret of this is seen. The soul of the Preacher passes into the Hymn ; touches the sense ; gives inspiration to the sentiment ; impresses with emphasis the meaning of every syllable ; and infuses its own feeling through the whole. The voice aids the effect : it is clear, full, deep, sonorous, finely modulated,—its softer tones relieved by a deep bass.

The prayer begins,—begins with great deliberation. Reverence is manifest, and this inspires reverence in the whole congregation. Not a movement is heard,—all is still and motionless. Words are *few*, and slowly uttered, at first ; but every word contains a thought ; these thoughts accumulate in the exercise, and, as they increase, seem to expand the views and elevate the feelings,—devotion gathers volume in the exercise. Gradually the world seems to be left behind ; sensible things disappear ; even the idea

of the presence of the congregation is lost in the idea of the presence of God. Pleading is heard; the Divine Majesty seems near; the blood of the covenant is appealed to, and the "Man at the right hand of God" sought. Confession of sin, deprecation of the divine wrath and anger, the blessings of grace, the joys of salvation, are themes of importunate supplication. Then passing on to the state of the world, the spread of the Gospel, the overthrow of idolatry and superstition, become the subjects of intercession of the Prophet upon his knees before God. This is not eloquence,—it is more than eloquence,—it is compassion, it is love, it is faith. The Preacher is subdued,—the people are subdued,—all hearts are stirred: the Preacher looks different,—the people look different: the serene air of mental power which sat upon the countenance of the one is gone; and the curiosity and sense of delight, a little while ago manifested by the others, are also gone. A new element has evidently entered the mind of both. Deep emotions have taken the place of pleasurable and tranquil feelings; something profoundly agitating is going on in the soul of the Preacher, and the contagion has extended to the people. He is still calm and self-possessed,—but look at that eye, see the quiver of those lips, listen to that voice. What is this? He has obtained a glimpse of Calvary, of the spiritual world, of eternity, and now his mental conceptions are fused with the new element of a living faith.

The sermon comes at length. The exordium is clear; the subject is opened; the basis of the discourse is plainly laid down; the divisions are announced, so that the audience may follow the Preacher in his arguments and illustrations. "The Lord is raised up out of his holy habitation," this is the theme: "Be silent before him," this is the duty. The manner of the "rising up of the Lord" is discussed. A wide range is sketched; the operations of God in nations, in the Church, in the Christian field, are elucidated; the signs of this are given, and the proofs and evidence exhibited. He is now rising up; events indicate this; the world is in a transition state; all are looking for the coming of the Lord. Silence is observed, and this silence is the duty of all. The argument is clear, but cumulative; thought follows thought; all appropriate; and the last always strengthening the one preceding. But there is more than thought. Genius begins to kindle; coruscation after coruscation flashes forth; figures, symbols,—not in a series, not as an elaborate and prepared performance, but as jets of sparkling sentiment thrown, as diamonds, into the body of the sermon, which would have been complete without them; or as stars in the pure ether, which is yet perfect in its own wondrous simplicity. These beauties grow out of emotion,—they are the effect of deep feeling; impassioned reason becomes poetic; and though the discourse began in prose, it ends in poetry. Reason retains her place all through, as the pathway of the soul in her

progress : but the road is not the only object looked at ; the heavens above, and the earth beneath, are all brought in to complete the picture. Pathos is intermingled with beauty and sublimity ; and of all the peculiarities belonging to Mr. Watson pathos was the finest. It did not on this occasion, or on any other, manifest itself in tears,—he never wept ; it did not display itself in sighs, groans, or exclamations,—he never vociferated ; it did not show itself by any extravagant gesture or violent action,—he never became the actor. No : it was simply a pathos of the heart,—tender, delicate, deep ; it mingled itself in his words, which became gentle as the dying breezes of evening : the fire became spent ; the glow of genius subsided ; the lofty flights of imagination ended ; the orator ceased his entrancing fascinations ; the heart seemed subdued into the affectionate palpitations of the child ; he spoke of love, and felt all its tenderness.

In this sermon some peculiarities of manner were observable. The action was never great, and in the beginning rather slow and measured, but a perfect model of its kind. As the difficulties of a beginning, however, were cleared, and the depths reached, the right hand began to move ; then it was stretched out, but never raised higher than the breast ; it was never clenched, but the forefinger of a most delicate and beautiful hand stretched out, as in a pointing attitude. Only one deviation from this gesture was observable :—when greatly excited, when profoundly feeling the weight of some great truth, before giving utterance to it, and as if pausing for a moment, to find for it a more perfect form, he thrust his right hand into his bosom, and then announced the thought in that peculiar posture. One other singularity may be noticed : when he had finished one of his most beautiful climaxes of reasoning or fancy, he gave his head a majestic nod, with a sort of backward movement, as if he intended to signify to his hearers, that they were then, at that point, to consider the matter finished ; and, moreover, this nod, it must be confessed, had somewhat of a defiant air about it, as if to intimate to the sceptic that he had no fear of his criticism. In this service there was that mixture of goodness and greatness which constitutes the perfection of such hallowed exercises. The devotional part was as exalted as the intellectual : a solemnity and a sweetness combined characterized the prayers ; whilst the sermon conveyed to the mind the most exalted truths of the Gospel.

Silence followed. The congregation appeared profoundly moved. They seemed in no haste to go away. None smiled or exchanged greetings with each other. They retired with gravity ; and, as they passed along, no one heard a word of criticism. The impression seemed too deep for garrulity ; the doctrine of the discourse had passed from the imagination to the heart and conscience, and conscience is always more silent than fancy.

Our idea is, that Mr. Watson was greater as a Preacher than

any thing else ; and this, we imagine, must be the case with all men who excel in the art of pulpit oratory. The living soul can alone do justice to the fine sentiments of a man of genius. What would the best music be, unless sung or played ? What would the drama be, if not acted ? Hence it often comes to pass, that a good speaker is a bad writer, and, *vice versâ*, a bad speaker is a good writer. Many of the little elegances which beautify style in a written performance would ruin a sermon. So far as impressiveness is concerned, we imagine, concentration is essential ; thoughts charged with as much meaning, force, and beauty as language can heap upon them to be intelligible, must be necessary in a living speaker, or he must become vapid. The very effort to bring in nice distinctions in reason, recondite allusions or quotations, prettinesses and elegances, or to join and adjust sentences as ornaments in a saloon,—all this is destructive of true eloquence. Freedom from mannerism seems to be the only rule that can be applied to this art. Eloquence in a true man is the man himself speaking the conceptions of his own mind,—pouring forth the torrents of his own genius, the blaze of his own passions, the tenderness of his own heart. Nature needs no rules but the negative ones of not speaking blunderingly ; all the rest must be supplied from her own resources ; and an orator must be as much born an orator, as a poet must be born a poet. Pitt and Fox were orators ; Burke was a magnificent writer of speeches : when the first two rose in the House, stillness like that of death followed ; when Burke rose, the members rushed out, with the exclamation, that “the dinner-bell was ringing !”

We believe Mr. Watson never read a sermon but once, and in that attempt he failed ; nor did he ever commit his sermons to memory. We have heard but one reader of sermons succeed, and that was Dr. Chalmers ; but if his compositions are carefully analysed, it will be found that, though written, they are constructed upon the principles—if the contradiction can be allowed—of a *vivâ voce* eloquence. They are not crowded with thoughts ; but the few thoughts found in each discourse are laden with majestic imagery, and carried home to the mind by an overwhelming torrent of vehement declamation. The manner of Dr. Chalmers, in reading his sermons, exactly resembled the sermons themselves. His body was in a state of complete agitation, his voice was elevated to the highest key of its capacity, from beginning to end ; and, whilst his right hand kept hold of his manuscript, his left incessantly went up and down like a hammer. The motion of his hand, and the agitation of his mind, agreed exactly to each other. The whole discourse consisted of a repetition of strokes aimed at the mental fortress before him. With this exception, and with this peculiarity,—so far as our observation has gone,—the practice of reading sermons has

failed; and with no fitness can a reader be considered an orator.

The habit of repeating a discourse from memory is sometimes, though very seldom, successful. Its puerile stiffness is one usual consequence, but by no means the worst. The best feelings of the heart are the impulses of the moment, but these are suppressed; there can be no gush of sentiment allowed, because this would lead the mind away from the stereotyped manuscript transferred to the memory, and the road, once lost, might not be found again. But passion is necessary to true eloquence: eloquence can no more exist without deep and genuine feeling, than poetry without genius. Passion is kindled by the agitation of the soul, by the presence of an audience, by strong conceptions springing up at the instant. To reduce this feeling to written *formulae*, would cause it to evaporate: the conceptions of strong passion cannot be written, any more than the fire of the sun can be corked up in a jar. Extemporaneous oratory, which is always the most effective, never destroys reason in strong and well-furnished minds, but perfects it. A real orator never reasons so well as when the fountains of the great deep within are broken up. Vivid perception, logical coherence, rapid combination of thought, the rich and exuberant creation of metaphor and imagery,—all follow this impulse. The finest orators are sometimes dull in their ordinary moods, and stammer and huddle till the fire begins to kindle. This was the case with Charles Fox. The uninformed listener would have thought, for the first half hour of his speech, that he was going to break down. But as passion rose, the powers of the soul, which seemed to hang flapping about like the sails of a vessel in a calm, gradually filled, expanded, and then, like a gallant ship in full sail, ploughed the sea in mighty majesty. Passion kindles passion; and there can neither be true Preachers nor true hearers without it. Then, as this emotion cannot be put upon paper, and become a matter of memory, those who rehearse their sermons must be destitute of it. They, indeed, sometimes rant, lift up their eyes, throw out their arms, stamp the foot, and affect the tones of deep emotion; but it is all sham; and, if we could examine the manuscript or the cranium, we should find it all jotted down; as is related of a good parson of this school, who had written, on the margin of a manuscript climax, "*Weep here!*" There is, moreover, a close connexion between the passions and the imagination; but imagination is essential to eloquence. We have, indeed, heard men of great power with but little fancy; but, though powerful speakers, they can hardly be considered eloquent. Hence, unless the soul can be brought into a state of great excitement in the study,—which is said to have been the case with Dr. Chalmers, who, with his coat off, his vest unbuttoned, and his neck bare, was accustomed

to write himself into a bath of perspiration,—unless this can be accomplished, there can be but little force in the performances of *memoriter* or sermon-reading Preachers; and we believe this class of pulpit orators do not find their studies a very creative region. We limit these remarks to the *art* of eloquence: there are other and higher considerations which we purposely omit.

To say, as we have done, that Mr. Watson was a better Preacher than any thing else, is to place him in a very high position as a pulpit orator. It was our good fortune to hear all the *celebrities* of the pulpit of the period in which he lived; but we certainly never heard his equal. Some of his written sermons are beautiful specimens of composition; but they bear but an imperfect resemblance to his spoken discourses. This resulted from the circumstance that they were *really* extemporaneous. His preparations were of the most meagre kind, that is, so far as they were written; and many of them were not written at all. We are not, however, from this to presume that he had not reflected deeply and profoundly on the subjects to be discussed. But the *matériel* being in his mind, and not in manuscript, he had the power of fusing this *matériel* with the glow of his genius in the progress of its delivery. This gave life, freshness, and power, which never can be secured by other modes. His language was as accurate from his lips as from his pen,—as appropriate to the theme, as chaste, as forcible, as elegant, and, as must be the case in all similar instances, had much more force than written words. Even the argumentative part partook of this animation; but the declamation, the creations of imagination, the poetry, were overwhelming. One of his sermons was as different from a *memoriter* sermon, as a man is different from a statue: in the one we have the form without the life; in the other we have the entire man, body and soul. But he never lost his chart, never plunged into chaos. The reasoning of one of his oral efforts was like a chain of gold running through from end to end; and it cost no great trouble to perceive the linking: but the luminous flashes of genius brought to illustrate and impress this reasoning on the minds of his auditory were just like the sun, who, never losing his central position, throws around him the effulgence of day.

Every man is made for his work: Mr. Watson was made for his. God had been most bountiful to him. His person was remarkable, like his mind. His *physique* was exquisitely formed, as if to be the fitting casket of the brilliant jewel lodged within. Nobody could meet him without stopping to look back, asking, "Who is that?" But that head! The face was elongated, and somewhat pale, with an appearance of constant suffering, and often overshadowed with a tinge of melancholy. The mouth was expressive of every thing but obstinacy. The sense of the

ridiculous, satire, scorn, contempt, defiance, imaginings, love, joy, all found expression in those wonderful lips. The nose was prominent,—not exactly Grecian, not exactly Roman, but beautifully English, and expressive of both genius and generosity. The eyes were dark, oval, deep, brilliant, piercing, and, if we may say so, inexpressibly expressive. His look of scrutiny pierced to the bottom of the soul; his look of complacency inspired instant confidence; his look of affection kindled the feelings into a hearty glow; his look of devotion was calmly meditative; his look of inspiration was like a blaze of sacred fire. No one could possibly mistake the meaning of his eyes: they spoke as intelligibly as his tongue. But that brow! We know not what to say: we are afraid of failure on the one hand, and of being accused, by those who did not live in his day, of exaggeration. But we believe that in this case exaggeration is impossible. Our only means of judging of the human head is by comparison. This principle necessarily comes in; and our estimate must be formed thereupon. We have seen heads of greater breadth than that of Mr. Watson, indicating greater power in some of its forms. We have seen men possessing much more brain in the mass; but its distribution was perfectly different. In him the brain appeared to be mainly given to assist mental exercise, the great mass being found in the frontal portion of the head. Indeed, those posterior developments which are supposed to indicate the animal passions were nearly absent. But the brow was prodigiously developed, as if, by some extraordinary process, the whole substance of the brain had been forced to this point,—as if the intellect had demanded and engrossed every particle. The forehead did not taper inward from the sides, but was square; neither was it retiring, as we often see in heads otherwise fine, but was as nearly perpendicular from the eyebrows as possible, and of great height. Taken in connexion with the face, there was real sublimity in the loftiness of this brow, as there is sublimity in the Alps and the Andes. We certainly never saw such a head; it was unlike that of any other person. If placed in the midst of those of an entire nation, it would be found different from them all: if measured by the ordinary standard, it would as far transcend them as the giant transcends the man of common stature.

This, then, was the instrument by which the soul had to work; and we cannot be surprised, that, with such an instrument, achievements in mental superiority and excellency were attained. But there is a connexion betwixt the brain and the whole nervous system: the seat of sensation may be local; but sensation itself is universal. Mr. Watson was acutely sensitive. We remember, on an occasion when he had been preaching one of his masterly sermons, a distinguished Dissenting Minister present made use of the words, "That wonderful mental machine!"

Such would be the estimate of distant observers in general. Passion, sensation, acute feeling, would be the last things they would think of as belonging to so philosophical a mind. But this would be a perfectly false estimate. His sentient nature was equal to his intellectual; and they probably acted reciprocally upon each other. There never can be great intellect without great sensibility. The mind may control the passions, as the rudder steadies the vessel in a storm; but the passions move the mind in its turn, giving the intellect its wholesome stimulus, and much of its colouring. Intellect without passion would be like the soul without the body: it might, for aught we know, be as pure and elevated as an angelic nature, but it would be useless to us, as being intangible to our mixed state of body and soul. In great natures the feelings generally take a melancholy hue, and, strange to say, very often from the sense of imperfection. Mr. Watson was always behind his ideal, always striving to attain a perfection he never, in his own apprehension, reached; always climbing, without ever reaching the top of the hill. But the visions of intellect are such as to foster melancholy emotions. A shipwrecked world, a ruined race, a dead past, a dying present, a dark future, are things to produce miserable sensations in those who see them in their vivid reality. Nobody needs envy great ability. The happiest men are they who sit at home, and lisp their little joys, with the imagination that there is nothing either better or worse than themselves, and their own bright fireside.

It is said of some intellectual men, that they have fits of energy and fits of idleness in alternation. Dr. Johnson either worked like a horse, or not at all. Mr. Watson was free from this peculiarity. His intellectual activity was incessant; it knew no intermission: like time, his mind was constantly in motion. Some persons can only pursue their mental processes in one place: they must be in their study, surrounded by their books, with papers, chairs, pictures, and every thing in exact order, or otherwise the machine stands still. Not so with Mr. Watson. External circumstances made very little difference to him. His portfolio was always at hand, and in constant requisition. We have reason to know that a great amount of the most elaborate and finished productions of his pen were written out of his own study, and some of them in the midst of public business, journeys, and in the presence of persons in incessant motion and conversation. His energy may, in some degree, be understood by the amount of letter-press contained in the "Works;" but this is a very insufficient index. We have no doubt that the uncollected material of his pen would equal, if not far exceed, in quantity, that which is called his "Works." Activity, indeed, was the element of his mental existence; and he could not live a day without the creation of something important.

Besides study and authorship, several departments of work engaged Mr. Watson's unceasing efforts. He was a constant Preacher. When in the regular work of the ministry, he invariably attended to his duties with great punctuality; and he has been heard to say of some of his congregations in small places, that he had as many people as candles, or just the number that he had walked miles. When he had no particular charge, as Secretary of the Missionary Society, he was indefatigable in this duty; and in addition to the extra sermons which he was in the regular habit of preaching for the Society, he took services every Sabbath in some of the London pulpits. The Missions, it is well known, occupied his daily attention; and his Sermon on "Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones" was one of the first ever preached for the Society. During the period of twenty years, he gave himself up to this work,—the evangelization of the world being his chief desire. He lived to see these labours crowned with great results; and, it is hoped, assisted to lay a foundation for those enterprises in all time to come, which may lead to still greater success.

His exertions against Slavery in the British Colonies were equally arduous and untiring. His sermon on "The Instruction of the Negroes" is one of the most masterly and eloquent of the whole series. He took part with the Anti-Slavery Society in its exertions, attending the Committee, and employing his pen and his influence to further its objects; and he died just as the chains of the poor slave fell off. Mr. Watson was a political philosopher, and may be said to have worked in this line, as well as in those which bear a more philanthropic character. During the long struggle of the country for existence and freedom, against the aggressive violence of Napoleon, he placed himself on the side of the nation, and constantly exerted his talents in support of British interests. He kept pace, however, with the progress of society; and, though holding steadfastly to the old English system of policy till the storm was over, he entertained the idea that a new adjustment of the national machine had become necessary, and gave his adherence to many of the reformatory measures which sprang up after the war had ceased. But he never appeared as the political partizan, nor entered into any public movements, believing that the position and duties of a Minister did not allow of party strife. Hence the part he took in politics was to throw into the boiling caldron some philosophical views, some cooling ingredient. With an intellect so intense, mental labour so abundant and untiring, activity so incessant, and feelings so deep, we are not surprised that Mr. Watson fell a martyr to his exertions in the midst of his years. *Arcum intensio fregit.*

- ART. IX.—1. *Poems*. By ALEXANDER SMITH. Third Edition. London, 1854.
 2. *Balder: a Poem*. By the Author of "The Roman." London, 1854.

THE publication of these two volumes, within the space of the last few months, presents an opportunity of which we gladly avail ourselves, and so proceed at once to offer some brief remarks upon the leading characteristics of modern poetry. The whole of this wide subject could not, indeed, be discoursed upon from so limited a text; but for exhibiting the more prominent features and marked tendencies of poetry in the present day, we could not, perhaps, have selected better illustrations than those which come most recently to hand. Of those features and tendencies they furnish, it is true, exaggerated types; but for this reason they are only the more adapted to our present purpose, as a public lesson is illustrated best by examples in high relief.

To many of our readers, more familiar with the standard poets of our country than with the ardent and unsettled minstrelsy of the current time, the immediate subjects of this paper may not seem to have deserved our first attention; and such a feeling we can well appreciate. We, too, should have preferred to introduce this branch of literature by remarks in connexion with one or other of our elder poets; to have refreshed the mind and memory of the reader with some of the choice passages of Chaucer, rich both in character and circumstance, and buoyant with a certain natural gladness,—of Spenser, fruitful in invention, and high in moral tone, clothing the meekest virtues in heroic dress, and setting forth the most ennobling truths in quaint and pleasant allegories,—or of Dryden, whose nervous verse and masculine good sense discover to us how much of daily wisdom may consist with rare poetic gifts. From the pleasure of this retrospect there would have been no drawback; and in poetry so catholic, all healthy minds would have shared a genuine delight. But the usefulness of a journal like ours is dependent, in no small measure, upon its watching the social and literary aspect of the times,—in its reflection of every existing phase, or promise of improvement,—and its timely warning of every degenerate tendency. It is under the influence of this conviction that we now write. In the recent and rising school of poetry there is so much to elicit admiration, combined with still more that is fatal, as we think, to moral, as well as intellectual, maturity and well-being, that we at once address ourselves to a consideration of its peculiar character, to a brief acknowledgment of its beauties, and a serious inquiry into the nature and cause of its defects.

It is necessary, perhaps, to obviate the mere suspicion of narrowness or prejudice. In art we profess our tastes to be suf-

ficiently eclectic. We are not of those who, from a natural or acquired bias towards one class of poetry, would deny the name to every composition of another school. The charm of this great art, as of its greater prototype, is its wonderful variety. It has something for every taste and every mood; it breathes successively the airs of every season, and touches by turns the simplest bosom and most cultivated mind. And if it be true,—as we believe it is,—that its great masters have the suffrages of every class, and attract the humblest to find some natural charm in those human features, whose deeper and divine significance makes the highest to return, and ponder, and gain fresh intelligence, with every further contemplation, it is also true that there is another order, whose office is more limited, but not less authentic. Seldom, indeed, is the gift of genius thus universal in its power; far more frequently is it thus circumscribed and special. A Madonna of Raphael,—all can see beauty there; peasant as well as prince, and Protestant as well as Catholic; not only maid and mother, with their mysterious sympathy, but boy and man, and all who have ever found or felt any natural strain of love. But where is the connoisseur who has traced all the magic of its art, and exhausted all the treasures of its truth and tenderness,—who has perused it thoroughly, is satisfied completely, and is content to look upon it for the last time? A play of Shakspeare,—this is patent to every schoolboy; it is history for the million, a repertory for every masquerader, a world for every humorist, a manual for every statesman, a text-book for every moralist. But where is the scholar or critic who has pointed out every beauty, and supplied the final gloss, and learnt the whole lesson? Honour then to Shakspeare and this chosen few! These are the High Priests of Nature, who minister at the great altar in the open service of the temple. But there are humbler oratories embayed within its solemn aisles, and there the pilgrims from every region may hear words of comfort, each in his own dialect; and the priests themselves drink sympathizing words from each other's lips. There are Poets who need Poets for an audience,—who have fed their imagination upon the selectest images and daintiest thoughts; and men of coarser mould can have no sympathy with these. There are others, who have brought learning to enrich their art, and whose elaborate compositions are so many pieces of embroidered tapestry, bright with traditionary splendours, and moving with heroic life. Honour then to Collins and to Gray! All are welcome who are servants faithful both to virtue and to man, and who make Truth and Beauty the handmaids who unveil the face of Nature. In this spirit we gladly recognise the muse of Keats, with its sensuous delight in every natural object, and its almost pagan reverence for the dumb old deities of Greece,—and the genius of Shelley, soaring, like his own skylark, “higher yet, and higher,” and shedding from

illustrious wings the whiteness of ideal beauty on every thing beneath.

Neither do we deny that true poetry may, in some faint degree, reflect the spirit of the age which gives it birth. Of some species,—such as satire, comedy, and the like,—it is the peculiar function so to do; and for many of the more serious kinds, it is no necessary detraction, that they indicate, with more or less distinctness, the character of the times in which the author lived. Poetry of the best description will often take something of its form and temper from popular and passing influences, from the force of national and temporary circumstances: for, though individual genius is the fire in which it is raised to its white heat, the present age is yet the anvil on which it is beaten into shape. This is chiefly true of poetry of a peculiar kind, mostly popular in its character, and always lyrical in its expression: of that which is highest and best, the most artistic and elaborate, we may confidently say that it is essentially independent of current tendencies,—that a spirit of utilitarian progress, if allowed to interfere, will more frequently deteriorate than exalt it; and an age of metaphysical inquiry serve rather to confound its pure æsthetic genius, than to yield it a truer or nobler theory of life.

As there is much error prevalent on this point, and as that error is, as it seems to us, a principal cause of the failure of many poems of undoubted genius in our day, we may, perhaps, be allowed to examine it more fully. We are persuaded that the ill-construction and feeble execution of these works are, in great measure, due to unsound notions of poetic art; while only from the observance of its genuine principles can moral truth, and every minor excellence, result.

That poetry should, according to the language of our great dramatist, “show the very age and body of the times, its form and pressure,” is, indeed, a maxim of some value to the artist of every class; but it is frequently repeated in our ears by those who forget to interpret it in the light of that great master’s practice, and who both mistake its meaning, and exaggerate its importance.

First, they mistake its meaning. It signifies,—at least in its application to the art under review, of which precisely it was not first spoken,—not that poetry of set purpose must, but that poetry of the right stamp ever will, reflect the lineaments of *the age, not of the poet himself, but of that imagined in the poet’s fable*. It dictates, not the choice of subject, which is left absolutely free, but the fidelity of imitation, which is strictly and primarily demanded by æsthetic law. Is the time we live in full of earnest inquiry, practical reform, philanthropic effort, and social improvement? These, then, will more or less appear in all works, even of the epic class, whose scene and era are

expressly identical with ours ; but these works mostly take the shape of the prose novel. They will sometimes, also, condense themselves in verse, and find warm utterance in those brief and popular lyrics by which a nation or a class gives expression to its transitory throes. But we are speaking now of poems which, by their elaboration or their length, evidently make pretensions to the highest rank of art ; and the method of true art is not altered by the genius of an age. Its appeals are made from one individual mind to another, and not from the individual to a collective people. It advocates no measure of reform, however pressing or desirable ; it occupies itself with no single branch of industry or science, however useful ; it does not even, without manifest deterioration and failure, rehearse the crude and disordered fancies of any single mind, however gifted, and though it be the poet's own. The nature of art is essentially objective and constructive. A poem, like a painting, is strictly a composition, whose materials—selected almost in whatsoever place you will—are faithfully combined by the æsthetic faculty,—a faculty that is neither wholly intellectual nor wholly moral, that acts in great measure like instinct, but needs the co-operation of science and intelligence.

But, secondly, our critics exaggerate the importance of this maxim, even when understood in their own limited and lesser sense. Poetry depends far more on the essential than the accidental ; on the permanent than the temporary ; on man himself than national costume or political conditions. For this reason it is that no poem worthy of the name can ever grow dim with age, but is fresh through all time. No man speaks so sincerely to his fellow-man as the poet ; none is so free from the affectations and falsehoods which divide one class in society from another, and make one generation almost strange to that which follows ; no one, therefore, is so widely recognised, so welcome in every neighbourhood, so secure against the changing fashions and confounding dialects of time. The best, and even the most popular, poems in the world, are those which are least shaped or coloured by the spirit of the author's age. If the ancients still move and delight us, it is not that we have anything in common with pagan Greece or Rome, either socially or politically considered ; for by contrast in these particulars we are yet more divided from them than by centuries of time. It is as men beholding the same sun, feeling the same wants, and suffering the same changes. We may cease to wonder then that the ballads recited in their halls, and the dramas which held breathless their assembled cities, are still frequent on our lips, and often present to our minds. If pleasing to the young or to the old once,—as the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*,—why not to youth or to experience now ? If grateful to the instinct of filial piety once,—as the *Antigone* of Sophocles,—why not to filial piety in our day also ? That these are not even more

popular among us is only because, with all their force of truth, they are not true enough,—not simply, fully, and profoundly so. They are Greek to a fault, as well as human to a miracle. Something of artifice stiffens the march of their otherwise consummate art; the brooding shadow of one great national belief obscures much of the delicate tracery of life; the demands of one grand action admit too seldom of a sweet and natural relief. Hence the defective sympathy existing between this age of readers and that age of poets; hence the need of culture and knowledge on the part of the former, before they can thoroughly enjoy the lofty creations of the latter. Something, indeed, of this is chargeable on the great difference, even of personal character, which the influence of our northern civilization, and especially of the new and better religion, has wrought upon mankind in modern times; but still more, we suspect, is due to the less perfect sympathies of the poet,—for Sophocles is not the rival of Shakspeare. For some of the highest purposes of art, the ancients were sufficiently related to men in every age to bequeath examples of abiding interest; and, in the main, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the actual legacy we enjoy; and certainly it does not forbid our admiration and wonder. Even our purer faith does not necessarily exclude our sympathy; all the nobler sentiments of natural religion—and poetry *as an art* would perhaps do well to concern itself with these alone—are to be met with in the bards of every country; wisdom and beauty find an oriental dress in Sadi and Ferdousi, a classic one in Sophocles and Homer, and in either dress we may welcome both. If we know how to keep poetry in its proper place, and expect from it only its legitimate effects, we shall not hesitate to profit and delight ourselves by Virgil as securely as by Milton; if we are so foolish as to draw our highest principles therefrom, we shall only err too far in either case.

But if the poet is indeed thus independent, and restrained neither to his own locality nor era, it is certain he will use this liberty, and for the most part fix his choice upon a distant or somewhat unfamiliar scene. The reasons for this are obvious and irresistible. In the first place, he is more likely to apprehend the limits of his subject, to recognise its genuine features, and to sketch the whole more freely, when he beholds it from a certain elevation,—from some height where no prejudices can obscure, and no distractions interrupt, his clear and calm observance,—where serene impartial art may exercise its functions undisturbed. But there is another consideration hardly less important. Above all things it is necessary that poetry should please; and that it may ultimately and profoundly please, it must first and easily attract. To this end, nothing is more likely to contribute than some novelty of external features, tending to stimulate our languid curiosity, and leading us, perhaps unawares, into a deeper

sympathy with all that is of more real and abiding interest. True it is that what is most essential in poetry, is that which touches us most nearly, and is promptly recognised and felt as true; but every thing which distinguishes it as an art, which raises it above the level of ordinary prose literature and learning, is traceable to some form of pleasure, sensuous or intellectual, as, for instance, to our delight in imitation, melody, or grouping. It is idle to object that a great poet should have a higher purpose than to please; enough for us to know, that to please by means of its legitimate resources is the first condition of his art, and for him to understand that he can no more dispense with the lighter charm of novelty, than with the incorporated graces of harmonious verse.

We hope the relevance of these remarks will soon be more obvious to the reader, and that he will then acquit us of wilfully trifling with his patience. Much of the defectiveness of recent poetry arises, as we think, from a disregard of these first principles. Its faults, indeed, are both many and various, affecting style and sentiment as well as plan: but this deliberate weakness of design is doubtless a radical and primary defect; and this vague and vain attempt to give voice and utterance to the struggling forces of the age, brings a disturbing influence into the young poet's mind; while the effect of both together is to deny to his production that interest which arises from a definite purpose and an united action, attended, as these commonly are, by a due variety of character, and a sober and subordinated use of language. The books mentioned at the head of this article have been selected for illustrating this degenerate tendency; but, before turning particularly to them, we may briefly refer to two living authors who have set a contrary example, and proved both the soundness and success of their canons of art,—Henry Taylor, in "*Philip Van Artevelde*," and Walter Landor, in his "*Hellenics*." Do we want poems more beautiful—can we find any more genuine—than these? Neither of them is saturated with what is called "the spirit of the age;" we do not know that they are even biassed by it; perhaps the student of a hundred years hence could not learn the period of their production by internal evidence. Yet few authors of the present day are so certain to fulfil their century, few volumes of our teeming press more likely to be studied and perused in the future. Both works are acceptable to the healthiest and purest modern taste; for though the subject is mediæval in the one case, and classical in the other, they are the productions, not of antiquarians, but of poets.

But ours is not the argument of limitation or undue control; and we gladly admit that, if the poet is not restricted to the present, neither is he excluded from it. The Muse that has the wings of the morning may fold them above our noisiest cities, and gracefully alight in the forum or the market-place. The

influence of the present Laureate has not always been for good upon his followers; for they have caught his tone, but lack his pure insight and almost perfect taste. Yet it seems to us that, in the poems of Tennyson himself, both these conditions—which respect the transitory and the abiding, and find an element of this in a chaos of that—are fulfilled in a remarkable degree. He draws his inspiration from the native well of his own fancy, and yet sings from his height of place in the middle of the nineteenth century. His genius is affected, but not overborne, by the tumultuous spirit of the times, by the triumphs of material science, or the conflicts of the public soul. Hence the sweetness, as well as the subtlety, of his verse, the clearness of his ideas, and the ease of his expression. The doubt of other men he seems to pity, rather than to share. As a poet, he knows that enough of the beautiful and the good remains for him, enough of the lasting and the true; and therefore he glances only into the dark vortex of scepticism, and “drops a melodious tear,” and in another moment he is soaring upward and away: resting now on Ida, he re-modulates the plaint of the deserted CEnone, henceforth immortal as love and grief can make it; and now, alighting on the pillar of St. Simeon Stylites, he rehearses the fearful lessons of ascetic virtue. From this true conception of his art, and this faithfulness to the universal and abiding above the merely local and transient, it is due that the writings of the Poet-Laureate harmonize with the standard poetry of all times, and take their place at once as classic pieces. For choiceness of imagery and allusion, for musical sweetness of intonation, and for that intellectual quality which is power and ease and affluence at once, the poems of Tennyson may worthily compare with the minor poetry of Milton. Each is a master of lyrical expression, and sings from his own deep, human heart, as independent both of age and country. And yet we dare not say that there is no indication that these poets lived at different periods; only that indication, which is positive in the case of Tennyson, is merely negative in that of Milton. Milton seems to sing for recreation,—to unbend his sterner genius in some light exercise of imagination or fancy; and so he borrows something of the spirit of pagan poetry, the more thoroughly to mask the age of Puritanism from his own regard. In Tennyson, under much the same conditions of facile grace and exquisite allusion, we have glimpses of a mind that forecasts the fortunes of his race, whose thoughts are all thrown forward “by the progress of the suns,” and, like pensive shadows, dapple the sunny future; but his spirit is cheerful throughout, and full of hope, if not evincing the confidence of faith; and, in his sweet wild music, we no longer hear “ancestral voices prophesying war,” but a chorus—distant, yet jubilant, faint as echo, yet rounded and harmonious as the spheres—celebrating the age of peace and happiness,—

"And one far-off divine event,
To which the whole creation moves."

We must not any longer defer the promised introduction of our two young poets, but forthwith present them to the reader. When he has made their acquaintance, our previous observations on the art which they profess may recur to him as having a distinct bearing on our estimate of their practice and success.

The principal poem in Mr. Smith's volume, entitled, "A Life Drama," and that of "Balder," by the author of "The Roman," are elaborate productions of the same school of poetry; and it is, therefore, no cause for wonder, nor even ground of complaint, that they have much in common. Their originality is sufficiently marked and distinguished, and their poetical merits—though in each case graphic and pictorial—are not so similar as to be easily confounded. The bond of their union, as usual in all sects or schools of poetry, is rather in that which is adventitious than essential,—in what is doubtful than in what commands our admiration and esteem; and this being the case, we shall not wonder to find a great resemblance in the external form of their respective poems.

Each of these works is remarkable as having the length of an epic, the form of a drama, and the nature of a rhapsody. It has, indeed, a beginning, and somewhere (if you can find it) a middle, and, in the long run, (if you have only patience,) an end; but, in the sense of Aristotle, it has none of these. There is absolutely nothing to prevent you reversing the order of the scenes, except it be a superstitious notion, that the author *must* have had a reason for disposing them as they are at present found. By this oriental style of reading, you will lose none of its vivid passages, and may save yourself some general disappointment. Indeed, it is very likely you will find it improve as you proceed from that point, as to us it grew seriously worse while we proceeded from the other.

In each case, also, a poet is hero as well as author. This is highly characteristic of the poetical fraternity in our day. It is evident that the modern bard esteems no ordinary theme deserving of his song; and so he turns to glorify himself, and worship his own art by way of exercising it. His rhapsody is all about genius,—its sorrows, ecstasies, divinity, and might; what it can do if it only pleases, and what it scorns to do for so miserable an audience as humanity can furnish. No longer holding "the mirror up to Nature," he sits and turns it fairly on himself, and finds trace of thunder in every scar, and demon-beauty in every fantastic lock; the blue of his eye suggests (to him) the unutterable depths of heaven, and in the curl of his lip he reads and practises contempt for a paltry world of prose.

It is easy to find passages in both of these performances which

may justify the character we have ascribed to them. The real difficulty is to meet with a page in which Poesy, or Fame, or Genius is not extolled or invoked in good set terms; though sometimes this unfortunate passion—for evidently it is not reciprocated—finds a natural relief in equally extreme abuse, after the true lovers' fashion. Walter (in the "Life Drama" of Mr. Smith) exclaims, with his usual aptitude of comparison,—

"I love thee, Poesy! Thou art a rock;
I, a weak wave, would break on thee, and die!

O Fame! Fame! Fame! next grandest word to God!"

And soon afterwards he breaks into prophecy, and in this manner our author contrives, with charming innocence and *naïveté*, to foretell his own appearance :—

"My Friend! a Poet must ere long arise,
And with a royal song sun-crown this age,
As a saint's head is with a glory crown'd;
One who shall hallow poetry to God,
And to its own high use, for poetry is
The grandest chariot wherein King-thoughts ride;
One who shall fervent grasp the sword of song,
As a stern swordsman grasps his keenest blade,
To find the quickest passage to the heart.
A mighty Poet, whom this age shall choose
To be its spokesman to all coming times."

How far Walter, or his author, is likely to "hallow poetry to God," or be our "spokesman to all coming times," we shall see by and by. In the mean while let us hear how the poet of "Balder" apostrophizes *his* little matter (of nine thousand lines).

"O thou first, last work!
Thou tardy-growing oak that art to be
My club of war, my staff, my sceptre! Thou
Hast well-nigh gain'd thy height. My early-plann'd,
Long-meditate, and slowly-written epic!
Turning thy leaves, dear labour of my life,
Almost I seem to turn my life in thee.
Thy many books, my many votive years,
And thy full pages number'd with my days.
I could look back on all that I have built,
As on some Memphian monument, wherein
The Kings do lie in glory, every one
Each in his house, and forward to thy blank,
Fair future, as one gazes into depths
Of necromantic crystal, and beholds
The heavens come down."

The adoption of such suspicious heroes as these, bodes no good to any laboured or ambitious poem. If epic, it will be

without incident, and full of reverie ; if a drama, the choice spirit will have all the speaking to himself, and the scene lack action, character, and issue. There may, indeed, be found room for much ingenious description, *à-propos* to any thing or nothing ; for a poetical hero may surely exercise a double licence,—his author's, and his own. Then, all the bits and fragments that our poet has ever written, in every conceivable mood and tense, may be fitly used up here. These are the conveniences of such a plan ; but they stop chiefly with the author's part, and do not much befriend the reader. Many little poems do not make a great one ; still less do several fragments make a whole. An epic poem is not manufactured like a quilt ; nor do the pieces emptied, whether in disgust or admiration, from a young man's portfolio, fall, as by magic, into the true dramatic mould.

But skill and judgment of the highest order have often failed in coping with difficulties which our young authors boldly add to those which lie naturally in their way. So confident are they of their own powers, and so certain to attain the goal of fame, that they put hurdles on the course, and take a five-barred gate in pure bravado. Their choice of subjects in these performances, are instances in proof of this unlucky confidence. We do not think the poetic character very suitable for express delineation by poetic art, even as a matter of occasional choice, and when one true genius seeks thus to re-animate another. In a brief monody an interest of the kind may possibly be sustained, but hardly in a poem of more artistic form. We cannot think that even Goethe has wholly succeeded in his dramatic rendering of the life of Tasso. Byron's "Lament" is more to our liking, because it is less both in pretension and extent. But in the case of the authors before us, there is far less promise of success. Their heroes—Walter in the one case, and Balder in the other—have not the *prestige* of acknowledged genius ; they have no grand associations to call up, nor any fadeless laurels to display upon their brows. Of course, then, they must approve their claims to the character in the work where they appear, which must at once establish the author and the hero. Now, both Mr. Smith and his anonymous brother have evidently felt this obligation ; but we almost despair of conveying to the reader any adequate idea of the great efforts, and greater sacrifices, they make in order to obtain the character and praise of genius. It is clear that they design to give us the quintessence of the genuine article. Nothing that might for a moment be taken, by those who hear it read, for simple prose, or recognised as the thought and language of daily life, is suffered upon their pages for a moment. It is one unmitigated stream of genius,—we suppose,—that scorns all rule, as any river of spirit will overflow its bounds.

The "Life-Drama" of Mr. Smith is understood to be the work of a very young man ; and, therefore, we are not without hope

that he may yet live to show that friendly reproof has not been lost upon him. In entertaining such a hope, of course we acknowledge the reality of his poetic gifts, which, indeed, are not inconsiderable. His poem is mostly free from metaphysical obscurities; and isolated pictures of great beauty meet you on every page. He has great ease, as well as force of language: though limited in range, his pencil is extremely vivid in expression. Here is a famous character, drawn in three lines:—

“Beside that well I read the mighty Bard,
Who clad himself with beauty, genius, wealth;
Then flung himself on his own passion-pyre,
And was consumed.”

Surely that comparison is very fine. Another specimen of his power, though tinged with his own peculiar extravagance, is the following, addressed to an infant:—

“O thou bright thing, fresh from the hand of God!
The motions of thy dancing limbs are swayed
By the unceasing music of thy being!
Nearer I seem to God when looking on thee.
'T is ages since He made his youngest star:
His hand was on thee, as 't were yesterday,
Thou later Revelation! Silver stream,
Breaking with laughter from the lake divine
Whence all things flow! O bright and singing babe!
What wilt thou be hereafter?”

This, we say, is a favourable example of our author's manner; but even in these lines we may trace that extravagance of language which is one of his prevailing faults. If we were to quote much more, the reader would soon discover his other prominent defect, namely, a fatal poverty of ideas. The poem lacks substance, form, and truth; and, in spite of the brilliance of certain parts, it is most unsatisfactory as a whole. To the young and ardent it must necessarily convey a false impression of life; to the experienced and right-minded it brings only weariness and impatience. The hero is a poet, who knows nothing of mankind or society, and only the worst part of himself. He talks as familiarly of sun, and moon, and stars, and mountains, as if they were his nearest neighbours; but of his actual neighbour—of man, in his sober sphere of action, with chastened affections, and reasonable hopes, and cheerful course of duties; of man, in his varied relationships and trials, as yielding to or mastering his own fortunes—he knows or tells us absolutely nothing. Hence his incessant use of stars, and clouds, and seas, and crisped smiles; for ignorance instinctively cowers down behind extravagance. Not without reason does Walter say, “I love the stars too much.” Even when he condescends to any terrestrial objects, they are always the largest or most gaudy of their kind. His garden teems with passion-flowers; his aviary is stocked with

birds of paradise. He makes love in the most sumptuous manner possible. To say that his lady's mouth is full of pearls, and that every thing about her is to match, is only to dilute his very strong description. Of course, there is nothing valuable or extensive which is not at her service: of all his (promised) presents, a kingdom is about the poorest and most common-place. He is perfectly enamoured of a lazy life, and would fill up the hours with endless love and maundering. He is not ashamed to say,—

“O let me live
To love, and flush, and thrill—or let me die!”

Well, this Walter is the deliberately chosen “hero” of Mr. Smith; not selected as a warning, but presented as a model and example of what he holds to be the highest type of man,—the poet, destined “to sun-crown this age.” We hardly see how the author can avoid the imputation of Walter's sentiments; at any rate, he is responsible for the general character, as fixed and approved by the action of the poem. Mr. Smith cannot safely plead the laws and licence of dramatic poetry; for by these he is condemned. The work is, indeed, formally, though not virtually, dramatic; and as all that Walter says or does is unrefuted in the course of the action, and uncontrasted by any nobler character, the evident moral is, that this precious hero is the favourite of poet as well as Providence. His end is very edifying. Walter the seducer has a transient passion, or rather passage, of remorse, induced, no doubt, by the recollection that he has some fine things to say in that character; and then, suddenly brightening up, he coolly determines to make a handsome figure in the world yet, and afterwards, leaving it with contempt, go as by right to heaven. Only hear him!—

“I'll rest myself, O World, awhile on thee,
And, half in earnest, half in jest, I'll cut
My name upon thee, pass the arch of Death,
Then on a stair of stars go up to God.”

This is not indeed the actual finale of the piece; but nothing afterwards occurs to alter our impression of the whole. Two friends of Walter meet, and speak of his poem as “a hit;” they tell us, moreover, that it was “done at a dash.” All this very naturally confirms our impression that the author and the hero are identical; and, if so, we must say that Mr. Smith has very cleverly anticipated the popular effect of that style of poetry in which he has indulged. In a later scene Walter meets with the injured Violet, whom he had deserted, and professes suddenly to be cured of all his evil and romantic habits, and turned to constancy in love, and duty in the ordinary affairs of life. There is nothing to make this conversion probable or permanent. What we must regard as the most hopeful sign of improvement is the

slighting way in which he can endure to mention his favourite stars : he is brought to admit,—

“A star’s a cold thing to a human heart,
And love is better than their radiance.”

We gladly pardon the defective grammar, in consideration of the sentiment, which indicates at least some measure of returning reason.

Let us turn for a moment to the other volume before us. Who, then, and what, is “Balder?” Balder is not the divinity of Scandinavian mythology,—the Apollo of the North,—Balder the Beautiful. Neither is he a personification of the poetic character. We are afraid he is an English poet, who has taken to gloomy and unhealthy ways. The only other personage in the drama—excepting a Doctor Paul, who appears but twice—is Amy, the poet’s wife. Between these two the long discourses of the poem are sustained, though in very unequal proportions. Balder has the first words and the last to himself, and a very unreasonable share of all that comes between. Of dialogue there is comparatively little. The poet soliloquizes in his study ; and when we are supposed (not without reason) to have had enough of his distempered thoughts, we find a small relief in hearing “through the door the voice of Amy,” which is frequently mournful and melodious in the highest degree. We are not certain if we rightly apprehend the prominent idea which disturbs the rest of Balder, and makes him so unsociable a being ; but it would seem that, having totally lost his relish for the affairs and satisfactions of life, he has begun to entertain a morbid and insane desire to behold the face of Death. Death comes and takes the place of his babe ; but this touches not him so much as Amy ; and as the babe lay on the bosom of his wife, this is a dread exchange and awful fellowship for her. The plaints of Amy, if occurring in a piece of more dramatic and realizing power, would be affecting in a high degree. From this point we do not thoroughly understand the author’s drift, but suspect that Balder would have more intimate relations with the grim and spectral foe. His wife falls ill ; Balder threatens to murder Doctor Paul, if he do not cure her ; and yet—still unsatisfied and craving—he contemplates her slaughter by his own hand ; but whether moved by some profound reason which he holds equal to a repeal of the forbidding statute, or urged by fate and irresistible impulse, is not clear. An opportunity is given for the accomplishment of his design by the intrusion of Amy into his study, during his momentary absence, with the purpose of awaiting his return. Balder enters, and takes up a scroll : it is the MS. of his great poem. He addresses it in terms expressive of his hopes and admiration ; and when he has got through only a page and a half of choice comparisons, in

which his fondness likens it to all mute but mighty things, his wife makes herself and her misery known, and flings the usurping parchment out of the window into the moat. Then follows a scene of passion and unreason which in itself is very beautiful and masterly. The lady's madness throws her into a swoon; and in that unconscious state her husband is intent on killing her, when the scene suddenly closes. So ends this strange volume; but not so the work; for this is only the first portion; and whether tithe or moiety who shall tell?

The following lines, forming part of a long eulogy prepared by Balder for his victim, Amy, will put the reader in possession of the manner which prevails through the entire volume; it contains, in brief, almost all the characteristic blemishes and beauties of our author's style:—

“So the world blessed her; and another world,
Like spheres of cloud that inter-penetrate
Till each is either, met and mixed with this.
And so the angel Earth that bears her Heaven
About her, so that wheresoe’er in space
Her footstep stayeth, we look up, and say
That Heaven is there—SHE moved, and made all times
And seasons equal; trode the mortal life
Immortally, and with her human tears
Bedewed her everlasting, till the Past
And Future lapsed into a golden Now
For ever best. She was much like the moon,
Seen in the day-time, that by day receives
Like joy with us, but when our night is dark,
Lit by the changeless sun we cannot see,
Shineth no less. And she was like the moon
Because the beams that brightened her passed o’er
Our dark heads, and we knew them not for light
Till they came back from hers; and she was like
The moon, that wheresoe’er appeared her wane
Or crescent, was no loss or gain in her,
But in the changed beholder. I, who saw
Her constant countenance, and had its orb
Still full on me, with whom she rose and set,
Knew she had no lunation. In herself
The elements of holiness were merged
In white completion, and all graces did
The part of each. To man or Deity
Her sinless life had nought whereof to give
Of worse or better, for she was to God
As a smile to a face. Ah, God of Beauty!
Where in this lifeless picture my poor hand
Hath done her wrong, forgive; she was Thy smile,—
How could I paint her? That I dared essay
Her image, and am innocent, I plead
Resistless intuition, which believes

Where knowledge fails, and powerless to divine
 Or to confound, still calls the face and smile
 Not one, but twain, and contradicts the sense
 Material, which, beholding her, beholds
 Essence, not Effluence, nor Thine, but Thee."

The faults of this elaborate description—which is only the summary or concluding part of one far more extensive—are radical and pervading. It is extravagant in the extreme; and yet, after all, what qualities, that really command love and esteem, are told us of this lady? It is only a transcendental doll that the poet has dressed up in mist and moon-beam, without one human feature to attract our regard or engage our confidence. Perhaps, innocence—the innocence native to unsullied creatures—is the charm intended to prevail throughout the picture. Not to urge that this is false to nature, and far beyond the range of our belief and sympathy, the author manifestly fails in the embodiment of his fair ideal. Not in such ethereal graces did Milton clothe the Eve of Paradise,—not so dangerously did he venture to confound her essence with that of the Divine and Perfect Being; yet, in that lovely portraiture, we have all that is womanly, and true, and pure,—humanity idealized by the perfection of its several qualities, and feminine affection and devotion subsisting in the loveliest of human moulds. But this picture of the poet's Amy is surely most unreal; we can form no conception of such a being as he labours to depict; it is so shadowy that the moon, intended to invest it only, streams fairly through it; and, at the first light of day,—the first dawn of reflection,—it melts insensibly off, and we have not the faintest notion left us of this unearthly beauty. Yet, as we are bound to believe that Amy was every thing to her enamoured poet, what must we think of her deliberate and barbarous murder at his hands? Surely, no doubt should have been allowed to rest upon our minds of the nature and strength of motive leading to this diabolic purpose.

Of the final and presiding moral of this unfinished poem we cannot pretend to speak; but the tendency of the part before us we do not hesitate both to judge and condemn. Apart from the outrageous action with which it seems to conclude,—the effect of which is so subordinate that we omit it from our calculation,—there is more than enough to satisfy us, that no time can be less profitably spent than that devoted to its perusal. Many of its faults originate, no doubt, in that defective structure to which our introductory remarks had reference; but we must point them out now, in the particular shape which they assume, as gross faults of exaggeration and disproportion, both in style and sentiment.

The style of "Balder" may be pronounced equally remarkable for beauties and defects; but it must be understood that its

beauties are limited to the minor qualities of expression and illustration, while the larger attributes of style, destined to harmonize and order and subordinate the parts, are almost wholly wanting. It is frequently obscure as well as gorgeous, seemingly written with great facility, and certainly read with a fluent ease which makes the search for meaning, however necessary, quite impracticable. Once launched upon a tide of verse so affluent and sparkling, the reader is soon carried out of his own, if not his author's, depth; and, hopeless of regaining his feet, resigns himself to float away while all the willowy and monotonous banks glide by. The effect of this kind of poetry upon the mind is very singular. Having no earthly interest, it has, nevertheless, a certain charm for the bewildered sense. Abounding far more in brilliant imagery than distinct ideas, the reader is astonished by the opulence of language and the endless succession of pictures presented, often with great vividness, to the mind. This excess and total insubordination of imagery is characteristic of the school of rhapsodists and dreamers. Sometimes one feeble circumstance or thought—and that not arising out of any incident in the poem—is treated to a train of ten or even twenty similes, each far outshining its poor antecedent, which, of course, is quite forgotten long before the last illustration has appeared and vanished. Sometimes this poetry is metaphysical, and sometimes it is eminently sensuous; or rather it is each by turns, as the thought and illustration successively predominate. The thread upon which much of the delicate and splendid imagery of "Balder" is strung, is a peculiar and morbid strain of speculation, arising in the moody poet's mind. This psychological condition, and its curious phenomena, are not easily described by a pen so plain as ours, but may be found in all their strange proportions, or rather disproportions, in the poet's endless reverie. The following lines have more or less resemblance to many hundred others, dictated by this same *questionable* spirit:—

"Am I one and every one,
 Either and all? The innumerable race
 My Past; these myriad-faced men my hours?
 What! have I fill'd the earth and knew it not?
 Why not? How other? Am I not immortal?
 And if immortal now, immortal then;
 And if immortal then, existent now;
 But where? Thou living, moving neighbour, Man,
 Art thou my former self,—me and not me?
 Did I begin, and shall I end? Was I
 The first, and shall I one day, as the last,
 Stand in the front of the long file of man,
 And, looking back, behold it winding out,
 Far through the unsearch'd void, and measuring time
 Upon eternity, and know myself

Sufficient, and that, like a comet, I
 Pass'd through my heaven, and fill'd it?"

We admit that the metaphysical idea embodied in these lines is expressed in a highly poetical manner; and perhaps it is not more, but less, absurd in such a dress than in its customary style of sober prose. Yet a little of this kind of writing is enough; and we become naturally impatient when it is found to prevail through so large a quantity of verse, and in a form of composition where it was least to be expected.

Turning to a later part of the volume, we find Balder thus pompously witnessing to the vanity of human life:—

"I have tried all philosophies; I know
 The height and depth of science; I have dug
 The embalmed truth of Karnak, and have sail'd
 Tigris and Ganges to the sacred source
 Of eastern wisdom; I have lived a life
 Of noble means to noble ends; and here
 I turn to the four winds, and say, 'In vain,
 In vain, in vain, in vain!'"

Surely we ought to be made to see more distinctly how the use of "noble means to noble ends" were so entirely fruitless; throughout the present work no such ends or means are employed or sought by Balder. Besides, it is very easy, but not equally artistic, for an author to assert, in so many words, the vast learning and experience of his hero, when of this, also, wholly wanting to be assured by some collateral evidence:—otherwise we are treated only to a truism, the echo which every human heart awakes to the preacher's "vanity of vanities." In the case of Balder,—dreamer as he is,—so large a range of learning and experience is just what we are most disposed to doubt. He seems to have enervated his soul, and anticipated the voice of "vanity," by abstracting himself from all the wholesome influences of daily life and common duty. To idle on the grass is his *beau-idéal* of an earthly Paradise; to do a day's work would evidently fill him with fatigue and disgust, if the bare idea of it did not cause his feeble nature to collapse. He cries, (like Walter,) in the spirit of this luxurious philosophy,—

"Alas! that one
 Should use the days of summer but to live,
 And breathe but as the needful element
 The strange superfluous glory of the air!
 Nor rather stand apart in awe beside
 The untouch'd Time, and saying o'er and o'er
 In love and wonder, 'These are summer days.'"

And so this precious sentiment is made the frequent burden of

his song, and more or less precisely its musical refrain ; for our bard is found slighting to the last

"The untouch'd Time, and saying o'er and o'er
In love and wonder, 'These are happy days.'"

We presume it is not necessary to occupy more time or space by further extracts from this poem ; and our remarks, in conclusion, must be more brief than we had purposed.

It is clear that neither nature nor humanity is fairly represented in the pages of "Balder." For the one you have the colour without the composition of Turner ; the bright, headlong, and disordered rack of clouds, but not the delicate and truthful line of coast. For the other you have the vivid palette of the pre-Raphaelite, but not his faithful and pathetic pencil. To the last-named school of art the poem bears some striking points of resemblance ; but, on examination, we shall find more of contrast than coincidence in these artistic schools. Both are observant of the delicate and the minute in nature, and full of exquisite by-play ; but the pre-Raphaelite is a realist, and the modern poet an ideal rhapsodist : the one trusts to find due sentiment and moral result from an almost literal exhibition of the truth ; the other dreams his dream of metaphysical and wildest beauty, and then rifles nature for images of like power, like majesty, like evanescence, or like grace. We should less regret the structural defects of this poem, if it abounded in aphorisms of substantial worth. When our great poet drew the character of a man most worldly-wise, he put into his mouth an involuntary tribute to virtue, that is in admirable keeping and full of moral truth. The counsel of Polonius to his son is summed up in one brief maxim :—

"To thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man."

How well does this express the linked order of the moral virtues!—the social not only consistent with, but included in, the personal, and both so intimately joined, that to do highest justice to yourself, is also to fulfil the laws of brotherhood and duty to your neighbour. Our author, among all his brilliant sayings, finds no opportunity of teaching such a truth. In the "Night Thoughts" of Dr. Young, there are a thousand instances of the value of this secondary element of poetry, and the more valuable in that work, because the primary artistic element is wanting. But nothing of the kind rewards the reader of this strange farrago.

In taking leave of Mr. Smith and his companion, we hope that none who have gone with us thus far together, can mistake the real grounds of censure upon which we have proceeded. If

we have sometimes spoken lightly of their defects, it is not because we under-rate the serious mischief of such productions. If many features expose them to slight and ridicule, their spirit and tendency make them obnoxious also to our just reproof. Our readers have had some means of judging of the freedom, bordering upon profanity, with which they make light use of the name and character of God; but this is done to an extent which our few extracts could not adequately show. On the lower grounds of art their condemnation is as strictly merited.

The author of "*Balder*" is the more deserving of reproof, though perhaps only the less likely to profit by it, because it is his second work and most deliberate choice. Yet talents so high as those which this author possesses, were not given to be squandered in intemperate fancies, which, while they enervate the reckless possessor, can only deprave the fine imagination and relax the moral tone of rising manhood. The youth of England, if they are to meet manfully the duties of their future life, must be hardy in their intellectual pastime, as well as in their holiday sports; for the one is as necessary to their mental and moral health, as the other to their physical maturity. To steep their minds in poetry like that which we have turned from, is about as wise as to spend their summer evenings, and make their nightly bed, in a steaming hot-house, only for the privilege of reposing under the leaves of some huge exotic. How much better to follow the muse of Scott over breezy heath and mountain fell; to watch the feast in Branksome Hall, or pursue the flying stag as he seeks "the wild heaths of Uum-bar!" It is the fashion, we know, to decry the poetic achievements of Sir Walter Scott, to style them (what, indeed, they are) mere versified romances: and we may admit that many of his contemporaries, as Campbell, Rogers, and Coleridge, struck loftier music from their lyres, and warbled a sweeter and a rarer song. But let the new generation of poets beware how they push the strain too far, and give us so much that is intensely poetical, (as they intend it;) and especially how they permit the expressional parts of poetry to overlay its more substantial elements. The sure effect of this will be to drive us back to the homelier but healthier standards, and among the rest to the plain but nervous minstrelsy of Scott, with its simple melody and vivid freshness, its hearty sympathy with external nature, and its skilful blending of the familiar and romantic.

But if something of deeper significance and tone be wanting,—something that shall touch the imagination most profoundly, and satisfy the ear most sensible to linked and hidden harmonies,—there are not wanting poets of the present day to whose influence, in a lawful measure, we may safely commit our minds. The pensive muse of Aubrey de Vere, and the deep pathetic genius of Elizabeth Barrett Browning, rise up at once to our recol-

lection. Both are free, so far as we are aware, from those corrupting tendencies which we have found occasion to deplore in the poems passed in review before us. In Mrs. Browning, especially, we are glad to remark a truly religious spirit. But we hope to say more of this lady's writings in some future notice of the fairer aspect of poetic literature in the present day.

We cannot conclude this imperfect sketch of some of the tendencies of modern poetry, without alluding to a volume very recently published,—“Poems” by Matthew Arnold. We are of opinion that nothing so sensible, in the way of poetical criticism, as the Preface to this little volume, has appeared for many years past; and had we met with it at an earlier period of our present writing, we should gladly have spared the reader some of our own remarks, and treated him to certain passages of quotation, in which he would have found them more elegantly expressed. We earnestly commend this Preface, in connexion with that prefixed to Mr. Taylor's “Philip van Artevelde,” to the attention of our young and rising poets: they will teach them in one how to avoid the false heroics of Byronic poetry, and the other how to make structure and composition the first requisites of his art, and to hold expression as a subordinate, though still essential matter. Of Mr. Arnold's “Poems” we shall not now speak, or say in how far he seems to have written up to the noble principles of art which he puts forth. In choice of subject he has perhaps too much neglected the reader's demand for easy, if not familiar, apprehension; but the conception and execution of his Poems are sound and healthy; and we do not doubt that one who so thoroughly understands the constructive genius of his art, and is gifted, moreover, with no small degree of its spirit and power, will yet do great things, and furnish an occasion for our welcome to him on some future day.

ART. X.—*Report of the Census of the United States for 1850.*

FOR many years, thoughtful men on both sides of the Atlantic have deplored the unnatural bitterness that, until recently, has characterized the press of Great Britain in speaking of America, and the press of America in speaking of this country. That such a state of feeling should have existed for some time after the separation of the North American Colonies from the mother country, and that it should have been renewed by the unfortunate rupture of 1812, is not to be wondered at. But it is as much a matter of surprise, as of regret, that, during so large a portion of the forty years that have since elapsed, writers should have been found who have employed all their talents in the

attempt to keep open a breach which the peaceful avocations of commerce, and the influences of a purer civilization, have been tending to heal. Happily, however, a mighty change has taken place in the public opinion of both these great countries. We cannot now conceive of a worse speculation, than the publication of a work in this country, that should be mainly occupied in ridiculing the manners, customs, and institutions of America; unless, indeed, it were a work published in America, denouncing the despotism and cruelty of the Government of England. A few political fanatics and literary hacks may still be found in either country, fanning the dying embers of national hatred and distrust; but their numbers and their influence are daily decreasing. On the other hand, the number of Englishmen and Americans who think and write kindly of each other is vastly on the increase. Nor is this surprising. Sprung from a common origin, the ties of blood, with all their accompanying instincts and traditions, are bonds of union more powerful than treaties. How can the American look with indifference, much more with hostility, upon the land of his forefathers? Can he be supposed willing to forego his share in the glory that attaches to England, as the cradle and bulwark of liberty and Protestantism? With a common language, and a common literature, his habits of thought and modes of action are identical with ours. With laws and a system of jurisprudence founded upon ours, trial by jury and the *Habeas Corpus* Act are as much the birthright of the American as of the Englishman. Over and above the ties of feeling and sentiment, the material interests of the two countries are now so indissolubly connected by commerce, that every disaster that gives a shock to the capital or credit of the one, inflicts an almost corresponding injury upon the other. But there are other bonds of union.

They are the only two great countries in the world which possess Constitutional forms of Government, and, moreover, they are *Protestant* countries. We are bound, therefore, by every consideration of duty and interest, to do all in our power to strengthen the international friendship already existing between them. With a few trifling exceptions, England is the only country in Europe that is not subjected to despotic rule. We know not, therefore, how soon we may be called upon to defend our liberties and our Reformed religion against combined Europe. Should such an emergency arise, with right on our side, we should not despair as to the result. But success, in such a struggle, would be a calamity only less dreadful than failure: while, with America united to England, we should be spared the cost and risk of a conflict. It behoves, therefore, every Christian patriot to discountenance, as far as it may be in his power, any and every attempt that may be made to perpetuate a spirit of rancour, that has so long survived the causes that gave it birth.

Conservative England was never more attached to her own form of Government than she is at present, though she may be more willing now, than heretofore, to admit that the institutions of the United States have contributed to increase the wealth, extend the resources, and secure the liberties of that great country. On the other hand, Republican America has lost none of her faith in her own institutions, though she is willing to admit that liberty and happiness are equally secure under our mixed form of Government.

On many accounts the United States* of North America may fairly be called one of the most remarkable countries in the world. The increase in its population, commerce, and wealth, and in all the material elements of power, has been so rapid,—its advances, too, in intellectual cultivation and greatness have been so steady,—that no one can contemplate the American nation without finding himself impelled to ask, "What is to be the Future of that country?"

The territory of the United States, as defined by the treaty of 1783, by which its independence was acknowledged by the mother country, was even then very extensive; stretching from the Canadas on the north, to Florida and Louisiana on the south, and from the Atlantic on the east to the Mississippi on the west. But the purchase of Louisiana (from France) in 1803 added immensely to that territory. The acquisition of Florida (from Spain) by purchase, in 1821, enlarged it considerably more. The annexation of Texas gave a further enlargement to the limits of the great Republic; as did the acquisition of Oregon, originally by treaty with France, being included in what was called Louisiana, but having its northern limit defined by treaty with Great Britain in 1846. And, finally, the territory of the United States reached its present extent by the cession of the great districts of New Mexico, Utah, and California, on the part of the Republic of Mexico, at the close of the war with that country in 1848. The area of the United States is now about three millions and a quarter of square miles, of which about *one-fourth* was obtained by the war with Mexico.

We have in these few lines traced the history of the territorial growth of the United States. It has certainly been rapid beyond parallel. Neither the Roman, the Russian, our own, nor any other empire that has had any permanence, ever had so great an increase *within a period of exactly fifty years*. The British Empire is far larger, computed by square miles and by population, than the United States. The Russian is more than twice as large, and has a population only wanting a few millions of

* Our readers will perceive that we use, in the course of this Article, the names *America*, *the United States*, and *the United States of North America*, indifferently, to denote the same country.

being three times as great. But the growth of each has been the work of a far longer time; and, to a far greater extent, was the result of victorious warfare.

But let us advance to considerations of more importance than territorial enlargement.

The most astonishing advancement of the United States, after all, is to be found in the amazing increase of its population, the rapid diffusion of that population over a vast area, the development of those resources which constitute the strength of nations, the progress of all the useful, and of many of the fine arts, and the consolidation of its political institutions; so that the impulse of the Central Government is more and more felt, to the remotest boundaries of the country, and aids the diffusion of those moral and religious influences which underlie the structure of the whole political organization of the nation. These are the things, in the history and present position of the United States, which rightly challenge the attention of the entire civilized world.

The physical advantages of the United States are unquestionably very great. The sixteen States which lie along the Atlantic "slope"—to use an American word—contain much fine land; so does the Pacific "slope." But the Great Central Valley, lying between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains, and extending from the Great Lakes, on the north, to the Gulf of Mexico, on the south,—embracing more than half of the entire area of the Republic,—is not surpassed, for the quantity of good land which it contains, the great number of its navigable rivers, and the variety and salubrity of the climate, by any other portion of the world of equal extent. Certainly, in regard to soil, climate, productions, rivers, bays, lakes, and other natural advantages, the United States, taken as a whole, has no superior. God has prepared that country to be the abode of many millions of the human race; and we cannot doubt that it is destined to be the scene of great events.

The increase of the United States in population has been wonderful. At the commencement of the Revolution, in 1775, the number of inhabitants (not including the Aborigines) was scarcely *three millions*! Twenty-five years later, 1800, it was something less than *five millions*! Fifty years later still, in 1850, it was near *twenty-three millions and a quarter*! At the present moment it is computed to be quite *twenty-five millions*! In other words, the number of the inhabitants of that country has increased, in seventy-eight years, from three millions to twenty-five millions!* And as the population has, for the last seventy years, been doubled in periods of less than twenty-three years, it is calculated, on what must appear to be rational

* We do not include the Aborigines in this statement, who may be put down at half a million.

grounds, that the United States will have not less than one hundred millions of inhabitants at the close of the current century! In twenty-five years from the present time, that country will have—unless some great calamity occur, such as civil war, or very disastrous famine or pestilence—a population of fifty millions. This will be more than any country in Europe now has, excepting Russia; and, in fifty years, it will have a far greater population than Russia in Europe, or even the entire Russian Empire, with its more than seven millions of square miles.

We are startled when we look even at that Future, which is not distant, of the great American Republic,—the Future only of twenty-five or fifty years. But when we look forward a century or two, and imagine that we see that country peopled by two hundred or three hundred millions of civilized men, we are ready to ask, What will be the effect of all this on the institutions of that country? Will republican principles and institutions be able to endure this mighty growth? If not, what will take their place, and how will the change be made? Will there be one great nation, or many? And what will be the influence of this great Transatlantic nation, if it remain united, upon South America? What upon Europe? We can ask these questions, but who can give satisfactory answers?

What is to be the Future of America?—as the United States of North America are commonly termed in this country and in Europe generally. This is a subject which cannot but interest all reflecting Englishmen. America was once a part of the British Empire. Its first colonists were from the British Isles. They carried with them that form of Christianity which has made America what she is,—that has made Britain what she is: they were Protestants. They were Protestants who were for the most part worthy of the name. Even the “Cavaliers,” who settled in the southern Colonies, were decided in their attachment to Protestant principles. So were the Dutch and Swedes who settled on the Hudson and the Delaware, midway between the Episcopalians of the south, and the Puritans of the north. So were William Penn and his followers, who settled in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, between the Dutch and the Swedes.

It was not only Protestantism,—the Protestantism of the British Isles, for the most part,—but the political and civil institutions of England, which the early colonists carried with them, and planted all along the Atlantic coast, from Maine to Georgia. Now those institutions, after having been widely established through the Great Central Valley, from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, are seen producing their appropriate fruit in the great State of California, and the two Territories of Oregon and Washington (soon to become States) on the extensive and beautiful coast of the Pacific. Over all this vast country, peopled already with

twenty-five millions of civilized men, and destined to be peopled with hundreds of millions, the great principles of English law, of English jurisprudence, and of the English constitution, prevail, and are controlling and forming these millions. The English language, the richest and noblest in all that constitutes an elevating literature, is the prevailing language of these millions of the human race. The English Bible, the Hymns of Watts, and Cowper, and Wesley, and Montgomery, as well as the immortal writings of Addison, and Pope, and Johnson, and Burke, and Hall, and Chalmers, will be household books from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.

There were many things in the early history of America in which the hand of God was remarkably visible. One was, the preparation which existed in the condition of the Aborigines, especially in the northern part of the country, and along the sea-coast, at the time of the arrival of the colonists. Epidemic diseases and inter-national, or rather inter-tribal, wars had swept away in some places, and greatly diminished in others, the bands of savages who might otherwise have rendered extremely difficult the settling of a few weak companies of men, exiles in some cases, from the Old World. Another is, that they were compelled, for more than one hundred and fifty years, by the more powerful tribes of the Aborigines in the interior, and by the French, who possessed the great valleys of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, to confine their settlements to the Atlantic coast or "slope." A third was, the wonderful difference, in origin and creed, which characterized the early colonists. In the north-east, or New England, were the Puritans from Old England; in the south, the Episcopalians, also from England; in the middle, the Dutch Calvinists founded New Amsterdam, (now the great city of New York,) and other settlements on the North River; the Swedish Lutherans established themselves on the Delaware; whilst William Penn and his "children of peace" founded the Colony of Pennsylvania, and spread themselves also into New Jersey. A small Colony of Roman Catholics was planted in Maryland, in which, however, in the course of a few years, the Protestants became the majority. With this single exception, all the first colonization of the Atlantic coast was effected by men who held the great principles of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. Over this original colonization, came that which was of the nature of a *Dispersion*. Pious Germans from the Palatinate, driven from their country by the devastations committed by the myrmidons of Louis XIV., scattered themselves extensively in Pennsylvania, and somewhat in the other middle, as well as in some of the southern, Colonies. The excellent Huguenots from France settled mainly in the southern and middle Colonies. Faithful men came from Scotland, the north of Ireland, Wales, Poland, Bohemia, and even the valleys of Piedmont, to

find a home among their brethren of the same faith in the middle Colonies. In this way the country became a Protestant one in the highest sense. Protestants from eleven different countries emigrated to America in the seventeenth century, to lay the foundations of that great Republic, and in *eight* of these countries *oppression* drove the emigrants from the Old World. The very cause of their emigration naturally prepared these people and their descendants to receive with kindness those whom misfortune of any sort might drive to their shore; just as sympathy led the Carthaginian Queen to welcome her Trojan guests to her new city and country:—

"Haud ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."

This variety in national origin the better fitted them, by taste, and custom, and language, to receive those who might afterwards come to them from the same countries. And thus it happened that strangers from the valleys of the Loire and Garonne, the Rhine and the Elbe, the Po, the Vistula, the Clyde, the Forth, and other localities, in years and even generations after, might find descendants and friends from the lands of their birth. It was in this way that America received, even from days of old, her title and her qualification, to be the home of emigrants from all parts of Europe. Wonderful preparation for a wonderful Future!

A fourth remarkable fact was, that no acquisition of foreign territory with a Papal population was made, until after the beginning of the present century, when Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and the northern portion of Mexico, successively came under the dominion of the Republic. In all these, the Roman Catholic religion was the first form of Christianity. At present, Protestantism has completely triumphed in three out of four of these foreign acquisitions, and in the remaining one (Louisiana) divides the population and the power with its rival and antagonist.

A fifth remarkable circumstance in the history of America was, that it was only when the eastern portion of the country, from the Alleghany Mountains to the Atlantic Ocean, was in a great degree settled by men of European origin, that the great valley of the Mississippi was fully opened, by good roads, and afterwards by the steamboat and the railroad, to that astonishing colonization from the States on the Atlantic coast,—each one sending forward its own column, and all moving westward, as nearly as possible within the lines of latitude in which they originated,—which has diffused over the entire eastern side of that valley all the phases of the civilization and population which one finds on the Atlantic slope.

The sixth and last great fact which we shall mention, as showing the Divine interposition in the history of America, was the occurrence, at so late a period, of that series of revolutions and wars which agitated Europe to its centre during the quarter

of a century preceding the Battle of Waterloo, and which was a primary cause of that great emigration from Europe which commenced not very long after the epoch just named, and has gone on steadily augmenting ever since. Half a million annually of emigrants from the masses of Ireland, Germany, France, Switzerland, Italy, and other countries in Europe, would probably have ruined the American institutions, if it had occurred at an earlier period than it did.

It was not until the Anglo-American race had become numerous, strong, and firmly intrenched in the country by intelligence, enterprise, commerce, and wealth, that the emigration from the Old World became so very great. And now that emigration, which would very certainly have affected most disastrously the interests of the States, and perhaps subverted the entire political structure of the country, if it had occurred in the early days of the Republic, may be endured without great difficulty, and (it is hoped) without serious hazard.

Thus far we have treated of the Past of America. No nation ever had such an origin: no country ever had a history so interesting within a period of two hundred and fifty years,—or so indicative of a great Future. The Greek colonies laid the foundations of the kingdom of Macedon and the empires of Rome and Byzantium; but long centuries passed away before those states attained to eminence, and made their influence felt in the world. And even at their height, they displayed no such civilization—the civilization which reached and elevated the masses—as that which two centuries and a half have produced in America. And what has caused the difference? It has been the influence of an effective Christianity upon men of indomitable energy of character. The early colonization of the United States was emphatically Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman. It was effected by men, whose minds were, for the most part, imbued with the knowledge of a biblical Christianity, and whom the exalted aim of extending Christ's kingdom, as well as the promotion of their own temporal and spiritual interests and those of their posterity, induced to cross a wide and almost unknown ocean, and establish themselves in the wilderness. They were men whom neither the perils of the sea, nor the greater perils arising from famine, disease, and the fierceness of savage foes, could intimidate. They belonged to that good old race which long and various adversities had trained in the British Isles, in the plains of Western Germany, on the islands and rocky coasts of Scandinavia, for a life of hardship, and independence, and noble daring. They were men whose hearths were their *homes*; whose houses were their *castles*. They were men who could go forth into the forests and into their fields, with the implements of husbandry in their hands, and the *rifle* on their shoulder; and whose determination not to forsake the “assembling of them-

selves together" for the worship of the God of their fathers was displayed in the log-churches which their faith caused them to erect even in the midst of the forests. They were men who stacked their guns, when necessity required, in the corners of the humble sanctuary, and, whilst with Psalm-book in hand they listened to the venerable servant of God, kept a good watch, from the windows and the *loop-holes*, for hostile heathens that prowled around the sacred spot. They were men who had not feared to disobey both King and Parliament, when conscience required, before they left their native land.

Men of such a character were the first colonists of what we now call, *par excellence*, America. From the beginning the British Colonies took the lead, and absorbed those from the Continent, and in process of time imbued them in a great degree with their views of Christianity, and their love of constitutional liberty, and of a popular Civil Government. It was owing to these men that the British Constitution—that noble Constitution, the product of ages of discussion and struggle—was essentially re-produced in all the Thirteen Colonies. In each a Governor was the representative of the Monarch, and a Legislature, consisting of a Senate and House of Delegates, (both chosen by the people, however,) represented the Parliament. In some of the Colonies a Council to aid the Governor represented the "Royal Council." The English Common Law, and, to some extent, the Statute Law, was the fundamental law of the Colonies; whilst the Judiciary of England, including the "Jury of Twelve Men," was substantially introduced into each of the "Old Thirteen."

The parallel ran still further. The Church was united to the State in many of the Colonies. At the epoch of the Revolution, the Congregational Churches were supported by the State in three out of four of the New England Colonies; namely, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut. On the other hand, the Episcopal Church was the Established Church in New York, and in four of the five southern Colonies; namely, Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas. Even in three out of the five remaining Colonies, (New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia,) the same Church had the distinction of being the Church "favoured" by the royal Governors. There were two, and only two, we believe, in which it might be said that an Established Church was to be found; these were Rhode Island and Pennsylvania.

The Revolution brought no radical changes, either in the form of Government, or the administration of justice. The President and Congress took the place of King and Parliament. The thirteen Colonies became thirteen States, and the whole formed one confederated Government, under the name of *The United States*. For a short time the Church remained united to the State in eight of the members of the Union; but long years of

discussion at length effected a complete separation. The struggle began in Virginia. Mr. Jefferson gave the first blow to the ancient fabric: but the Presbyterians, seconded by the Baptists, gave the effective strokes which wrought its demolition. The movement was followed up in Maryland, the Carolinas, and New York. At a later day, the struggle commenced in Connecticut and Massachusetts; where the same results followed. It is now twenty years since the last ligament that bound together the Church and the State in the last-named State (Massachusetts) was severed; and now the two great institutions stand completely separated, the one from the other. Fortunately, however, their position is not that of hostility.

These general statements, of a historical nature, we deem sufficient to enable our readers to have a correct view of the Past, as well as to prepare them to contemplate the Future of that great country, and see whether there be any omens in any quarter, from which we may gather some reasonable and reliable prognostications, or, at least, some probable conjectures, respecting that Future.

We begin with saying that no generous Briton, no true-hearted English Christian, can possibly regard this subject without intense interest. We cannot contemplate the growing up in North America of a great nation, sprung as it were from our own loins, speaking our own noble language, possessing political institutions essentially like our own, developing all the energy and enterprise of the Anglo-Norman race, whose commerce and wealth already rank next to those of England, whose progress in education, literature, arts, and every thing else that elevates a people, rivals our own, and who are, withal, a *Protestant nation*,—without the greatest satisfaction. Look at the United States, stretching from ocean to ocean, and embracing an immense zone of the earth that possesses almost every advantage as to soil, climate, production, which can be desired, and destined to be the abode of hundreds of millions of the human race. How can we, especially as British Protestants, look at all this with indifference?

“England and America, the Mother and the Daughter, *against the World!*” Such was the toast which the late Mr. Canning once proposed. There was much in the sentiment: there will be more in it before another quarter of a century passes away. England and the United States are the bulwarks of constitutional freedom, and of the Protestant religion. The Protestant Churches of England and America are doing tenfold more to spread the Gospel throughout the world, than all the other Churches, in all lands, combined. There is little love of either—there is much fear, rather, of both—on the part of the despotic and papal Governments of both the Old World and the New. There is good reason why England and America should stand together, to fight the battles of freedom, to repel the attack

of despots, should they be insane enough ever to combine against them. We greatly prefer, however, the modification of Mr. Canning's toast, which the Rev. Dr. Cox of America once proposed at the Meeting of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It was, "England and America, the Mother and the Daughter, *for* the World!" Yes; let England and America unite their energies in all proper efforts for the evangelization of the world, each seeing well to it, that the work *at home* is prosecuted wisely, earnestly, and effectively.

There is nothing that concerns the prosperity and prospects of America which ought not to interest the heart of a British Christian. And, if that country is to be the great instrument (and who can doubt it?) of diffusing the blessings of Civil and Religious Liberty—the blessings of a true Christianity—throughout all North America; and even of extending them, in one way or another, to the southern end of the western hemisphere,—opening up immense fields to English literature and English commerce,—we may well rejoice at it. Her growth will secure our growth, her prosperity will augment our prosperity, and the progress of true religion in both will be beneficial to both, as well as to the rest of the world.

That there are several dangers which menace the prosperity of America, and excite serious apprehensions in the minds of many of her wisest and best men, we cannot disguise, if we would, from either ourselves or others:—

1. There is the emigration from the western side of Europe, to which we have already referred, and which has become immense, and, in the opinion of some persons, alarming. This emigration is wonderful. The world has never seen any thing like it in other directions, or in other ages. The first emigration from England to America occurred chiefly within the first fifty years of the seventeenth century, or rather between 1607 and 1645. After this there was almost a cessation for several years. For a while it was renewed between 1660 and 1688. After this period, there was very little emigration from Europe to America until the American Revolution. The most of what did take place was that of German and French Protestants, but the number did not amount to many thousands. After the Revolution, there was little or no emigration from Europe, until the French Revolution, and the wars which grew out of it, drove many people to the New World, some of whom afterwards returned. In a word, it was only in 1816 that emigration became of serious magnitude. Nor was it earlier than 1829 that it arrested much attention. Soon afterwards it increased very rapidly, ascending from 35,000 to 60,000 and 80,000 in the course of a few years. Afterwards it increased to 150,000,—200,000,—260,000,—315,000. In 1851 it was more than 460,000; and in 1852 it reached half a million! In 1853 it will probably have come quite up to that amount; for, although famine, pestilence, and emigration have combined

to reduce the population of Ireland, one of the great sources of this European emigration, down to *six millions and a half*, and rendered it impossible that that island can continue long to send away so many of her children as she did two years ago, yet the emigration from the Continent is decidedly increasing. Whilst the emigration from Ireland has probably reached its *acmé*, and may be expected to diminish till it descends to a point nearly stationary, Germany, with her more than forty millions of inhabitants, has only just begun to make her influence felt in this way: last year but one she sent 212,000 of her people to the United States.

It was a long time before the Irish emigrants in America had reached such a measure of dispersion, and become so intimately acquainted with routes of interior travel and communication,—now so wonderfully augmented by steamboats and railroads,—that they could get over, with comparative ease, their relatives and friends. The Germans are fast advancing to that point. Irish emigrants are not only now to be found, in large numbers, in the great cities and towns, both on the seaboard and in the interior, but are rapidly accumulating in the villages in all parts of the country, especially in the Northern, Middle, and Western States. The same thing will soon be true of the Germans. The emigration from France, Italy, Holland, Switzerland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, although considerable in the aggregate, is not yet to be compared with that from Germany.

Every one can see how greatly it facilitates emigration from any country, to have a large number of people from that country previously dispersed over the country to which the emigration tends. Every emigrant that goes in advance, serves to open the way—to make it known, and to indicate how to reach it—to those who follow. This is particularly important, in America, to those who come from the European Continent and cannot speak the English language. The enterprise becomes comparatively easy when the emigrant knows, beforehand, that he will find compatriots, not only in the city where he may land, but all along the route to the place in the “Far West” to which friends, who have gone before, invite him. As to the Irish and Germans, the way is emphatically prepared in America for their going thither. In this respect, the state of things is widely different from what it was half a century ago. The facilities for crossing the ocean are wonderfully increased. It does not cost half so much now as formerly. The same facilities and inducements are presenting themselves to those in France, Italy, and other countries in Europe, whom oppression, or poverty, or restless desire, or secret crime, may impel to seek a home beyond the Atlantic Ocean.

Whilst Western Europe is thus sending hundreds of thousands of people to America, Eastern Asia is beginning to furnish her contingent. Already from 25,000 to 30,000 Chinese have come to California, and are pursuing, in San Francisco, Sacramento, and other cities, their quiet, industrious, and frugal life. It is

impossible to foretell the result of all this. It is quite likely that the day is not distant when Asia will make her influence—now almost completely Pagan and idolatrous—widely felt upon the destinies of America.

At first sight, it might seem impossible that so immense an immigration should not be unspeakably disastrous to the best interests of the country. If the half million of emigrants who now arrive annually in America were intelligent and enlightened Protestants, from England, Scotland, and Ireland, we can readily see that they might be a blessing to the country ; but when we reflect, that probably more than one half of the emigrants from Europe are Romanists,—poor, ignorant, priest-ridden people,—and that many of the Protestants are infidel, or, at least, *latitudinarian*, as it regards religion ; and withal, that more than half of the entire number do not know the vernacular language of the country, we confess that the affair wears a very serious aspect.

But we do not despair. The numerous and cheap lines of travel, by steamboat and railroad, from the great seaports into the interior, even to the remote “ West,” are leading to a wide dispersion of the emigrants who arrive. In this way their aggregation about the large cities is prevented ; dangerous combinations are rendered less easy of formation ; and absorption into the native population is greatly hastened. Here is our hope. It would have been a dreadful thing, if such an emigration had set in upon America before the age of steamboats and railroads had dawned upon that country,—a country for which these two great inventions, one of which is claimed as American, are destined to do more than for any other in the world.

It is in this way that the emigrants from foreign lands are becoming dispersed and *fused* with the American population. Even the poorest, if they possess any industry, soon begin to improve in their temporal affairs, and give signs of it in their more decent apparel and increased independence of character and manner. It is surprising to see the difference in appearance between the poor Irish in Connaught, and other parts of Ireland, and their friends in America. The same holds true of the Germans, French, and others. A new spirit is infused into this foreign mass. Those who cannot speak English must learn it. The political and religious life of the country wakens them up, in a greater or less degree, to *think*. They soon become *American* in their attachment to a political Government, under which they can be citizens after a residence of five years. Their children, under twenty-one years of age, do not need to be naturalized. The public schools and Sunday-schools almost every where give their children opportunities of gaining the elements of a common education. The newspaper is seen and read almost everywhere. All these things hasten the *Americanizing*—if we may coin a word—of the foreigners who arrive in America.

Every year the American population increases, not only from

births among the native population, but also by the addition of the children of the emigrants. Even adult emigrants themselves often become as completely American, in attachment to the country and its institutions, as the native-born. There is no danger, therefore, from this emigration, so far as American patriotism is concerned. No American would march more promptly to the defence of the country than the citizens of foreign birth, in case of an invasion. A large part of the soldiers of the regular army, in the late Mexican war, were Irishmen.*

The most serious danger that can arise from this immigration, in our opinion, is that of the collection of so large a foreign population in some places as to lead to tumults. Hitherto, however, there has been but little of this. There have been riots among the Irish labourers on the canals and railroads, and sometimes in the large cities; but they have been suppressed without much difficulty. In some places the Germans have asked (as at Newark, New Jersey, lately) for an abrogation of the Statutes relating to the Sabbath. But such movements are put down by kind and proper argument, addressed to their understandings.

We are not of those who believe that this vast emigration into the United States will endanger the political institutions of the country, so long as proper means are employed, as at present, for the enlightenment of the new citizens in respect to their political and civil duties. The immediate danger is much more of a moral and religious than of a political nature. The Government is popular, and established in the hearts of the people. Suffrage is too widely extended to give room for effective and extensive bribery. Something of the sort occurs in the large cities and towns; but it is not an element of great account.

* It is interesting to know, that, up to this time, the Anglo-Saxon, or Anglo-Norman, race, vastly preponderates over all the other races in America. This has been shown by a competent writer in the "New Englander," (one of the ablest of the American Quarterlies,) who has analysed, with great care, the Census Report on the subject of the population of the country in 1850. According to this writer, the case stood thus:—

Population of the United States in 1850	23,263,498
Anglo-Saxon by birth or blood	15,000,000
African	8,594,762
Irish	2,269,000
German	1,900,000
French, &c.	499,636
Whole number of Emigrants, from all countries, between 1790 and 1850	2,759,829
Survivors of these Emigrants in 1850	1,511,990
Whole number of Emigrants and Descendants	4,850,984
Survivors of these	3,103,095
Total of the population not of Anglo-Saxon blood	8,263,498

There is not much danger that the Anglo-Saxon race will not continue to maintain the ascendancy which it has ever had in the country. Much misapprehension has prevailed upon this subject. It is only a few years ago that, in an Article in one of the oldest and ablest of our contemporaries, the population of America was distributed, in regard to origin, as follows:—Irish born, 8,000,000; Irish by blood, 4,500,000; German by blood or birth, 5,500,000; French, or other Celts, by blood or birth, 8,000,000; Coloured, free or slave, 3,500,000; Anglo-Saxon, by blood or birth, 8,500,000! This estimate is wrong in every particular, excepting that which relates to the African race.

Where a constituency embraces many thousands of voters, it is found difficult to employ mercenary influences on a sufficient scale to produce much effect. In a Presidential election, which includes several millions of voters, bribery has, comparatively, but little influence.

2. Great apprehension is sometimes entertained that Slavery may lead to the disruption of the United States, and the subversion of the political institutions of the country. This is unquestionably a most dangerous evil, and it will require much wisdom, and probably much time, to remove it. The Constitution secures to the States where Slavery exists the entire control over this subject. That is a point which is not well understood in this country. Of the thirty-one States, sixteen have not Slavery, and fifteen have it. The balance of power, therefore, is in the hands of the non-slaveholding States. Should no more slaveholding territory be annexed,—and it is not possible, unless Cuba be obtained,—the influence of the “Free States” will, in a few years, be increased by the admission into the Union, as States, of New Mexico, Utah, Minnesota, Washington, and Oregon, which are now Territories, and have no Slavery in them.

As to Slavery, many things combine to bring about its destruction, sooner or later. It is contrary to the spirit of Christianity, and of the age. It retards the prosperity of every State in which it exists. It is an incubus on every vital energy. Its removal, however, must, we are afraid, be gradual in America. Their case is wholly different from ours. We could legislate without difficulty for our Colonies, the Imperial Government being paramount. But it is not so in America. It is as much out of the power of the Government, or Congress of the United States, to interfere with Slavery as it exists in Mobile, or South Carolina, or any of the Slave States, as it is out of its power to interfere with the internal administration of Canada or New Brunswick; and the sixteen Free States of the Union are no more blameable for the existence of Slavery in the other fifteen States, than are the inhabitants of the British Provinces already alluded to. The inhabitants of the Slave States, in other words, the Slaveholders themselves, are unfortunately the only persons who have it in their power to solve this great problem; and when the universal and almost invincible influence of selfishness and avarice are considered, the prospect of its speedy solution is gloomy indeed. The voice of humanity, however, cannot be silent. All good men should exert themselves to hasten the day when the last bond of the captive shall be unloosed. But in order to accomplish this great work, it is not necessary to vilify and abuse the Slaveholder. Incalculable mischief has been done by the adoption of this mistaken policy on the part of unthinking people, both in this country and in the Northern States. We must not forget the trying and difficult position in which the Slaveholder in America is placed, with regard to this question. We can look

upon the question calmly and dispassionately, and discuss the abstract right of the coloured race to personal and political freedom. Years have passed since England emancipated the last of her slaves, and in the interval a new generation has grown up. No Englishman has now any pecuniary or material interest in this question. Not so, however, the American. Born, nursed, and educated in the midst of Slavery, the Slaveholder of mature years discusses the question of the justice or injustice of the system under manifest disadvantages. He not only has to contend with the almost irresistible force of early habits and prejudices, but his means, his position in society, his daily bread, are dependent on the system. Let us then learn to think, and write, and teach, on this question with moderation and Christian charity. It is not so long since we have washed our hands of this great sin. And it must be borne in mind, that the difficulty in our case was as a feather in the scale compared with the difficulties and complications with which the question of emancipation is surrounded in the United States. With us, Slavery only existed in our colonial possessions in the West Indies. The great mass of the people in this country were not personally or pecuniarily interested in the perpetuation of Slavery. The powerful advocacy of Wilberforce and Clarkson on behalf of the Slave met, therefore, with a more rapid and complete success, than could possibly have been attained had it had to contend with the all-powerful influence of self-interest. In addition to this, when the Government and the people of this country were convinced of the immorality and injustice of the system, they were in a position to give effect to their convictions by legislation, such as we have already shown is not the case in America. The Central Government is absolutely powerless, so far as emancipation is concerned. This is doubtless much to be regretted. Had Congress the power of interfering with the internal regulations of each particular State, a course of legislation might be adopted, which would lead to the gradual enfranchisement of the African. But in that case it would be no longer a Federal Union of States. We are compelled, therefore, to treat the question with regard to its actual position; and seeing that the power to solve it rests with the Slaveholding States, we should adopt such a style of remonstrance as would be best calculated to act favourably on the minds of the parties to whom it is directed. Certain we are, that violent and indiscriminate denunciation of all Slaveholders—whether guilty of cruelty or oppression to their Slaves, or whether, as we are glad to know is often the case, they are in the habit of treating them with uniform consideration and tenderness—is more calculated to retard, than to hasten, emancipation.

It seems to us that the first thing for good men in this country and in the Northern States to aim at is, to assist good men in the South to promote true Christianity among both

masters and Slaves by all possible means. The next is, to encourage and sustain those men in the South who are disposed to labour, to break up the internal Slave-trade and the separation of families, and to secure the sanctity of marriage among the Slaves: These are subjects in behalf of which Christians can do much, through the action of good men in the Southern States; whereas, to stand off and abuse and vilify, is about the last thing in the world from which good is to be expected, in reference to this great evil.

We are of opinion that Slavery in America will come to an end gradually. We have but little hope of seeing the coloured race placed on a perfect political, still less a social, equality with the whites in the Southern States. That day, we fear, is distant. Before it comes, we apprehend that a large number of the coloured people, especially of those of an enterprising character, will have emigrated to Africa, and carried with them civilization and Christianity to all the western side of that great continent. There are many things which indicate that this will be the course which events will take. The emigration of such vast numbers of Irish and Germans to America, is likely to have a great effect on the destinies of the African race in that country. Already the foreign labourers in all the great cities of the non-Slaveholding States, and even in many of those in the Slaveholding, are crowding out the poor, but worthy, free coloured men. The former can under-bid the latter, and supplant them in all their occupations. All this tends to make many excellent people believe that the African race will, one day, in large numbers, return to the land of their fathers, to carry the blessing of civilized life along with the Gospel to a continent which knows little of either, but which is not doomed to an eternal ignorance of these great things. Certainly, after what we have seen in the "Irish Exodus," we need not despair of the return of a great part of those who are now in bondage in America to the land of Africa, the interior of which, at no great distance from that part of the coast on which colonization has commenced, is now known to be a beautiful country, and to possess a salubrious climate.

Without discussing further the subject of Slavery in America, we cannot but express the hope that God, in answer to the prayers of his people in that country, as well as in other lands, will, in his good Providence, cause this great evil to be removed in a way consistent with the best interests of all concerned, and with the advancement of his kingdom in the world.

3. One of the most formidable dangers for America is to be found in Romanism, which, besides including all the evils of infidelity, has some which are peculiar to itself.

It was a most favourable ordering of Divine Providence, that Protestantism should gain so extensive and permanent a footing in America, before Rome was permitted to make much effort to

spread her pestiferous heresies in that fair land. It is only within some twenty-five or thirty years that the Roman Catholic Church has begun to exert much influence in the United States. At present there are six Archbishops, twenty-six Bishops, about fourteen hundred Priests, fifteen hundred Churches, four hundred and fifty young men in seminaries preparing for the priesthood; eleven or twelve colleges, a large number of female schools and nunneries, eight or ten newspapers, and, including men, women, and children, about two millions and a half* of people who prefer the Romish Church. The increase of late years has been rapid; but it has been an increase by *emigration from Europe*, not from *proselytism*.

Rome finds the United States to be a hard field. There are a thousand influences which give her trouble. First of all, there is a *free press* there, which is a great annoyance. Her followers are continually reading what is more or less dangerous. In the next place, there is a *freedom of speech* on the subject of her claims, which is also very dangerous. In the third place, dispersed Romanists in the rural districts, away from the visits of the Priests, are very likely to imbibe ideas and opinions from the Protestants around them, which, sooner or later, subvert the peculiarities of their faith. Romanists in the cities are also much exposed to Protestant influences, and can easily escape the notice of the Priest, which those who live in the villages find it more difficult to do. The influences just named lead many Romanists to "fall away," as Father Mullen said, in his letters to his friends in Ireland, less than two years since, after he had surveyed, during six months, the state of the Roman Catholic Church in America, from New York to New Orleans. Father Mullen supposes that there are not as many Roman Catholics in that country, by *two millions*, as there would be, if all had remained in the bosom of Holy Mother Church, (and their children after them,) who were Roman Catholics when they went to America. This is probably an over-estimate by *one-half*. Still, there certainly has been an "awful falling away," and it is going on still!

The Free Schools in America have troubled Rome very much, and her Hierarchy have made violent opposition to them. At first they called them "sectarian," because the Bible was read in them. And when they had succeeded in getting the Bible out of them, as they did in the city of New York to some extent, then they pronounced them "godless." Of late, their great effort has been to get what they call "their share" of the School moneys; that is, a share proportionate to the number of their children, (not to the amount which they pay in the shape of

* Archbishop Hughes estimates the Roman Catholics in the United States at three millions and a half. We follow rather the "Catholic Almanac," published under the auspices of the Archbishop of Baltimore.

taxes,) in order that they may have Schools of their own, and teach in them such doctrines as they please. One thing is certain, they would have in them no Bible at all. But they have been defeated in these attempts in the States of New York, Massachusetts, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, New Jersey, and Maryland.

The most recent movement is that of endeavouring to get laws passed in the State of New York,—to be followed in other States, without doubt,—which would allow the Church property of all descriptions to be held by the Bishops and their successors. But this movement has also, for the present, at all events, been defeated. In California, the Roman Catholic Bishop has recently succeeded in getting the Legislature, just as the session was terminating, to grant, on the subject of Schools, what Rome has not been able to gain any where else in the United States. But this triumph will be of short duration. The Protestants of that new State will hardly submit to such an indignity. The author of all these wide-spread attempts of Rome to secure advantages to herself, by intriguing with legislators and politicians, is Archbishop Hughes, of New York, an Irishman by birth, a man of some talent, much cunning, and less wisdom; who has rightly been called “the Hildebrand of America.” It is cheering to see that a spirit is evoked in the United States, which makes a most effective resistance to the attempts of Rome, wherever seen. It will be hard for her to hold her own in that land,—much more to gain the ascendancy by proselytism. Within ten years, about twenty Protestant Ministers in the United States have become Roman Catholics, including one Bishop; but they have all been such as took “Oxford” (Puseyism) on the way. Although Rome is making desperate efforts to triumph over Protestantism in America, and for this purpose the Society of the Propaganda, the Leopold Society, and other associations, send over more than £40,000 annually; yet we have no fear for the result.

4. The last danger which we will mention as lying in the pathway of America, is infidelity, which has increased within a few years in that country, chiefly from foreign sources,—English and German. This infidelity is twofold,—a gross and a refined species. But we will not dwell much upon the subject; for we do not believe it to be of sufficient importance to require it. Christian effort will carry the light of truth into all the dark haunts to which German Rationalism, German Pantheism, (which is another name for Atheism,) and old-fashioned Deistical Infidelity, may betake themselves.

In conclusion, after having looked at the sources of the danger which threaten the Future of America, let us look at the sources of her strength and salvation.

1. It is a land of the Sabbath. That sacred day is observed in few parts of the world to a greater extent than in the United

States. There is Sabbath-breaking there, alas! as well as in Great Britain; nevertheless, the day is a hallowed day over the larger part of that great country. The several States have made ample legal provision for its protection. For although there is no longer a union of the Church with the State in any part of it, legislation there goes on the supposition that it *is* a Christian country. Congress employs Chaplains to open the Session of each House daily with prayer, and to preach to the Members on the Sabbath; the Government employs Chaplains in the Army and Navy. And as to the Sabbath, it is every where felt to be a dictate of natural religion, as well as of Christianity, that men should have a portion of time for religious and moral culture, as well as for Divine worship; and convenience demands that that portion of time should be determined and fixed. It is also felt to be a dictate of humanity, that the poor man, the labouring man, and even the labouring beast, should have a day of rest, and be protected in the enjoyment of it by the laws of the land.

2. America is a land where the Bible is in the hands of the people to a very great extent, and constant efforts are making to supply those who are destitute of the sacred volume. It is also the land of the Sabbath School and the Bible Class, of Churches and a faithfully-preached Gospel. If the entire number of the places where Christ is regularly preached, with greater or less frequency,—churches, court-houses, school-houses, private houses,—were to be ascertained, we have no doubt that it would be found not much short of *one hundred thousand*.

At a future day we shall take up the subject of Religious Instruction in America, and examine how far the voluntary plan of supporting public worship meets the demands of the nation,—a subject which the length of this Article forbids us to enter upon at present. We can only say, that we believe that the facts which that inquiry will bring to light are of such a nature, as to inspire the friends of that country (and she has many in England) with the greatest confidence with regard to her Future.

Her Societies for Home Missions, for Foreign Missions, Missions to Roman Catholics at home, and to Papal nations abroad, for the education of suitable men for the Ministry; her Bible and Tract Societies; her Temperance Societies, Societies for the Reformation of Criminals, and for the Benefit of Seamen; her noble Institutions for the Insane, the Deaf and Dumb, and the Blind; her Colleges and Theological Seminaries,—all these are the best guarantees of her future prosperity and happiness; and pledges that He who has put it into the hearts of His people to undertake these enterprises for His glory, will not abandon a country and a nation in the Future, for which he has done so great things in the Past.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

The Russian Shores of the Black Sea. By Lawrence Oliphant.
Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1853.
The Russians of the South. By Shirley Brooks. London:
Longmans. 1854.

HITHERTO but little reliable information has transpired respecting the actual condition of the Russian people. Travellers have been content to describe the noble quays, splendid buildings, and execrable pavement of St. Petersburg; to furnish a few glimpses of life in the metropolis as it appears to a casual visitor; and to transmit, at second hand, apocryphal sketches of life in the interior. If any of these fashionable tourists, more adventurous than the rest, penetrated as far as Moscow, they considered themselves, thenceforth, competent authorities on the political, commercial, social, and religious institutions of an empire containing fifty millions of souls. A six months' sojourner in London or Paris is apt to do the same thing. The idea is in both cases a mistaken one, but especially as regards the dominions of the Czar. Paris may be France; but St. Petersburg is not Russia;—and hence the distorted and false notions that have gone abroad respecting the internal condition of the great Empire of the North.

Mr. Oliphant, however, is a traveller of another order. He appears to be a good sample of the English character,—shrewd, observant, straightforward, and practical; disposed to see for himself, rather than take things on hearsay evidence; and willing to brave a little danger, and much inconvenience, for the sake of procuring authentic information. His book is written in a manly style, and possesses very considerable intrinsic value, apart from the peculiar interest just now attaching to his subject.

Mr. Brooks's little work records not so much the fruits of his own observation, as the experience of certain of his friends who have long resided in Russia. It contains a great amount of valuable information, carefully arranged, and lying in small compass.

Our curiosity is strongly excited as to the working of a system so directly contrary to our national policy, and so utterly repugnant to our national prejudices. With us, the interests of commerce are always paramount; in Russia, they are ignored altogether, and trade is only permitted so far as it can be made useful to a military despotism. With us, the interests of the governors and the governed are identical; in Russia, they are not only distinct, but incompatible. Here is one

source of weakness ; for, under such a system, the sympathies of the people can never be with their rulers. With us, nearly every thing is left for private enterprise ; in Russia, all is undertaken by the Government, and there is no escape from the interference of its officers. As these men are wofully underpaid, corruption is universal. To quote from Mr. Brooks : "Bribery is absolutely essential, if business is to be done at all. Not a functionary who has the power of helping, or, which is more important, of hindering, but must feel the 'silver rubles' in his palm." All inquiries are otherwise fruitless, and all grievances remain unredressed. In the naval and military services, since there is little actual contact with the public, speculation takes the place of bribery. Here is another source of weakness ; for nothing can be depended upon ; and in military affairs, of all others, whatever is done badly or imperfectly is worse than if not done at all. In these fraudulent transactions the most curious transformations are effected. Green fir-wood becomes well seasoned heart-of-oak ; shot become shells ; metals are transmuted ; and false weights and measures are pronounced standard. Hence, also, forts that crumble at the first shot, guns that burst when fired with blank cartridge, and ships that sink while at anchor in the harbour. But the most profitable speculations are in the commissariat department. The gains of a Colonel of Foot are openly calculated at from £3,000 to £4,000 a year, exclusive of his pay. The men are consequently ill-fed and worse clad ; their spirits are depressed beyond all hope of rallying ; and individually they are rather objects of compassion than terror. Starved on half rations of unwholesome food, thousands sink from sheer weakness when sent out on active service. Hence the corps which is always about to "arrive by forced marches," but somehow never does ; hence the twenty years' war in the Caucasus, the frightful mortality while in camp, the numerous desertions, the defeats on the Danube, and—ultimate hope for Europe.

Not much brighter is the picture which our travellers draw of the internal condition of the empire. Permission to travel even from one town to another is obtained with extreme difficulty ; the peasantry therefore cannot go in search of a more favourable locality, or seek employment in a neighbouring province. It frequently happens that at one particular spot labour commands enormous wages, while hundreds of willing hands are lying idle at fifty miles' distance. Railways are such complete innovations, that, if permitted to work at all, we should expect them to work wonderful changes. There seems to be considerable apprehension of such a result. Railroads are supposed to be in some way connected with the revolutionary tendencies of the age, and are disfavoured accordingly. On the only line which exists, (the St. Petersburg and Moscow,) but one train per day is allowed to start ; the number of carriages, and therefore of passengers, is limited ; and great preliminary difficulties in the matter of passports and bribes have to be encountered by the adventurers. Roads, such as Macadam understood, do not exist. Tracks there are, but always worst on the most important lines of route, and especially near the large towns. Ox-carts, travelling at the rate of ten miles a day, are chiefly employed for the conveyance of merchandise ; so that vessels are detained at the quays waiting for freights, which in their turn are waiting for some means of transport to the coast. Rivers are silting up, because the

simplest precautions are not taken to keep the navigation open. Such flat-bottomed boats as are employed make but tedious voyages; for between the stoppages occasioned by sand-banks, and the rude and tedious system of warping on an anchor, fifteen versts a-day is considered a first-rate performance. Harbours are being filled up from the constant practice of discharging ballast; a bribe only being necessary to neutralize the most stringent regulations.

Respecting the towns, there is but little to say; and that little is unsatisfactory. Like every thing Russian, they do not bear looking into; and, although imposing enough at a distance, the illusion is dispelled on a nearer approach. The streets are dreary, empty, undrained, badly paved, and, if lighted at all, which is rarely the case, have here and there an oil-lamp feebly struggling with the darkness. Public buildings are evidently designed for outward show, as their interior invariably disappoints even moderate expectation. There are, however, but few towns which are worthy of the name. It has been computed from official reports, that there is only one town with an average population of seven thousand, in an area of a hundred and thirty square miles; that there are but four which contain more than fifty thousand inhabitants; and that the entire urban population only consists of five millions, rather more than twice the population of London. The most startling fact, however, remains to be told. Of the fifty-four millions comprising Russia Proper, *forty-two millions are serfs*; so that nearly four-fifths of the whole are in a state of slavery, as complete, if not as cruel, as the Negroes of Louisiana or South Carolina. The village population is sunk in hopeless ignorance and degradation. Black bread and water-melons, or millet-seed boiled in oil, appears to be the ordinary fare; and the dwellings are equally wretched and comfortless. Churches are rarely to be seen, and *schools are strictly prohibited*, except in a few large towns. The consequences of such a system are inevitable. Mr. Oliphant says, "Whatever may be the morals of the peasantry in remote districts, those living in the towns and villages on the Volga are more degraded in their habits than any other people amongst whom I have travelled; and they can hardly be said to disregard, since they have never been acquainted with, the ordinary decencies of life. What better result can, indeed, be expected from a system by which the upper classes are wealthy in proportion to the number of serfs possessed by each proprietor? The rapid increase of the population is no less an object with the private serf-owner, than the extensive consumption of ardent spirits is desired by the Government. Thus each vice is privileged with especial patronage. Marriages, in the Russian sense of the term, are consummated at an early age, and are arranged by the Steward, without consulting the parties, the Lord's approval alone being necessary. The price of a family ranges from £25 to £40. Our Captain had taken his wife on a lease of five years, the rent for that term amounting to fifty rubles, (£8. 6s. 8d.) with the privilege of renewal at the expiration of it."—P. 97.

The Greek Church is degraded to a mere engine of State. The Czar has usurped the place of the Patriarch; and the Catechism has become a mere political primer. The inferior Clergy are illiterate and immoral, with no regard for the doctrines they profess, and are only energetic to prevent the spread of evangelical truth.

If such facts as these were disclosed respecting Japan or Chinese Tartary, we should be divided between indignation and contempt for such barbarians. Yet this is the power which has been lauded at the expense of its intended victim. The chief arguments for breaking up the Ottoman Empire are based on its inefficient social institutions, the gross corruption of all public functionaries, the vicious mode of raising the revenue, general commercial restrictions, religious intolerance, and discordant races whose interests clash. It may be safely affirmed, that, on every one of these vital questions, Turkey will bear a most favourable comparison with its deadly adversary.

Size is not necessarily strength; and, under certain conditions, added weight is increased weakness. An empire three centuries behind the rest of Europe, whose policy is exclusively selfish and permanently aggressive, which holds a doubtful rule over disaffected provinces, whose diverse races and antagonistic creeds create perpetual alarm,—such an empire is established on false principles, and has no element of cohesion or permanency; for no reliance can be placed on the loyalty of its people. They look with hope where their rulers look with hate; their star rises only when the smiting sun has set; their light will be at evening time.

There is a point beyond which the tide of conquest cannot roll,—a barrier against which its waters must dash with baffled rage, and then retire, broken and spent. That point Russia appears to have reached. Blind to the signs of the times, goaded on by an insatiable lust of conquest, she has deliberately decided on war. The quarrel is of her own choosing; and she is likely to be left alone in an unrighteous cause. Before the sword is again sheathed, a host of monstrous evils will have been avenged; and, instead of pouring her wrath on a helpless victim, the aggressor may unexpectedly find, in a disrupted Empire and a general European conflict, that an accumulated list of cruel wrongs has found a speedy and tremendous reckoning.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Pye Smith, D.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., late Theological Tutor of the Old College, Homerton. By John Medway. London: Jackson and Walford. 1853.

AMONGST the names which grace the religious and literary history of the last half century, there are few which reflect a fairer or more grateful lustre than that of the late Rev. John Pye Smith; and few indeed are the biographical Memoirs which are more rich in lively interest or practical instruction. No record of his outset and early progress, in literature or religion, appears in any school or college records. The shop of his father, a bookseller in Sheffield, was his "High-School;" and, in addition to a master who taught him to write a remarkably neat hand, his only tutors were two Nonconformist Ministers of the town, from whom he received such desultory instruction in the elements of Latin, as the circumstances of his case admitted. In short, books, and not living teachers, were his early—and they continued to be throughout life his prime and almost his sole—guides in the acquisition of knowledge. But, by the assiduous cultivation of a taste which appears to have been innate, and by a perseverance which

became stronger in proportion to the magnitude of the obstacles to be overcome, he acquired an amount of general scholarship, which commanded respect in our highest Universities, and gave him a reputation as wide as the world.

His religious character, formed under more favourable circumstances, was *decided*, in its early commencement, and in its progress, to the end. Amidst literary occupations of the most diversified description, pastoral services of every kind, and trials of a peculiar class, his talents and virtues, the elasticity of his spirit, and the singleness and continuity of his purpose,—through the grace of God which was in him,—impressed upon his character the stamp of an unusual excellence, and crowned his services with remarkable success. For fifty years he was connected with the Old Homerton Academy, as one of its principal Tutors. But the spirit of the Pastor was never absorbed in that of the Lecturer; nor the knowledge of Christ put into the shade, in deference to the lights of science and literature. And, with a mind naturally disposed to great freedom of inquiry, he was not apt to prostitute his talents or his time to useless or questionable speculations. It is remarked by his biographer, that “one sermon stands alone, among his published Works, for having any thing of a metaphysical character; and even here that character does not largely prevail. His mind appeared to be disinclined to follow out subtle trains of analysis and reasoning.” And if, in a few instances, he adopted opinions, which he afterwards found to be not fairly tenable, he was perfectly ready to acknowledge his mistake; as, on the other hand, he held, with a tenacious grasp, but still in a temper characteristic of “the meekness of wisdom,” whatever he believed to be founded in truth. Of the Works published by himself during his life-time, his “Scripture Testimony to the Messiah” is that on which his distinction as an author mainly rests; though, in the judgment of some persons, his Lectures on the “Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science,” which obtained his admission to the Royal and Geological Societies, will be regarded as holding scarcely an inferior place. His Theological Lectures, announced as forthcoming, will, doubtless, enhance his reputation. His biographer has managed his materials to great advantage, and in a manner which will render the Memoirs he has compiled from them a work of standing interest, and particularly worthy the attention of ministerial students. We cannot but regret, however, that he should have deemed it necessary to give so great a prominence to a certain class of sorrows, which, though not entirely “secret” during the life-time of the excellent man who so patiently endured them, were not generally known, and might, without any disadvantage to *his* character, have been held back from farther publicity.

Τὶ κέρδος οὐκ ἔσ' ὄντας αἰκίζεν νεκροῖς;
Τὶ τὴν ἀναυδὸν γαῖαν ὑβρίζεν πλέον;—*Moschio, apud Stob.*

We have no disposition to detract from the high reputation which Dr. Pye Smith so deservedly enjoyed for general scholarship. But we may take leave to suggest to his worthy biographer, that the extracts which he has given (pp. 51, 58) as “the best specimens extant of his *Latin* style,” have not been, in all respects, very happily selected, if they be designed to be proofs of his *accuracy*, as well as of his general

taste, in Latinity. We refer, particularly, to the use of *mæstus* as a substantive, in the expression, "*Debitum venerationis et mæstus honorem tribuamus*;" and to the grammatical construction of such clauses as, "*Sic votis omnium bonorum exsequutum erit.*" The extracts in which these passages occur were *early* productions, and cannot be fairly taken as just specimens of his more matured scholarship.

May Fair to Marathon. London: Richard Bentley. 1853.

THIS volume is little more than empty, flippant, conceited jingle. No good end is served by publishing such books: they contain no fresh information, no new thought worth retaining, and are mere cockney descriptions of classic ground. Hotels, evening assemblies, holiday costumes, and travelling discomforts, are far more prominent topics than the surrounding "ruins of empires." The traveller who can tell us nothing about Rome, save that it is a very dear place to live in, or about Athens, except the history of the bottled porter which he drank there, had much better stay at home, and write "Lines" and "Odes" for *Annals* and *Albums*; though it is but charity to hope that the specimens given in this volume do his rhyming powers great injustice.

One friendly word to the publisher. Having purchased an author's manuscript, he has, of course, a right to make the most of it in a fair way; but to publish as an original work what has previously appeared in the pages of his own *Magazine*, is carrying the matter a little too far. This is by no means the first error of the kind; and the honesty as well as the wisdom of such a policy may be fairly questioned. The public, although apt enough to snap at a gaudy fly, may fairly demur to being caught twice with the same hook.

Causeries du Lundi. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve, de l'Académie Française. Tome Huitième. Paris: Garnier Frères.

OUR notices of contemporary French literature could not begin more appropriately than by a paragraph or two on the new volume of M. Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries*. The Paris Aristarchi have been lately so courteous towards their brethren of the quill on this side the Channel, that we must, at all events, do our best to return the compliment; and no one has contributed more to bring about that *entente cordiale*, than the accomplished *feuilletoniste* of the "*Moniteur*" newspaper.

M. Sainte-Beuve is amongst the very few writers in France who have maintained the dignity of the man of letters. Whilst others dash off an epic poem in a week, and a novel in an hour, he confines himself to the production of three or four columns every Monday, forming an agreeable contrast to the dull prose of Government intelligence, by the entertaining sketches he gives us of eminent literary characters. The career of M. Sainte-Beuve as a critic may be subdivided, up to the present time, into three distinct phases. He began twenty-five years ago, when he hoisted up the standard of romanticism in *Le Globe*, and subsequently in the *Revue de Paris*. During the reign of Louis-Philippe, he contributed to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* a variety of papers written from a more impartial point of view, but still, as he acknowledges himself, too descriptive in their nature. The *Causeries*,

which at first were suggested by M. Véron for the *Constitutionnel*, seem to us to combine all the best features of periodical criticism. The author's fondness for psychological investigations, and the peculiar talent with which he can analyse every principle or motive of action, qualify him in a high degree for the task he has undertaken. His decisions are generally correct; and he has the very rare, but very useful, talent of setting off a quotation to the best advantage. M. Sainte-Beuve is often compared with his world-famous brother *feuilletoniste*, Jules Janin. But there is between these two writers the distance which separates the steady light of judgment from the occasional flashes of fancy and wit. Variety is another feature in the *Causeries*. The volume now before us, for instance, contains a series of articles on Cardinal de Bernis, Malherbe, Guy Patin, Sully, Mezeray, Gibbon, Joinville, &c.; and it is not too much to say, that, within the compass of eighteen or twenty pages, we find the best appreciation we ever read of the different characters introduced to our notice. M. Sainte-Beuve is, we are happy to hear, engaged at present upon the fourth volume of his History of Port-Royal. We shall take an early opportunity of examining at some length that fine work.

Madame de Longueville. *Nouvelles Etudes sur les Femmes Illustres et la Société du 17^e Siècle.* Par M. Victor Cousin. La Jeunesse de Madame de Longueville. Paris: Didier. Un Vol. 2^e Edition.

M. COUSIN is one of those men upon whom—great as the paradox may seem—the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon has conferred a lasting benefit. Driven away from the vortex of politics and the realms of "blue books," our statesmen of *la Monarchie Parlementaire* have not returned to their studies. They find it more profitable to settle bills with their publishers, than with a factious minority in the Chamber of Deputies; and as we, the reading part of the community, are enjoying the full benefit of this change, we do not feel disposed to grumble at the price paid for it. The founder of the French eclectic school of philosophy has been remarkably busy lately. He has published a collected edition of his Lectures. His Treatise on the Beautiful, the Good, and the True, revised and considerably improved, is now claiming our attention; and the first volume of his Biography of Madame de Longueville was out of print only a short time ago. M. Cousin's volumes on Blaise and Jacqueline Pascal had already introduced him as the professed champion of that part of the seventeenth century which ends with the death of Colbert. He takes up the same idea in the present work, and developes it with a spirit, an energy, an enthusiasm, which will produce, if not conviction in most minds, yet the desire of studying more deeply the *siècle de Louis XIV.* M. Cousin may be considered as having founded a new school in biographical literature. He combines the perseverance of the antiquarian with the imagination of the poet; and he has discovered the secret of extracting hidden beauties from the dust of worm-eaten manuscripts. M. Cousin has the great merit of proving that enthusiasm is not incompatible with metaphysics, politics, criticism, nay, bibliography itself. Whatever the subject be which engages his attention, he treats it *con amore*, and

applies to it the whole energies of his soul. Madame de Longueville is certainly one of the most interesting women of the seventeenth century in France; and her history conveys a deep moral lesson to all those who are led astray by allowing their feelings to get the better of their judgment. But still one would fancy that M. Cousin might have selected another heroine,—Madame de Sévigné, for instance, or Madame de Rambouillet. We enjoy, however, with thankfulness, the rich intellectual treat he has provided for us; and we heartily recommend our readers to do the same. M. Cousin, in coming forward as the panegyrist of Madame de Longueville, could not fail to encounter the celebrated author of the *Maximes*, La Rochefoucauld; and he handles him rather severely, as the following short quotations will prove: "Vain above all, he gives vanity as the principle of all our actions, all our thoughts, all our sentiments. This is quite true in general, even for the greatest man, who is nothing but the least little amongst us. But a moment comes, when, from the bottom of that vanity, that selfishness, that littleness, that wretchedness, that mud which we are made of, something indescribable springs up,—an appeal of the heart, an instinctive movement, a resolution not relating to ourselves, but to another object, to an idea, to a father or mother, to a friend, to our country, to God, to humanity; and this appeal alone betrays in us a disinterested feeling, a remainder or an element of greatness which, if it be properly trained, can spread itself throughout our soul, pervade our whole life, support us in our shortcomings, protest, at least, against the vices which hurry us along, or the faults we commit. If you allow a single generous action, a single generous feeling, the whole system of the *Maximes* falls to the ground."

There are many persons, we believe, who would enter the lists against M. Cousin on behalf of La Rochefoucauld; but, even amongst his opponents, he would find none but earnest admirers of his eloquence, and his noble protest against human egotism. It is really quite amusing to see how far his *passion* for Madame de Longueville carries the French philosopher. He does not speak of La Rochefoucauld as a judge, but as a rival. "I readily acknowledge it," says he: "I am not fond of La Rochefoucauld." There seems almost to be some personal *pique* mixed with the moralist's opinions.

The volume we have just imperfectly noticed is only the first of a work which, when it is finished, will be one of the most valuable contributions to the history of the reign of Louis XIV. The second part is advertised as about to be published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Histoire de la Littérature Française à l'Etranger depuis le Commencement du 17^e Siècle. Par A. SAYOUS, Editeur des Mémoires et Correspondance de Mallet du Pan. 17^e Siècle, Deux Vols. Paris et Genève: Cherbuliez.

M. SAYOUS is a Genevese writer, who has already gained his literary epaulettes by two productions of great interest. He first appeared before the public about ten years ago, with a couple of volumes entitled *Etudes littéraires sur les Ecrivains Français de la Réformation*. These Sketches included lives of Calvin, Theodore Beza, Henri Estienne, Hotoman, Agrippa d'Aubigné, and other worthies who wielded the

pen during the religious controversies of the sixteenth century; and although he confined himself to the discussion of their merits as *writers*, yet M. Sayous supplied a work which should be read by all those who wish to become acquainted with an important feature in the history of French Protestantism. The *Memoirs of Mallet du Pan*, published in the year 1851 by the same author, are a valuable addition to the mass of documents we already possess on the Revolution of 1789. At present he returns once more to subjects of a purely literary character; and the work we are now alluding to may be taken up as a sort of sequel to the one by which he made his *debut*. In considering the thinkers who, out of France, employed the French language as a medium for communicating their ideas, M. Sayous has not, of course, limited himself to Protestant authors. François de Sales, Vaugelas, Saint-Evremond, Varillas, Saint-Réal, were all Roman Catholics; and yet, when we discuss that peculiar branch of French literature, we involuntarily think of the refugees who, during the reign of Louis XIV., transplanted into England, Holland, and Prussia, the idiom of Racine and Bossuet. Their history, to tell the truth, occupies two-thirds of M. Sayous' volumes. It is given most fully; and a variety of quotations enable us to test the soundness of the critiques introduced. The chapters on pulpit eloquence are particularly striking: a whole book is devoted to Bayle, whose influence as a journalist and philosopher can scarcely be over-rated.

Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy, from Kant to Hegel. From the German of Dr. H. M. Chalybäus, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel. By the Rev. Alfred Edersheim, Free Church, Old Aberdeen. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark; London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

PARTLY on account of its abstruseness, and almost equally on account of the uncouthness of the phraseology in which it is set forth, the subject of this treatise is not very interesting to general readers. Nor does it appear to be designed by its promoters, that it should be so popularized as to become so. "The latest school," says Chalybäus, "has expressly characterized its philosophy as an esoteric science, which would at all times remain confined to the narrow circle of the initiated; yea, more, which is also intended to be solely confined to them; inasmuch as what constitutes it philosophy is, that it does not lay aside the veil which is impervious to the eye of the uninitiated,—its scientific garb." But, in a sense much wider than that in which he used the words, "the multitude at a distance hears of the results. And these, as opinions imbibed, knowledge acquired, or principles adopted, do in their turn leaven the mass of the people, and occupy subjectively, in every individual, the place of personally acquired conviction." Such is obviously the fact. The Metaphysical Philosophy of Germany may be *esoteric* in its scientific form; but it is *exoteric* in its effect on habits of thought and modes of expression, beyond the enclosure of "the initiated," to an extent which challenges, from even general readers, a much larger amount of attention than it has hitherto received.

On this ground, the work in question, now rendered accessible to English readers, is a seasonable and important publication. In his own country the author "has established for himself the reputation of an acute speculator, a fair critic, and a lucid writer. And, in particular, these Lectures (on the 'Historical Development,' &c.) are there regarded as affording a perspicuous and impartial survey of the various systems of German Philosophy, at once comprehensive and compendious." Further, the translation is generally certified, on high authority,* as being "eminently worthy of approbation."

After a few prefatory observations on the general subject, and brief sketches of the Sensationalism of Locke, and of the Scepticism which Hume so readily built upon it, he indicates the development of the latter, as having been the historical point at which Kant commenced his independent career. Hitherto the disciple of a school, which had incorporated the Sensationalism of Locke into the system of Leibnitz, he could not but feel the speculations of Hume, as bringing into something more than suspicion the correctness of those idealistico-sensational views which he had himself adopted. A new turn was thus given to his philosophical inquiries; and, after a retirement of some years, he brought out his "Critick of Pure Reason;" the appearance of which constituted a new epoch,—one might almost say, the starting-point of modern German Metaphysics. Its subsequent development is regarded by Chalybäus as being analogous to that of vegetation. "We observe," says he, "that every object in the economy of nature pre-supposes what we would call its 'antagonist:' the leaf on the branch seems to call forth another on the opposite side, as if to preserve the equilibrium. The same law manifests itself also in the growth of mind. While progress in the formation of the whole is the aim, the alteration in the individual parts is due to the appearance of contraries; for it is noticeable, that, whenever any philosophical fundamental view was pronounced in a decided form, it also stood forth, *ipso facto* and necessarily, as *one-sided*. But immediately an opposite statement made its appearance, and criticism entered the lists on both sides of the question. But both these extremes only served to call forth a third view, which in turn was required to pass through the same process of development." And the history which sketches the modifications and corrections of the Kantian theory, subsequently introduced by Jacobi, Herbart, Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schelling, and Hegel, is very much in accordance with that attractive illustration. The "development" proceeds, by virtue of a succession of emulous antagonisms and equitable compromises between conflicting systems; and the history of all this, we are quite free to say, is interesting and instructive in a very high degree. Only, every now and then, the metaphor breaks down. "Development" does not always turn out to be *progress*; and, in some instances, that term would appear to be synonymous with "*retrogression*." Still the value of the history, as such, remains the same. And whatever estimate be formed of the intrinsic soundness or practical utility of the German "Metaphysick," its existence and action constitute *facts* in the records of Philosophy, and in the actual movement of Mind, which can neither be entirely ignored,

* Sir William Hamilton. See Note prefixed to the Translator's Preface.

nor—with the influence which they wield—be safely disregarded. We hail the appearance of this book as an addition to the means of a better acquaintance with its character, as well as with the various *phases* which it has already exhibited, and through which, as some would suppose, it will continue, with slight variations, to *revolve*. “The idealistic revolution,” says Chalybæus, “originated with Kant, was perfected by Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, and, in our own days, again brought back by Schelling to that point from which Kant started. We are not at present,” he adds, “in circumstances either to determine the grounds of this retrogression, or to say, whether it had at all become necessary.” Under these circumstances, as to the future course of the science, we can only say, *Nous verrons*; and that, in the mean time, we must needs judge of the *tree*, both as to its past and its future “development,” not from its aspect merely, but from the quality of the *fruit* which it produces.

Sketches from Sacred History: or, Some Scripture Characters Exemplified and Contrasted, in a Series of Sermons. By a Clergyman of the Diocese of Cloyne. (Published for the Benefit of the “Irish Society” and “Church Missions.”) Dublin: James M’Glashan; London: Nisbet and Co.

THESE Sermons embrace the following subjects:—the Prayer of Jabez; the Expectation of Jacob; Joseph and his Brethren; the Expostulation of Samuel; the Mission of Elisha; the Lesson of Jonah; the promise to Daniel; and the Prayer of Habakkuk. The Sketches are short, simple in their matter, and easy in their style; but warm with the glow of an evangelical earnestness, and indicative of a heart anxious to do good. A free distribution of them for the use of plain readers would be a good service done to them, and to the objects which the sale or circulation of them is intended to promote.

History of the Byzantine Empire: from DCCXVI. to MLVII. By George Finlay, Honorary Member of the Royal Society of Literature. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1853.

THE author of this volume is already very favourably known by his work (published ten years ago) on “Greece under the Romans,” embracing the period B.C. 146 to A.D. 717; and also by his “History of Greece, from its Conquest by the Crusaders to its Conquest by the Turks, and of the Empire of Trebizond, A.D. 1204–1461.” The volume now in question will be seen, from a comparison of the periods belonging to each of the three volumes respectively, to stand in the double relation of a Sequel to one of the two other volumes, and of an Introduction to the other,—though with something like a break, in the continuity of the history, of nearly one hundred and fifty years. The “Byzantine Empire,” it will be known to the generality of our readers, was the Eastern Roman Empire, re-formed by Leo the Isaurian, or Leo III.; and afterwards sustained with such vigour as to outlive for many centuries every Government contemporary with its establishment. Its history “divides itself into three periods, strongly marked

by distinct characteristics:" the first, usually known as the "Iconoclast Period," including A.D. 716-867; the second, A.D. 867-1057; and the third,—which the author regards as "the true period of the decline and fall of the Eastern Empire,—A.D. 1057-1204; the date last mentioned being that of its Conquest by the Crusaders.

The name generally given to the first of these three periods, indicates its history to be *ecclesiastical* as well as *civil*;—a circumstance of considerable disadvantage for the purpose of a fair representation of either of the aspects which the history combines. The mutual jealousies and struggles, so characteristic of that period, had almost unavoidably the effect of colouring both the contemporary and the subsequent records, to an extent which has greatly enhanced the toil and difficulties of later chroniclers. But Mr. Finlay has brought to his task a judgment and fidelity, which claim that his work should be honoured for its general correctness, as well as for the vigorous and philosophical style in which it is written. Those who have read his former volumes, will need no persuasion of ours to induce them to read this. And those who read this, will hardly be content without reading the others. The references to authorities, so often wanting in historical composition, are particularly valuable.

Will we know our Friends in Heaven? or, The Earnest and Scriptural Discussion of the Question of Heavenly Recognition. By the Rev. H. Harbaugh, A.M. London: A. Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1853.

FROM the doctrine of this volume no thoughtful or consistent Christian will dissent. For our own part, we have always considered that the mutual recognition of the saints in heaven is guaranteed by the fact of their personal identity, which fact, again, is implied and promised in the very idea of a resurrection from the dead. This hope and confidence are strengthened (if that, indeed, be possible) by considerations of a kindred nature. Humanity is not to be obliterated in the heirs of eternal life, but glorified and perfected; and this primarily by the removal of all traces of the curse, which consisted, not in the original constitution, but the subsequent depravation, of our nature. Then, as the heavenly state is not one of disembodied spirits, so far as the redeemed are concerned, so will not all the affections, tendencies, and individualities of the earthly sojourn be absolutely wanting, but only restored to original rectitude, adjusted to the conditions of a spiritual world, harmonized with, and heightened by, each other, and swayed and sanctified by the supreme law of love. To join these thoughts together: it is obvious that neither proper identity nor perfect humanity can be the portion of the saints in bliss, unless the faculty of memory, though modified by spiritual laws, remain to illustrate their high estate, to make them cognisant of their own important life on earth, and re-cognisant of the essential features of their friends. But the negative supposition is full of increasing difficulty; for it imagines a real and practical divorce between the earthly and the heavenly states; and the effect of this disjunction would inevitably be to rob the eternal Sabbath of its sense of rest, and final victory of its associated triumph.

Mr. Harbaugh's opening chapter is not promising in respect of style; and this is unfortunate, as a very perceptible improvement afterwards takes place. It indicates, more strongly than any other single portion, the principal blemish of the work,—a tendency to sentiment and poetical expression; and its principal defect,—the absence of a masculine and thoughtful treatment. But all readers do not judge alike, and tastes may differ very widely without, on either side, transgressing the limits of sound judgment and pure feeling. We believe many will derive pleasure, of a very genuine kind, from these pages; and, perhaps, the bereaved Christian could hardly meet with a volume altogether more calculated than this to soothe and hallow his first hour of sorrow.

Imaginary Conversations of Greeks and Romans. By Walter Savage Landor. London: Moxon. 1853.

The Last Fruit off an Old Tree. By Walter Savage Landor. London: Moxon. 1853.

THE poetic prefix of Mr. Landor's last volume is highly characteristic of his genius, and furnishes in brief the sum of his career. It is also a good example of his style; a style remarkable for strength and terseness, and, if somewhat hard, yet, at the same time, picturesque and pure:—

"I strove with none, for none was worth my strife;
Nature I loved, and, next to nature, art:
I warm'd both hands before the fire of life;
It sinks, and I am ready to depart."

Here we have the bold independence and self-assertion which have always distinguished him, marking him out from men of feebler mould, like Coriolanus among degenerate Romans, and urging him, sometimes to "flutter the Volscas" in a hostile camp, and sometimes, with petulant haste, to join the forces of an enemy, and pour scorn and contumely on his own "countrymen and lovers." Here, too, his love of nature, surviving youth and riper manhood, and crowning his old age with a second spring; his delight in all the miracles of art; his joyous welcome of all that life affords, and keen relish for its thousand blessings; and, not less prominent than his epicurean gladness in the intellectual past and sensuous present, his stoical indifference to all that may await him in the mysterious and impending future. If you would figure to yourself how a heathen of the classic age would demean himself, if suddenly transported into our present era, make intimate acquaintance with the writings of Walter Landor. To our minds, the single quatrain we have quoted awakens so many recollections of their beauty, that we seem to realize the conception at once, and hail him as a grand antique,—a living representative, but not a marble image. The firm grip of his friendly hand; the occasional disdain of his haughty head; the smile with which he greets the simple beauty of a field-flower, or the matchless grace of infancy; his passion for ideal liberty and natural beauty; his impatience of all meanness, servility, and fraud; his warm and generous friendships, and his hasty and more general enmities; his soft pity for the slave, and his fierce hatred of the tyrant;—these are all marks of his pecu-

liar greatness. But, while his intellectual character is almost purely classic, it was not possible that in all things he should resist the influence of a Christian age, and be entirely Pagan in his soul. In literature and art and politics, he is a Grecian of the age of Pericles; but, in the higher humanities,—in all but its spiritual and evangelic type,—he is a Christian of the Protestant and English Church. And now we have Walter Landor gathering the last fruits of his genius, and sending them to market for the benefit of two humble and persecuted Christians; turning from the contemplation of “the physiognomies of Solon and Pericles, of Phocion and Epicurus,” and fixing an admiring regard on Francesca and Rosa Madiai. “Homely,” says he, “very homely, are the countenances and the figures of the Madiai. But they also have their heroism: they took the same choice as Hercules, preferring virtue to pleasure, labour to ease, rectitude to obliquity; patient of imprisonment, and worshipping God with unfaltering devotion, unterrified by the menaces of death. May they awaken, if not enthusiasm, at least benevolence! In which hope, on their behalf, and for their sole emolument, I edit this volume.” Let us not quarrel with Mr. Landor because the grounds of his sympathy with this persecuted pair are haply lower than ours,—that he feels admiration for their fortitude, but professes no share in the sublime convictions to which, in them at least, such fortitude is due. Be it his to refer to the choice of Hercules, the type and parable of heathen virtue; but this, too, is included in another reference, surely far more appropriate, which a thousand hearts will instinctively make,—to the humble martyrs of our faith in the early ages of the Church.

Not its charitable object only, but its literary excellence also, will commend this volume of “*Last Fruit*.” It contains something in every species of composition to which our author has devoted himself; and, if not equal to the best of his former writings,—which it would be unreasonable to expect from a volume published in the author’s eightieth year,—they indicate, at least, no positive declension of his powers. Of the “*Conversations*” he says, in allusion to the living interlocutors, “No sculptor can work in sandstone so artistically or effectively as in alabaster and marble.” Yet some of these are fine examples of a class of writing, not, indeed, invented by Mr. Landor, yet stamped by his genius with a new and higher charm. None of the present series could have been written by a pen less pointed or less firm than his. Three admirable papers—on Theocritus, Catullus, and Petrarca respectively—show that his critical power is no way abated. His Letters on Popery are less to our liking; and those to Cardinal Wiseman are too full of obscure irony for popular and pleasant reading. Of poem and epigram there is great variety; and his peculiar style of dramatic composition—full of pregnant and picturesque expressions, and pervaded by a certain quiet brooding interest, and thus uniting, as it seems to us, the chaste and solemn spirit of antiquity with the free handling and the fruitful character of the romantic school—is finely exhibited in the “*Five Scenes*” which bring this varied volume to a close.

We hope to see the whole of Mr. Landor’s writings issued in this convenient shape. The remainder of his “*Conversations*” would probably occupy two volumes. Another might contain his “*Pentame-*

ron," "Examination of William Shakspeare," and "Pericles and Aspasia." The mere enumeration of these works has reminded us of his variety of power, remarkable in connexion with such uniform success. We have alluded to him chiefly as one of antique mould; and, in the structure of his mind, as well as the bias of his thoughts, he is essentially of the world before the cross. Nevertheless, on reflection, we prefer his English to all his other dialogues, ancient and foreign; and his "Examination of William Shakspeare" rivals the masterly production of "Pericles and Aspasia." Between these latter two what a disparity of scene and subject! yet how perfect the illusion in either case! how wonderful the magic that could evoke them both! The "Examination of William Shakspeare" is the boldest and most successful fiction of the kind we know; not only realizing Shakspeare's times, and the inimitable Squire of Warwickshire, but setting the young bard before us with all his native wit and genius. It rolls back the curtain of two centuries and a half of envious obscurity, fills up with living features the meagre outline furnished by Malone and Stevens, and gives us the exuberant youth of a royal mind, destined to tithe the heritage of nature, and receive tribute from remote posterity.

Life in Death: a Sermon preached at Rodborough, Gloucestershire, on Sunday, June 12th, 1853, on Occasion of the Death of the late Earl of Ducie. By Samuel Thodey. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1853.

THIS is a most gratifying exhibition of the power of religion operating on the vigorous and cultivated mind of one moving in the very highest ranks of society; and a striking instance of resignation, peace, and triumph in the hour of death.

The Gentile Nations: or, The History and Religion of the Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes, Persians, Greeks, and Romans; collected from Ancient Authors and Holy Scripture, and including the Recent Discoveries in Egyptian, Persian, and Assyrian Inscriptions: forming a complete Connexion of Sacred and Profane History, and showing the Fulfilment of Sacred Prophecy. By George Smith, F.A.S., Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, &c., &c. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

THIS double volume forms the concluding portion of Mr. Smith's elaborate work, entitled, "Sacred Annals;" and as we hope to examine at length this important contribution to historical literature, we shall now do little more than announce its completion by the present issue.

Mr. Smith presents us, in this portion of his work, with an elaborate examination of the origin, objects, and character of idolatry; confirms the scriptural statements of Satanic influence and human depravity from independent testimony; and triumphantly refutes the absurd theory, that the earliest ages of mankind were the most degraded and debased, from which the human family has gradually emerged, in accordance with a regular law of development. He shows that that

fearful element in the idolatry of Heathenism,—the deification of man,—had its origin in ill-understood and imperfectly-transmitted traditions of the primitive promise of an incarnate Redeemer; that, from Nimrod to Alexander, the ambitious desire to be recognised as the *Incarnate One*, for whom all men looked, was the ruling motive of aspiring minds; that the almost universal prevalence of the mystic serpent-worship was the climax of that fatal triumph, by which the Divine Being is first banished from the minds of men, and the great seducer installed as the “god of this world;” and that the character of heathen idolatry is not less dubious than its symbolism, being every where and always—diabolical.

A lengthened and highly interesting investigation follows, respecting the religious doctrines, practices, and morals of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylon, of Persia, Greece, and Rome. To this investigation the entire records of history, and the recent discoveries in the East, have been made to contribute. The scattered rays of human learning have been gathered into one focus, and, in combination with the light of Scripture truth, have been thrown upon the religious history of mankind.

With the knowledge of what has been done in the same department of literature by Prideaux, Shuckford, and Russell, we do not hesitate to affirm, that Mr. Smith's “*Sacred Annals*” contain ampler stores of learning, more complete and satisfactory deductions from ancient history, and clearer illustrations from monumental records, than any preceding work; whilst, in correct and cordial appreciation of evangelical truth, they stand alone and unequalled by any work on the subject in our language. As it is the latest history of the idolatrous nations, and most fully illustrated by the lights of modern science and research; so also is it, in our opinion, the most reliable for the moral temper in which the whole investigation is pursued, and the religious principles by which the author is assisted in forming his ultimate deductions.

The Leisure Hour: a Family Journal of Instruction and Recreation. London, 1853.

WE cordially recommend this cheap and interesting serial, especially to our young friends. An ample range of useful information, written in a plain and lively manner, and imbued with a Christian spirit, is combined with neat and copious illustrations. To encourage the circulation of such a work is to counteract much of the evil tendency of a large part of the cheap publications of the present day.

An Ecclesiastical Dictionary. By the Rev. John Farrar. London: Mason. 1853.

WE welcome the publication of this handsome and compendious volume. It belongs to that indispensable class of books which has commonly the most convenient shelf assigned to it; and it is executed, moreover, with scrupulous care and much ability. The present volume forms a very useful companion to the “*Biblical and Theological Dictionary*” of the same author. We much approve the separation of these subjects, so frequently united, into two distinct works of

convenient size and uniform appearance. The Church and the Word are thus placed side by side; and in this position what a melancholy contrast, as well as instructive comment, does the one furnish to the other! A mere glance at the "Ecclesiastical Dictionary" serves to remind us of the errors and corruptions through which pure scriptural Christianity has had to preserve its way, sometimes well-nigh overlaid by formality, or heresy, or superstition.

Hufeland's Art of Prolonging Life. Edited by Erasmus Wilson. London: J. Churchill. 1853.

WE are informed by Mr. Wilson, that Christopher William Hufeland was a philosophic Physician, and Professor of Medicine in the University of Jena, and no more. We think the learned Editor must have had it in his power to communicate to his readers some few particulars of the life of this German Physician; and he could scarcely withhold them on the supposition that they were superfluous. We are not even told when he was born, nor when he died; at what age he took upon himself the task of advising his fellow-men on the best means for prolonging life, or in what measure he himself was successful in attaining longevity. The majority of the readers of this book will doubtless hear of Hufeland for the first time, and will naturally be desirous of knowing somewhat of his biography. This is a deficiency which we should be glad to see rectified in a second edition. While we are taking upon ourselves to advise Mr. Wilson, we would make a remark upon the paucity of the notes which he has thought proper to subjoin. "*Stamen vite*," "*pabulum vite*," are duly translated by the Editor for the instruction of his unlearned readers; but principles and imagined facts in science now exploded are allowed to pass without a correction, which might easily have been made in a foot-note. And thus the book will be made instrumental in conveying wrong notions of science, to persons ignorant of the advance it has made during the last half-century. This is the more to be regretted, as the book is intended mainly for the public at large, who are generally sufficiently erroneous in their scientific knowledge. Apart from these defects, the work is admirable, reading more like an original English book than a translation; though, indeed, the Editor is of opinion, that the translation, (that of 1797,) which he has mainly adopted in preference to a new translation, proceeded from the learned author's own pen.

Those who expect to find in Hufeland some one or two maxims insisted upon as competent to insure a long life, will be disappointed. There are no such recipes here for longevity as that of Lord Marchmont, "Never to mix your wines;" by which we are led to infer that an attention to one point is sufficient. Hufeland knew well that general rules are preferable, because wiser and safer than particular ones; which they include, not as isolated, but as connected, facts, modified by the relation they bear to the whole. We have before alluded to the incorrectness of the science of the book; but we, as was the Editor, were "struck with the little real progress which has been made in the science of living during the more than half-century since the work was first written." This is but an exemplification of the well-known and oft-repeated fact, that philosophic truths are acted upon unconsciously, long before they have a place assigned to

them in the category of science ; and hence it is, that, though much of the science of the book is already antiquated, the greater part of its philosophy will never be old. It is true that Hufeland imagined he was setting the art of longevity on a firm basis by establishing it, as he says, "on systematic grounds;" but the fact is, he made the then existing science appear to confirm the rules which were known by experience to favour the prolongation of life. He was certainly wiser in doing this, than in contradicting the observations of ages, by deducing from an imperfect and incorrect science new and false methods of living. We doubt whether we are yet in a position, as regards our physiological knowledge, to show the harmonious connexion, which doubtless exists, between the art and the science.

It is not necessary for us to enter into a minute examination of the various chapters of the book ; but we will give our readers a brief example of the author's style ; and here, as in all sound philosophy, we are able to adduce additional and collateral support for the advantages of virtue :—

"According to the point of view under which I necessarily considered my subject, it was natural that I should treat it, not only medically, but also morally ; for how is it possible to write on human life, without taking into consideration its connexion with the moral world, to which it so peculiarly belongs ? On the contrary, I have found more than once, in the course of my labour, that the physical man cannot be separated from his higher moral nature ; and I may, perhaps, reckon it a small merit in the present performance, that it will not only establish the truth and heighten the value of the moral laws in the eyes of many, by showing that they are indispensably necessary for the physical support and prolongation of life ; but that it demonstrates that the physical nature of man has been suited to his higher moral destination ; that this makes an essential difference between the nature of man, and the nature of animals ; that without moral cultivation man is in continual contradiction with his own nature ; and that by culture alone he becomes even physically perfect. May I be so fortunate, by these means, as to accomplish two objects,—not only to render the life of man more healthful and longer, but also, by exciting his exertions for that purpose, to make him better and more virtuous ! I can, at any rate, assert, that man will in vain seek for the one without the other, and that physical and moral health are as nearly related as the body to the soul. They flow from the same sources, become blended together ; and, when united, the result is, *human nature ennobled, and raised to perfection.*" *
—*Author's Preface*, p. xiv.

A word in conclusion about the author. Hufeland was little more than thirty when the first edition of this treatise appeared in Germany, in 1794 ; and he tells us in his Preface, that it had been the favourite employment of his leisure hours for eight years. He was born in 1762, and died, at the age of seventy-four, in 1836. He wrote numerous other medical works, of which the above is the best-known, equally in Germany as in other countries. Two translations of it have appeared in France.

* Of course, we dissent, *in toto*, from this last affirmation.—EDIT.

The Complete Works, Poetry and Prose, of the Rev. Edward Young, LL.D., formerly Rector of Welwyn, Hertfordshire, &c. Revised and Collated with the earliest Editions. To which is prefixed a Life of the Author, by John Doran, LL.D. With Eight Illustrations on Steel, and a Portrait. In Two Vols. London: William Tegg and Co. 1854.

THIS elegant edition of the Works of the author of the "Night Thoughts" justifies its claim to be called "Complete," since it contains several pieces which have not been printed in recent editions. The text is, in many places, improved by a return to the reading of earlier and purer copies. We may mention, as an illustration of this latter point,—

"The trumpet's sound each *fragrant* mote shall hear,
Or fix'd in earth, or if afloat in air," &c.

For one hundred years the public have been satisfied with this corrupted text, and have been content to read of a "*fragrant* mote," without inquiring what it possibly could mean. The editor, Mr. James Nichols, replaces the original word *vagrant*; and the result, at once, is poetry and common-sense. Dr. Doran's Life of the poet appears to be painstaking and correct, is written with spirit, and contains a good selection of his Correspondence.

Venice, the City of the Sea, from the Invasion by Napoleon in 1797, to the Capitulation to Radetzky in 1849; with a Contemporaneous View of the Peninsula. By Edmund Flagg, late Consul of the United States at the Port of Venice. Two Vols. London: Sampson Low. 1853.

THE most valuable portion of Mr. Flagg's book consists of a detailed account of the famous Siege of Venice by the Austrians in 1849. His position as American Consul immediately after the Capitulation, has enabled him to collect on the spot all the chief facts of the struggle. We have every reason to believe that they are fairly and impartially recorded, and that his obvious and warm sympathy with the besieged has not led him to conceal their faults; whilst, on the other hand, he has not allowed himself any unusual licence of vituperation against the bombarding foes.

Whatever charges may be brought against the Italians for their conduct during the events of 1848-9,—and we believe that there was more to praise than to blame,—the two sieges of Rome and Venice exhibit, on the part of their defenders, acts of moderation, patriotic devotion, and undaunted courage, worthy of any time, or of any cause. The resolute determination of the populace, and the wisdom of the leaders, are alike apparent, and show that Italy is not unworthy of the freedom for which she strove. When such is the case, a people cannot long be enslaved.

Daniel Manin is the name most conspicuous in the Venetian struggle. The vast influence which this man held over the minds of his fellow-citizens, arose from his previous sufferings, his known patriotism, and his marvellous eloquence. Did the spirits of the populace droop under

their protracted and almost unparalleled sufferings? Manin was their consolation and their refuge. Did the angry passions of a people, naturally jealous, threaten internal commotion? The commanding eloquence of Manin never failed to still the storm. And, unlike the fate of many leaders in an unsuccessful movement, the grateful homage of his fellow-citizens survived the disaster, and still lingers around his Parisian retreat.

On the 22d of March, 1848, only thirty days after the revolution at Paris, Venice arose and freed herself from the Austrian yoke. Paralysed by the determined front of the Venetians, a garrison of 7,000 soldiers capitulated and retired from the city. An interval ensued, in which measures were immediately adopted for the defence and welfare of the city, and preparations made for the coming struggle. For the particulars of the bombardment we must refer our readers to the work itself, where they will find its events recorded with great minuteness.

Although we have stated our belief that Mr. Flagg's facts are to be relied upon, we could not fail to remark the great inaccuracy, as to names and dates, every where to be found in his pages. His style has all the faults of his countrymen, with much diffuseness and repetition peculiar to himself. The work has, apparently, been printed in America, and carried through the press in the absence of the author. In some cases, names are spelt in two, and even three, different ways; and dates, referring to well-known events, from the want of typographical supervision, ante-dated or postponed a century.

Struggles for Life: or, The Autobiography of a Dissenting Minister. London: Cash. 1854.

THIS book is an excellent piece of Autobiography, written by one who knows *what* it is to struggle, and *how* to struggle. The *man* is altogether to our mind,—intelligent, imaginative, playful, tender, frank, and earnest; and not less agreeable to us is the *Christian*. He is a Protestant, and a Dissenter, yet truly catholic, because spiritual and large-minded; thoroughly decided in his preference of his own Church, but not blind to its faults, nor to the good he sees in other Churches, nor afraid to speak out concerning either; but neither his own nor other Churches suffer at his hands. It is a most healthful book, and will teach young men the *true* self-reliance,—to do battle with difficulties, and to trust in God. It contains many useful lessons to students, and especially to Ministers, how to read *men* as well as *books*. Many of his reflections are exceedingly valuable, although occasionally somewhat too elaborate and extended, but always conveying to the thoughtful admirable lessons of Christian wisdom. All Churches want such men; and such Ministers will find, and profitably fill, the widest spheres of pastoral influence.

We cordially recommend the volume as an entertaining and profitable book, full of incident, and full also of wisdom and piety.

THE

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JUNE, 1854.

- ART. I.—1. *La Russie Contemporaine*. Par L. LEOUZON LE DUC. Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1853.
2. *Progress of Russia, West, North, and South*. By DAVID URQUHART. London: Trübner and Co. 1853.
3. *The Progress and present Position of Russia in the East*. London: Murray.
4. *Annuaire de la Revue des Deux Mondes pour 1852-3*. Paris.
5. *Geschichte des Russischen Reichs*. Von N. M. KARAMSKIN. 11 Bände. Leipzig. 1820-1833.
6. *Religious History of the Slavonians*. By COUNT VALERIAN KRASINSKI. 1853.

ROME's providential mission was that of beating the nations into one. She inherited what Greece had done, in this respect, in the East, and accomplished the same task in Europe and in North Africa,—her iron grasp, and eminently legislative genius, consolidating into one mighty empire all the civilized, and some of the barbarous, nations of antiquity; so that when Caracalla conferred the right of citizenship on all the provinces, and Rome became the *patria communis*, it was the last easy step in a great process of assimilation which had been going on for ages. No national distinctions, no remembrances of livelong rivalry and hostility, no jealousy of races, remained to impede the spread of whatever principles of moral development and spiritual life could undertake the regeneration of men. Heathen Rome, indeed, perishing in its own social corruption, had no such principles to communicate to the world. The Gauls and Britons, in becoming

Romans, were at first but inoculated with the vices, as they were afterwards associated to the misfortunes, of their conquerors: but Jesus Christ was born half a century after the Roman legions reached the Rhine; and Christianity became the religion of the Cæsars, while the imperial territory was yet in its integrity. It was then time to put the great question, to which the history of the fifth and sixth centuries is the answer: This old world, now converted to Christianity, and continuing united under one sceptre,—is it to spread the blessings it has received among the rest of mankind by the simple attraction of its Christian civilization, and by the peaceful agency of missions? or is it to sink under the weight of accumulated evils, like the other great empires that preceded it, and make way for a new society? Alas! the kind of Christianity that rose upon the ruins of classical Paganism was itself too degenerate to save the worn-out populations that embraced it from the result of their hereditary vices, and of the social decomposition which these had engendered. Christianity consists in real and living relation to Jesus Christ; and every thing tending to obscure the consciousness of this relation, to render it less immediate and direct, or to weaken its supremacy, contributes, in the same degree, to deprive Christianity of its regenerating power over individuals and over society. The Jewish and Pagan elements, which, under the different forms of sacerdotalism, sacramentalism, hero-worship, and Pharisaic self-righteousness, had mixed themselves up with all the religious conceptions of the fourth century, left vitality enough in the Christian system to undertake the education of young unsophisticated races, full of native energy, but not enough to arrest the decline of the older races. The nominally Christian empire still remained Pagan in many of its traditions and institutions. It was under the influence of a brilliant literature, of written laws, and of the historical remembrances of ten centuries,—all anterior to its Christianity. Above all, the Emperors continued to inherit the original supremacy of the state over, not only the interests, but the consciences of the citizens. There was no adequate sense of individual dignity and individual right. Christianity certainly retarded the final catastrophe; it consoled and ennobled the last struggles of the Roman world. But the event proved it had been destined to find but a temporary shelter there, until the hardy tribes of Germany should be brought into contact with it, and, growing up under its influence, attain a higher civilization.

All subsequent history has justified the ways of Providence in this respect. The moral state and the fortunes of the Eastern Empire, during its long and ignoble agony of a thousand years, may be looked upon as a fair specimen of what all Christendom would have become, if there had been no timely barbarian conquests, and no infusion of young blood into the exhausted veins

of the Western Empire. Instead of diffusing Christianity by missionary labours, and recommending it by the spectacle of its own moral superiority, it would have preyed upon itself for ages; and at last, when the inevitable doom could no longer be averted, it would have proved, at its fall, too debilitated and corrupt to communicate its faith to the conquerors. The Barbarians, on the other hand, however imperfect the Christianity they met with, adopted it with all their might, and made it the central principle of their social culture. Their institutions grew up under its fostering hand, and their whole intellectual development was determined by what they knew of its doctrines. A spirit of native independence, and a high sense of personal dignity, uniting with the Christian feeling of the priceless value of every member of the human race, gave to their conceptions and to their activity a free and healthy tendency unknown to antiquity; and they understood that society was made for the benefit of man, taken individually, not man for society. Their low, materializing religion, with their hereditary violence and lawlessness, made, indeed, their progress painfully slow and irregular; yet they succeeded in working out the conditions in which modern society was to originate; and at last, at the blessed Reformation, they detected and corrected the degeneracy and corruptions of the form of Christianity under which they had lived. Of the somewhat more than ninety millions of Germanic origin, in Europe and America, above seventy millions profess the Reformed faith. Gaul, and the Spanish and Italian peninsulas, have retained their allegiance to Rome: the Latin element is predominant in their language, religion, and civilization. Yet those nations, too, have doubtless profited by their forced absorption of Franks, Burgundians, Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Lombards. On the whole, Divine Providence accomplished, through the sufferings and humiliations of the Western Romans, that work which might have connected itself with the prosperity and perpetuity of the empire, had they but been faithful to their mission; just as the partial dispersion of the Jewish people, during the ages that preceded the Christian era, had been the means of preparing the world for a coming redemption, which, but for their own fault, they might have wrought as a powerful and united people.

There is reason to believe, that if the Barbarians had not come to seek the Christian religion, it would never have been sent to them. Irenæus and Tertullian, indeed, both speak of Christian Churches in Germany before the close of the second century; the signatures of Bishops of Treves, Cologne, Laybach, and other places on the Rhine, and in the south, are found in the Decrees of Councils of the fourth century. Athanasius passed two years of exile at Treves, Jerome visited it, and Ambrose was born there; but there is no proof that the Gospel spread beyond

the frontiers of the empire in this part of the world. We hear of a Gothic Bishop, named Theophilus, who attended the Council of Nice, because there were Gothic armies fighting under the banner of Constantine; but the first really missionary labours among that people are attributed to Ulphilas, who made a beginning of German literature by inventing an alphabet, and translating the Psalms and the New Testament. Ulphilas's mission was, at least, partly involuntary; for he was the son of a Christian family at Cappadocia, carried into captivity by the Barbarians: and his Christianity was superficial; for, in A.D. 376, he passed over to Arianism, along with all his people, because that was the religion of the Court of Constantinople, and the Visigoths wanted protection against the Huns. The Ostrogoths borrowed Arianism from their kinsmen; the Burgundians and the Vandals followed their example. When Salvian wrote his book, *De Gubernatione Dei*, in the middle of the fifth century, the Germanic tribes were divided between Paganism and Arianism; so that all that the Romans had as yet done for them was the imposing upon a minority of them, by diplomatic means, of a spurious Christianity,—a Christianity without faith or love,—which, telling of no reconciliation, and feeling no need of it, could exercise no renewing and saving efficacy. It was only when the invaders came into daily contact with the popular Christianity of the West,—such as it was,—and with a Clergy free from the control of the Court, that the work of assimilation may be said to have fairly begun; and even then, as a general rule, the Preachers that displayed most activity, and met with most success, were themselves of barbarian origin.

The history of the gradual advance of a very imperfect Christian civilization over Central and Northern Europe, from the end of the fifth to the end of the fourteenth century, may be divided into three periods:—the Merovingian, the Carolingian, and that of the Crusades.

The Christians during the Merovingian period were just able to win back the ground that had been lost by the invasion. Ireland had embraced Christianity in the fifth century, and had escaped the calamities, and, in a great measure, the vices, of the Roman world. This hitherto almost unnoticed island furnished legions of Missionaries for the Continent, at a most important crisis. There seems to have been a natural affinity between the Celtic race and the Roman; half the great writers of Rome belonged to the Celtic provinces of Spain and Gaul; and now the island asylum of the Celtic race came to the rescue, and filled with her labours the interval between an expiring and a nascent civilization. Columbanus and St. Gall, with a host of followers and successors, cheered and exhorted the discouraged and demoralized Christians of Gaul and Burgundy. They evangelized the regions west of the Rhine,—the Allemanni of modern

Switzerland, the Lombards, and the Bavarians; and that with such success that, by the end of the seventh century, there had been established five bishoprics among the Bavarians, five among the Allemanni, and ten among the Franks of Austrasia,—regions, all of them, where Christianity had already prevailed, but from which it had been almost, or altogether, swept away by the inundation of Pagan races. After this, the missionary activity of the Irish declined; partly because, on account of their ecclesiastical independence, they were not encouraged by the Popes, and partly because it now became necessary to carry the Gospel into independent Germany itself, among those tribes who had never emigrated, and who were most accessible to Christian preachers of their own, or of a kindred, race.

The Anglo-Saxons occupy in the Carolingian period the place that the Irish had done in the Merovingian. The mission sent by Gregory the Great to the Saxons of England is an illustrious exception to the general inactivity of the original Christian Churches; but as soon as this energetic people was won over, Rome used their sons almost exclusively as Missionaries to the Germanic tribes of the Continent. The Saxons embraced Christianity with comparatively little difficulty, because they were away from the scenes of their sacred traditions. They had left their holy places and their gods behind them in the dark forests of their father-land; and they shared, with all the other emigrant Barbarian nations, a feeling of respect for the religion of the Romans, and aspirations after a something better than their fathers had known. Once converted, the Saxons showed peculiar gratitude and devotion to the See of Rome. Dr. Merle d'Aubigné, in his "*History of the Reformation in England*," regrets that the British and Irish Churches not only failed in their attempts to induce the Saxons to adopt an attitude of ecclesiastical independence, but were also themselves obliged finally to succumb to the Papal supremacy. It cannot, however, be proved, that there was more real religious life among the Britons and Culdees than among their contemporaries; and since the great experiment of external material unity was to be tried in the Christian Church, it is well that it has been tried under the most favourable circumstances. If Rome led the nations to the utter demoralization of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries,—if she so disgusted them with Christianity, that they were ready to throw it aside as a system of immorality and imposture,—it cannot be pretended that it was for want of opportunity to realize her ideal; for the whole of Central and Western Europe became one vast religious organization, subject to her spiritual sceptre, without one resisting people; while the East was then so unimportant and so isolated, that its resistance cannot be supposed to have counteracted whatever beneficial influences she could exercise in her own sphere.

During the eighth and ninth centuries, then, the Anglo-Saxons were the chief instruments at once of spreading Christianity on the Continent, and of increasing the authority of the Papal See. When, in the year 723, the Englishman Winfrid, on his second visit to the "eternal city," knelt before Gregory II. to receive the title of Bishop and the ecclesiastical name of Boniface, and was speedily sent off with a letter of recommendation to Charles Martel, that was a decisive moment for the new spiritual dominion of Rome. In 744, the influential monastery of Fulda was founded, like an advanced fortress, on the German soil. All those years we have important provincial councils held among the Austrasian Franks. In 740, Pope Zachary made Boniface Archbishop of Mayence, with jurisdiction over all Germany; and, in 752, Boniface anointed Pepin at Soissons,—a kind of consecration of Christian Kings which the Britons and Anglo-Saxons had borrowed from the Old Testament, but which had not hitherto been practised upon the Continent: it was the symbol of the alliance between the Church and political power. Several generations of Popes may be said to have leaned with one hand upon the sword of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne, and with the other upon the crosier of the Saxon Missionaries,—a Boniface; a Willibrod, Apostle of the Frisons; and a Willehad, first Bishop of Bremen. At the same time, the most illustrious teachers of the Continent—an Alcuin and a Duns Scotus—were natives of the British Isles. It is but just to confess that the conversion of the Germans was not effected as exclusively by brute force as has been sometimes represented: the wars of Charlemagne—those terrible campaigns renewed at intervals during thirty-two years—were, in principle, defensive. The Emperor felt it was his calling to continue that of the Romans, and, at the head of his own civilized Barbarians, to put an end to all new barbaric invasions: it was to accomplish this that he subdued the countries from which new hostile emigrations were to be feared. The incursions of the Normans afterwards, however great their ravages, were, as M. Guizot observes, a symptom that the more formidable irruptions of the Barbarians by land had ceased for ever, and that the restless spirits of the still Pagan North could only gratify their love of adventure by pillaging coasts. The Normans who settled in France were Christians in the second generation; that is, at the beginning of the tenth century: they had lost their native idiom before the eleventh. Their conversion closes the period of strife with barbarism, properly so called. The British Isles, part of Spain, France, Germany, and Italy, were now incorporated into one religious organization; and the series of the Middle Ages could begin.

Thus the current of southern civilization first turned the Alps with Julius Cæsar. Checked, for a while, and refluxed before the

barbarian immigrations, it changed its character; and, purer than before,—however deeply sullied still,—and mightier than before, it resumed its course, westward and northward, never to be rolled back again. Ansgar, Archbishop of Hamburg, began the evangelization of Denmark and Sweden in 826; but it was not until after many vicissitudes, and a struggle of three centuries, that a Christian church, rising upon the ruins of the sacred temple of Upsal, sealed the final conversion of the Scandinavian nations; and, even then, Paganism still retained its hold upon some of the populations on the southern coast of the Baltic, and the Finlanders on the east. In 1168, the Island of Rugen, of dreadful celebrity for its human sacrifices, submitted to the arms of Waldemar I. of Denmark. The Finlanders had previously yielded to similar arguments, wielded by Eric IX. of Sweden; and their kinsmen, the Finnish races of Livonia and Esthonia, were dragooned into baptism, at the close of the century, by the military Order of the Knights Sword-Bearers, instituted by Pope Innocent III., whose apostleship was more selfish and oppressive than any of the others; for they even took possession of the lands of their converts, and reduced them to serfdom. The conquest of the Prussians by the Teutonic Knights, in the thirteenth century, closed this long series of warlike missions; and, in 1420, the last sacred grove on the borders of the Baltic was cut down: it was in the south of Courland. The sort of Christianity thus introduced was so superficial, that we find Albertus Magnus visiting the people of Pomerania, after their nominal conversion, to dissuade them from a bad habit they had retained,—of eating their aged relatives! Yet the idols disappeared: they were too hideous to be adopted by the Church, and their gory rites too horrible to be modified for its use. Moreover, the violent proselytism of the Middle Ages awakened, in the bosom of the vanquished, no such indignant protestation, no such sense of violated right, as we, with our education, might suppose. With the rude worshipper of Thor it was a simple question,—whose God was the strongest; and he submitted to the demonstration of the sword's point, as the evidence he was accustomed to offer for his own religion, and which, in his mind, was definitive. Had those religious wars been matter of unmixed hypocrisy, cruelty, and rapacity, humanity would have revolted against them: as it was, the subject populations ended by appropriating whatever degree of Christian knowledge and feeling the western world could give them. Many a Monk and Bishop preceded the march of the Christian armies, and fell victims to their zeal; others followed in the wake of the Crusaders, and did their utmost to teach the new converts. Religious instruction, in the proper sense of the word, was unknown to pagan antiquity. Even the initiated in the Mysteries heard but poetry: the old forms of nature and

hero-worship never trusted themselves to speak in prose, the language of analysis and sober reflection. The Christian Church, on the contrary, never sank so low as to neglect altogether the instruction of the people. Thus Charlemagne had no sooner conquered the Saxons, than the Council of Mayence, A.D. 813, made provision for preaching and catechizing in the vulgar German tongue.

Behind those many Germanic nations who filled the Centre and the North of Europe, another whole barbaric world came instinctively pressing towards the West. Its various and independent tribes, now known by the common name of Slavonians, spoke kindred dialects, and, like the Germans, recognised their relation to each other as members of one great family, though never united under the same Government, and often at war with each other. Those more oriental barbarians were destined to be attracted to Christianity in their invasions of the Eastern Empire, as the Germans had been in their invasions of Gaul and Italy. At the close of the seventh century, the Bulgarians, Servians, and Croats were masters of the regions south of the Danube, and extended their settlements to the Adriatic, where the Venedes, one branch of their race, had been established from remote antiquity. During part of the eighth century they even possessed ancient Greece itself; and the Slavonic term "Morea," by which they designated the Peloponnesus, dates from that time. In 810, they defeated the Emperor Nicephorus in a battle, which cost him his life. The Christian religion was introduced among them partly by Greek captives,—of whom the most illustrious was a Bishop of Adrianople, honoured with martyrdom,—and partly by prisoners and hostages of their own nation, who became Christians at Constantinople, and propagated their faith on their return to their people. The Bulgarian Prince Bogoris was baptized in the year 863.

Those Slavonians of the South were separated from the mass of their brethren by the Roumans, or Latinized Dacians, of the provinces now known by the names of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania; and by the Magyars, or Hungarians, a people who had immigrated from Asia, but whose language betrays their relationship to the Fins. North of this ethnological barrier lay the Slavonic countries of Great Moravia, Bohemia, and Poland; and then, far off to the east and north, the unorganized and uncivilized tribes whose descendants were one day to form the Empire of all the Russias. It seems that the people of Great Moravia, who had been already humbled by Charlemagne, began to wish to acquaint themselves with Christianity about the middle of the ninth century; and, either through jealousy of the Germans, or following the example of their brethren in the South, they turned their eyes towards Constantinople instead of Rome; and, in the year 863, their Prince, Radislav, sent an embassy to the

Emperor Michael III., to solicit a mission of learned and pious men to preach to his people and translate the Scriptures. The Emperor to whom he addressed himself was plunged in the grossest debauchery and impiety, one of his favourite amusements being to dress his buffoons and himself in the robes of the Patriarch and Clergy, and administer a mock sacrament in a compound of mustard and vinegar. The Empress-Mother, Theodora, however, showed herself capable of making a judicious selection for this important mission; and the Monks Methodius and Cyril, who had already laboured among the Bulgarians, and among the Khazars of the Crimea, were sent to Radislav. Cyril invented the Slavonic alphabet, and translated the Holy Scriptures; and, while the Romish Missionaries were accustomed to treat the barbarian languages as too profane to have divine service celebrated in them, the more enlightened and charitable Greek composed a Slavonic Liturgy for his new converts.

The great schism between the Eastern and Western Churches, though not yet finally and officially consummated, was then impending. It existed already morally; and the Pope and the Patriarch of Constantinople vied in their attempts to secure the allegiance of the Slavonians. A letter of the Patriarch Photius to Bogoris, and another of Nicolas I., are still extant; and it must be confessed that the Pope, though showing no indifference as to the supremacy of the chair of Peter, displayed far more desire for the spiritual advancement of the Bulgarians than his rival did, and far less predominance of the hierarchical over the moral element. He exhorted these rude neophytes against their remaining pagan superstitions, against laying too much stress on external observances, against their cruelty, and their infliction of the punishment of death for trifling causes; and he even disapproved of forcing men to profess Christianity. The Bulgarians and their other Slavonian brethren of the south hesitated, for a time, between the two communions; but, at last, the Emperor Basil the Macedonian, by the weight and vigour of his character, turned the scale in favour of Constantinople. The Moravians, on the contrary, ended by attaching themselves to the Western Church, and that with the concurrence of Methodius and Cyril, who seem to have set what they believed to be the religious advantage of their disciples higher than any considerations of personal sympathy and national prejudice. They went to Rome in the pontificate of Adrian I.; and Cyril ended his days in that city in monastic retirement. Methodius was appointed by the Pope Archbishop of the Moravians. We afterwards find him defending his Slavonic Liturgy before John VIII. from the complaints of the Roman Clergy, A.D. 879, and obtaining permission for its use, on condition that the Gospel should be first read in Latin.

At this time Bohemia was politically dependent on Moravia. Its Duke, Borziwori, was baptized before the close of the century; but it was not until after many vicissitudes that the Cross was finally triumphant. Borziwori's grandson, Wenceslav, a zealous Christian, was killed by his Pagan brother, Boleslav, in 938; but the murderer was afterwards himself converted; and Adalbert, Archbishop of Prague, finished the religious revolution of Bohemia. Christianity passed from thence into Poland. Duke Micislav, whose wife was a Bohemian Princess, was baptized in 966. The Poles were, from the first, docile and unhesitating subjects of the See of Rome. All their early literature is in Latin; and they had no succession of poets in their native tongue, like the Bohemians.

Hungary became Christian under the combined influence of the Greeks, the Bohemians, and the Germans. When Otho the Great beat the Magyars at Augsburg, in 955, he obliged them, by treaty, to receive Missionaries. About the same time, Gylas, a Magyar Chieftain, was baptized at Constantinople. The son-in-law of Gylas, Geisa, King of Hungary, favoured the German missions, which were especially active from 971 to 991, under the direction of Bishop Pilgrim of Passau. There followed a bloody reaction of the Pagan party, but it was their last; and Stephen, son of Geisa, who succeeded to the throne in 997, and was a great admirer of Adalbert of Prague, merited, by his zeal, the rank of patron saint of his native land.

Sometime about A.D. 860, a band of hardy Scandinavian adventurers, under Rurik, made themselves masters of the town of Novogorod, and established there the centre of a sovereignty which was soon afterwards transferred to Kiev, and which extended itself rapidly over the hitherto scattered and politically unconnected Slavonic populations of those regions. Strange coincidence, that pirates of the same nation, and nearly of the same age, should found settlements that were historically to form such a contrast as Novogorod and Normandy! The adventurers were called "Russians," from a Finnish term for the Scandinavians. The Greeks used to call the people that lived between the Dnieper and the Don, *Syromedes*, that is, "lizard-eyed," from the almond shape of the eye still observable in the native Russian; hence, by an easy corruption, the Latin *Sarmatæ*. In A.D. 900, the new state was powerful enough to send eighty thousand warriors in boats down the Dnieper, and over the Black Sea, to the gates of Constantinople, whence they returned with an immense booty. The intercourse thus begun was to terminate, as in so many similar instances, by the conversion and civilization of the Barbarians. In the middle of the tenth century the high-spirited, but cruel, Princess Olga undertook a journey to Constantinople, where she was baptized; the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus himself, in the character

of sponsor, leading her to the baptismal font, and giving her the name of Helen. She tried in vain to persuade her son to follow her example; but her grandson, Vladimir the Great, not only embraced the Christian religion externally, (A.D. 986,) but would seem to have done so from the heart, and to have honoured his profession by his life in a way that was very unusual with the political converts of this rude age. He extended and enriched his empire, established schools, adopted Cyril's Slavonic alphabet, and his translation of the Bible, encouraged arts and commerce, and was, in short, for Russia, what Alfred the Great had been for England just a century before.

Lithuania, placed between two Christian countries, hesitated long before it abandoned its idols. Olgherd, Grand Duke of Lithuania and part of Russia, in the fourteenth century, used to share in the Christian worship and build convents at Kiev, while at Wilna he still sacrificed to idols. He received Christian rites at his death, and Pagan at his burial! At last, in 1386, Jagellon professed Christianity, without mixture or reserve, in order to obtain the hand of the Princess Hedwiga, and the crown of Poland with it. The conversion of Lithuania added to the family of European Christian nations its last member. This people never decided in a body between the Eastern and Western Churches, and are to this day divided between the Catholics and the Greeks.

Unfortunately, Vladimir the Great divided his dominions among his twelve sons; and the same system of dismemberment was followed by his successors, entailing upon their people two centuries and a half of intestine wars, followed by two centuries and a half of cruel and humiliating subjection to the Tartars. The eleventh century was not one of complete barbarism. Yaroslaf was an eminent legislator. The counsels of Vladimir Monomach, bequeathed to his children, are said to be full of austere wisdom, pure morality, and Christian philosophy. This Monarch's contemporary, the Monk Nestor, wrote interesting chronicles: but the four centuries that followed are a complete blank in the intellectual, social, and moral history of Russia. Were it not for this long and dreary interval, Russia might perhaps have kept up with the rest of Europe, as it had already got the start of the nations round the Baltic; but while Europe was at the school of chivalry and the Crusades, treasuring up rich experience for future ages, developing its intelligence and resources, laying the foundation of our modern liberties, and preparing the whole framework of modern society, this unhappy people, on the contrary, retrograded rather under the influence of their own dissensions, and of Tartar tyranny. All the nations of the West had some popular literature, ballads, legends, &c., during the Middle Ages; while it is characteristic of Russia, that the only fragment of the kind which archæologists have been

able to detect, is one solitary piece of warlike poetry of the twelfth century.

Ivan' III. Vassilievitch, who reigned from 1462 to 1505, married Sophia, niece of Constantine, the last of the Palæologi. At her instigation he threw off the Tartar yoke, took Kazan, and was solemnly crowned there. He also, after a siege of seven years, subdued Novogorod, whose inhabitants had erected themselves into a republic during the times of anarchy. Nearly all the principalities of Russia were united under his sceptre, and the work of centralization was completed by his son; so that the restoration of the Russian monarchy may be dated from his reign. It was contemporaneous with the consolidation of most of the continental monarchies,—with the reigns of Maximilian of Austria, Ferdinand of Spain, and Louis XI. of France. Thus the new empire rose into being, just as Constantinople had fallen into the hands of the Turks; and the marriage of Ivan with the Princess Sophia, the last of many similar alliances, gave the northern potentate in some sort the right to look upon himself as the representative of the Cæsars of the Eastern Empire, destined to be their successor and avenger. It was then that the double-headed eagle of Byzantium, holding a sceptre in one claw and the globe in another, became the emblem of Russia. Its older insignia, St. George and the Dragon, are still borne on a red shield on the eagle's breast.

This too rapid sketch of the progress of Christian civilization has brought us to the beginning of the sixteenth century,—that great epoch of transition at which it is fitting that we should pause, and take note of the aspect which Europe as a whole then presented. Taken *ethnologically*, the great mass of the inhabitants of Europe, then as now, consisted of three sections,—the Celto-Roman, the Germanic, and the Slavonic. The only change has been in their relative strength: they are nearly equal now, while, in the sixteenth century, the Germans were inferior in number to the Celto-Romans, and the Slavonians far inferior to the Germans. Taken *religiously*, the Russians, the Slavonians of the Danube, and the Greeks, formed one Christian communion of a very low standard of intelligence and piety; the southern portion struggling in vain against the advancing Crescent; the northern but just escaping, weakened and degraded, from the grasp of the Tartar; in both, the religious character almost confounded with the national, and the Clergy in helpless dependence upon the Crown. Central, Northern, and Western Europe, on the other hand, formed a more imposing religious unity, in which the Church was in a great measure independent of the civil power.

The expression of St. Paul, that "God sent his Son *when the fulness of the time was come*," (Gal. iv. 4,) authorizes us to draw from Scripture itself this great principle of the philosophy of

history,—that mankind collectively are at the school of God. Had Jesus Christ come earlier than he did, it would have been premature: the world was not yet ready for him; it had not yet the experience necessary to prepare it for the reception of the religion of redemption. It follows, then, that, besides the lessons learned by any one generation on its own account, there are others which become part of those hereditary acquisitions under the influence of which the rising generation grows up, and which form its character. There are periods in history at which it can be said of a race taken collectively, that it has profited by the experience of the past. Thus the Jews were radically and for ever cured of idolatry from the Babylonish Captivity onward. Thus, again, the nations of classical antiquity were only prepared for Christianity when they had fully tried their several religions, and worked out the principle of the kind of civilization to which they severally belonged. Like so many prodigal sons, they wandered away from God, and only came to themselves when they began to be in want. The monumental civilizations of ancient Babylon and Egypt, the arts and sciences of Greece, the conquering and self-assimilating genius of Rome, were all so many directions in which men tried to satisfy themselves without God; and the apathy, the weariness of life, the strange mixture of scepticism and monstrous superstition which characterized the generation in which Jesus Christ appeared, were symptoms of the utter failure of the last of those trials. Had man retained the integrity of his nature, his history would have been an even series of uninterrupted and happy progress: had man been abandoned of God, his history would have been one downward course of hopeless degradation, guilt, and misery; or, rather, there would have been no reprieve at all before the final catastrophe. But the actual history that we know is neither of these: it is the result of two factors,—man's tendencies on the one hand,—the controlling and correcting compassions of God on the other. Sin has changed human progress into a conflict: it is still progress, but irregular, interrupted, and attended with fearful suffering; so that any given phase of civilization is not what the Divine Will would have produced in the abstract, but what it has produced when acting on resisting and antagonistic elements. Each phase exhibits at the same time ideas and institutions which are really acquisitions, and are transmitted as such to future ages; and ideas and institutions which are aberrations, and have only been permitted to come into existence that future ages might learn not to repeat the error.

Taking these general considerations along with us, and contemplating the vast religious confederacy which embraced Central and Western Europe in the Middle Ages, we feel we are in presence of a great providential training-period in the history of mankind. It was a period which laid deep and durable founda-

tions for future good, and developed, at the same time, gigantic forms of evil, as a warning for future generations. The old Roman world had been unable to conceive any other unity among men but that of a material political organization, while every province retained its peculiar traditional deities. The Middle Ages, under the influence of Christianity, began to understand the supremacy of the spiritual principle, and sought for unity in the possession of a common religious organization, and common forms of worship, while admitting of variety in social and political institutions; thus forming the transition to the higher and freer conception of modern Protestantism,—unity in the possession of a common faith and spiritual life, admitting of variety in forms of worship and of ecclesiastical organization. The civil despotism of the Middle Ages was to pass away as soon as it had tamed the lawless barbarian temper, leaving behind it our modern liberties, and the habit of exercising them, though in very different degrees of development in the several nations which have grown out of feudal society. The yoke of the priesthood was to be broken as soon as their agency had become more powerful for evil than for good; and the personal religion of the Reformation succeeded the selfish spiritual despotism of the Pope. In short, the Middle Ages were the preparation—partly positive, and partly negative—for all the good that it was in the purpose of God to bestow upon mankind. The destinies of the world were to issue from the providential training of the nations belonging to the Western Church.

On the other hand, when we turn to the Russians, and their co-religionists in the South-east of Europe, a spectacle altogether dissimilar is presented to us. Our Middle Ages, with whatever of good or evil they have bequeathed to the future, did not exist for Russia. The providential education of the eastern third of Europe has been of quite a different character from that of the other two-thirds: its history has been far less diversified, its experience less complete, its energies less called into exercise. This original and essential difference is the secret of most of the contrasts that strike even the least attentive observers. Great as is the present antagonism between Papal and Protestant Europe, they have not only remembrances, but even present elements, in common, which are wanting in Russia. The spirit of chivalry, for instance, never existed among this people, who had no share in the Crusades. They have never fought, except for material advantages. No people in the world exchange more readily the civil for the military life: and yet they have but a faint idea of military honour. With the religion of the Greeks they borrowed the morals, the political maxims, the cunning and bad faith of degenerate Constantinople. Hence the striking disproportion between the ability displayed by the Russians in diplomacy, and that which they exhibit in literature and in the

arts. There is not that feeling of personal dignity, that respect for individual rights, which prevails, comparatively at least, in the rest of Europe, and puts forth its claims even where it is violated. Again, while through all our modern history there has been a gradual advance from one degree of civil liberty to another, Russian history, as we shall see, registers a gradual diminution of the liberty of the subject for the last three centuries. Religion with us is more and more a matter of personal conviction, leading to free personal activity in its diffusion: religion with the Russian is a mere instinct, a part of his national feeling, which he never thinks of communicating to others, unless they are brought under the sway of the same sceptre.

The question naturally presents itself, Are some of those failings to be referred to an original inferiority in the Slavonic race, rather than to historical causes? Perhaps so, in some small measure. There would seem to exist less hardihood, less native independence and moral energy, among the Slavonians, especially the eastern part of them, than among the Germans. It has been remarked, that the leaders and Princes of Slavonic nations have been very generally men belonging to other races: the present Russian Nobles, it is said, are, most of them, like their Sovereign, of foreign origin: and it may be doubted whether any German tribe, placed in the situation of the Russian peasants, would have submitted to the gradual extinction of their rights as freemen. There is a want of order in the character of all the Slavonic nations; and Independent Poland was not only cursed with serfdom, but also with a venality, on the part of public functionaries, equal, perhaps, to that of her present oppressors. However, there can be no doubt that the servile character of the civilization imported from the degenerate Greek Empire, and the debasing influence of long subjection to the Tartars, have been far greater causes of Russian inferiority than any original defects of temperament. The Slavonians of Poland and Bohemia, who bore their part in the history of the Middle Ages, and were incorporated into feudal civilization, showed themselves, in most respects, equal to the rest of Europe: no people were more eminent in literature, or more chivalrous in war. The Emperor Charles IV., in his Golden Bull of 1356, made the Tchek the diplomatic language of Germany. The western members of the Slavonic family bade fair, for a time, to rival, if not to outstrip, the Germans in the work of religious reformation. The influence of the Waldenses was felt in Bohemia and Moravia before the fourteenth century; Wickliffe's works were spread in both countries, and his followers found a refuge there; John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, were the noble forerunners of the Reformers in both their labours and their martyrdom. Unfortunately, the religious movement of the fifteenth

and sixteenth centuries in Bohemia was overlaid by the political one. The Tcheks made the principles of Huss a pretext for a struggle to maintain their nationality against German usurpations; but this secularization of a religious cause, though rendering it popular for a time, made its influence superficial, and was the occasion of its ruin. The religion, the nationality, and the constitutional liberties of Bohemia perished all together on the fatal field of Weissenberg, in 1620; and so little rooted was mere political religion, that, fifteen years afterwards, the whole kingdom was, in appearance at least, Roman Catholic.

The history of Poland, with an equally disastrous termination, exhibits at least equal proofs of this country's participation in the common political and religious life of Central and Western Europe. Except a Hymn to the Virgin, the oldest remnant of Polish literature extant is a little poem in honour of Wickliffe, written about the middle of the fifteenth century. The Letters of Bernard of Lublin to Simon of Cracow anticipated Luther's Theses by two years. The great progress of the Reformation in Poland during the following century is known to every well-informed person; but the spread of Socinianism on the one hand, and the excessive intolerance and superstition of the Lutherans on the other, too soon marred this fair prospect:—men shrank from the hollow Deism of the one party, and the dry dogmatism of the other; the Jesuits got possession of the Court; the Nobles showed themselves, as Nobles in most countries do, slavishly dependent on the Court in matters of religion; and the petty Nobles had not the independence with which our middle classes would have resisted such influences.

The geographical situation of the Slavonic races should invite them to act as mediators between the East and the West, appropriating the civilization of Europe, and transmitting it to Asia. Their eminently cosmopolitan character is peculiarly fitted for such a mission: the oldest Slavonian codes put the *gast*, or "stranger," on a level with the native; they are naturally at once the most hospitable and the most imitative of mankind. Old Poland, with its ever-shifting frontiers, instinctively aimed at a universal Slavonian Confederation, on the principle of free association; and the Polish mind exhibited, for a time, a religious tolerance, and a respect for the nationality of other populations, greater than was felt elsewhere. But the weakness of the Crown having left the peasants without their natural protector, they were reduced to serfdom; and when the Jesuits directed the conscience and the counsels of Sigismund III., this Monarch, fatally untrue to the national instinct of tolerance, persecuted the Greeks of Lithuania, and alienated for ever the minds of the Russians, at a time when Russia might otherwise have been easily annexed to Poland. We may venture to say, that a great opportunity for the whole Slavonic race, and for the world, was

lost through the influence of the Jesuits over Sigismund III. at the beginning of the seventeenth century; for if the stream of civilization had continued to pursue the course it had followed since the days of Clovis, Poland would have made herself mistress of Russia. She was qualified to do so by the attraction which a higher civilization exercises; and, at the period alluded to, the task would have been rendered singularly easy by the circumstances of Russia. The family of Rurik had become extinct, and a succession of usurpers struggled for the crown. The armies of Sigismund occupied Moscow in 1610; and the Russians, wearied by internal anarchy, and by the attacks of the Swedes, would probably have allowed themselves to be incorporated with a kindred people, if they had not seen in Sigismund the enemy of their religion, the persecutor of their Lithuanian brethren. So the patriot peasant Minin and Prince Pojarski roused their countrymen to a desperate effort: the Poles were expelled; and Russia, instead of an instrument of European influences, became a barrier against them, as she remains to this day: nay, she has conquered Poland in her turn, and presses upon Germany.

Without speculating upon what would be the present state of the world, if Poland had become Protestant, and Russia Polish, let us retrace the steps by which Russia has been gradually brought to become what she is, politically, socially, and morally.

The original state of the Sarmatian people seems to have been one of barbarian liberty and equality. Indeed, the peasant still says "thee" and "thou" to every body, which gives his language a tone of patriarchal simplicity, augmented, perhaps, by the expressions of endearment with which it abounds, as, "my heart," "my life," "my dove." After the reign of Rurik and his Varangians, the descendants of the first adventurers acquired a sort of nobility, or hereditary superiority, which, however, still left the Russian peasant a freeman. The long tyranny of the Tartars made the next advance towards the present social state. The peasant became accustomed to look upon himself as born to labour for others. His immediate taskmasters were the Nobles of his own country, who, paying tribute to the Asiatic invaders, were established in the exercise of despotic powers in order to be the better able to exact it. When the Tartar yoke was thrown off, it was practically an emancipation of the Czar and the nobles merely, while the condition of the peasantry did not change. It was still, however, more tolerable than it is now; and the poor people, in the joy of their release from the thralldom of the stranger and the infidel, did not perceive that their superiors alone profited by it. The reign of Ivan IV., justly called "the Terrible,"—a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth, and who made a treaty of commerce with England,—was a new epoch in the progress of despotism. The citizens of Novogorod the

Great, who sighed for their old freedom, and still retained certain democratic institutions, were suspected of conspiring to surrender the city and surrounding territory into the hands of the King of Poland. Ivan took this devoted city in 1570, razed it to the ground, and butchered twenty-five thousand of its inhabitants in cold blood: its franchises were done away with for ever; and the bell that used to summon the *Vetche*, or popular assembly of the only free city in the empire, has been silent for well-nigh three centuries. During this reign, also, took place the first encounter between the Turks and the Russians. The Sultan, Selim II., ordered a canal to be cut between the Don and the Wolga; but wild-looking men, issuing from the woods, cut his workmen to pieces:—they were the soldiers of Ivan the Terrible.

The dynasty of Rurik became extinct in 1598; and Boris Godunof, a man of great wealth and energy, whose sister had married the last representative of the imperial family, managed to become its successor. During his brother-in-law's life, Boris had rivetted the chains of the peasants by depriving them of the right of changing lands and lords, if they pleased, on St. George's Day,—a privilege which they had hitherto enjoyed. This fatal measure may be considered as the establishment of serfdom, properly so called. The peasant was henceforth tied to the soil, bought and sold along with it, and unable to escape from a cruel master when he had the misfortune to find one. It coincided chronologically with the accession of the Stuarts to the throne of England; so that the century which was to witness the consecration of Englishmen's dearest liberties, began by the confiscation of the last liberties of the Russian people. What an opportunity, indeed, that was for Poland, if the spirit of aristocracy and the influence of the Jesuits had not hindered her from profiting by it, and rousing the Russian serf to fight for freedom!

Boris Godunof felt the necessity of surrounding his newly-acquired power with every possible *prestige*. He was the first to assume the title of Czar, the Russian corruption of *Cæsar*. He promulgated a prayer, which the head of every family was to repeat before their meals: "My God, we pray for the health of the body and soul of Boris, our Czar; the only Christian Monarch of the universe, whom other Sovereigns serve as slaves, whose mind is a deep of wisdom, and whose heart is full of love and magnanimity." The whole tendency of Czarism is breathed in this prayer; which, while appealing to the natural tendency of the Russian mind to King-worship, at the same time artfully flattered the sort of pride which belongs to half-savage nations, and made the Czar, in some sort, the representative of the superiority of his people. It is to be feared this prayer was intended to produce effect on earth, rather than to be heard in heaven;

but the adoption of such a device for making the royal person an object of superstitious reverence, proves the existence of a peculiar cast of thought in the people whom it was intended to influence. The Russian is distinguished by an instinct of veneration and a natural religiousness,—precious qualities indeed, if they had not been abused into servility and superstition. The low mechanical sort of religion he had learned from the Greeks, and the perpetual struggle for existence in which he found himself engaged with Tartar and Turk, combined to make his religion and his patriotism one feeling; to absorb the religious in the national character, and, at last,—since in Asiatic fashion the Ruler is the nation,—to put at the disposal of his political Ruler the deep-seated and enduring impulses which properly belong to the religious principle. “The God of the Russians is great,” is a proverb which exhibits this feeling. More characteristic still is the expression, “Holy Russia,” which embodies the popular conception of the national calling to be the all-conquering orthodox people.

These arts did not prolong Boris’s reign, or secure the crown for his family. But when, after several years of anarchy, the first Romanof was elected Czar, in 1618, by almost general consent, he and his descendants continued to use the theocratic language which was so well suited to the temper of their subjects. “You,” said Peter the Great, in a Manifesto against the Shah of Persia, whom he was about to attack most unjustly,—“You, and you alone, will be to blame for this, and will have to answer for it at the second coming of the Lord our God.” Peter brought the system to perfection by assuming, in 1702, the religious as well as political supremacy over his people,—making himself at once the Pope and the Autocrat of all the Russias. This bold step was facilitated by the subserviency toward the civil power, in which the Russian Church, like its Greek parent, had always been maintained; it concentrated upon the person of the Emperor, without a rival, the strongest feelings of respect and devotedness of which human nature is capable. Yet the usurpation was not effected altogether without opposition: some of the Clergy and peasantry called the Czar “Antichrist,” and founded the sect of the *Starowers*, or “Old Believers,” who dissent from the National Church on this ground. This sect, though constantly kept in a state of depression, was too numerous to be exterminated: it is supposed now to amount to five millions of souls, chiefly, we believe, in Little Russia. The Government tried to put an end to its existence by interrupting the apostolical succession of its Priesthood; the Priests who adhered to the sect being seized, formed into regiments, and sent to die of ague in Lankaran, on the Caspian: but this purpose has been defeated by the protection of the Sultan; for, since 1846, Greek Bishops at Constantinople confer

imposition of hands on the persons sent to them by the Starowers. The essential difference between the Old Believers and the National Church has led to minor details of controversy, in which the wretchedly low conceptions of both parties are but too plainly revealed: thus, one of the matters eagerly agitated is, whether the priestly benediction with two fingers is valid, or whether it should be bestowed with three fingers! At the bottom of these puerile controversies there exists a persevering instinct of religious independence, which, in some day of distress, may render the Starowers a revolutionary power, dangerous to the stability of the whole Russian system. Some minor sectaries expect the coming of an ideal Prince, whom they call "the White Czar;" and in 1812 they thought that Napoleon was the lion of the valley of Jehoshaphat, coming to dethrone the false Emperor, and prepare the way of the White Czar. They actually sent Napoleon a deputation, but it did not reach him. The fugitive Cossacks, who have two settlements in Asia Minor, —one from the time of Mazeppa's alliance with Charles XII., and the other from the time of Catherine II.,—belong both of them to the sect of the Starowers, and entertain correspondence with their co-religionists within the Russian frontier.

The extraordinary labours of Peter the Great to raise Russia in the scale of material civilization, are known to every body. He found the empire with one solitary port, Archangel, free from ice some three months in the year: he left it with a magnificent capital opening on the Gulf of Finland. He organized an army, created a navy, established a regular administration, fostered the arts, made canals, instituted posts, and invented an alphabet. This last fact requires explanation; for it is, at first sight, almost inconceivable, that a great people, converted to Christianity for eight centuries, should have had no alphabet until 1704. Such a fact is a revelation of the state of Russian culture, up to the time of Peter, which requires no comment. It appears that the old Slavonic of Cyril and Methodius still remained the language of the Bible and the Liturgy, while it had gradually gone out of use in ordinary life; or, rather, it had never been exactly the colloquial language of the great majority of the populations of Russia, who spoke various dialects related to one another, and to the Slavonic, but which were illustrated by no literary productions, and which it had never been attempted to reduce to unity and order. Peter suppressed nine of the forty-three Slavonic letters, and so far modified the dead language, by rules taken from the chief living dialects, as to lay a fixed basis for the modern Russian tongue, and make it capable of the improvements it has since received. Lomonosof, a fisherman of Archangel, was the author of the first Russian Grammar. Prince Kantemir, a descendant of Genghis Khan, Ambassador at London in 1732, and at Paris in 1738, a friend

of Montesquieu, was the first native writer of any eminence. He excelled in satire, for which his nation seems to have a peculiar genius. The only other literary character of the eighteenth century was Derjavin, a Tartar soldier from Kazan, whose lyric poetry is of a high order, and very original. He was an admirer of the Empress Catherine II.

The great drawback upon Peter's labours is, that he himself remained a barbarian in the midst of the appliances of civilization. While instinctively forestalling the famous phrase, "Knowledge is power," he showed himself incapable of understanding that higher power of self-restraint,—that moral superiority,—without which knowledge is but power in hands that are unworthy of it. The Monarch who could spend weeks together in the lowest debauchery, and with the lowest associates; who was at once tyrant, drunkard, and buffoon; who could let loose live bears in a masquerade at his fool's wedding, and cut off with his own hand the heads of a score of rebellious Strelitz, quaffing off a cup of wine between every victim;—such a man was still a savage at bottom, and incapable of appreciating the real principle of civilization. He could value the various processes by which men acquire empire over nature; he could value the knowledge of facts, as such, and facilitate its communication; but he remained a stranger to a whole order of ideas and feelings in which the rest of Europe had grown up, and which were so early instilled into every successive generation, as to appear innate and hereditary. Were it not for this, he would have devoted his prodigious energies to raise his people morally, instead of merely borrowing the arts and copying the external civilization of other nations: his reform would have proceeded from *within*, and been thorough, instead of coming from *without*, and remaining superficial. As it was, his own character, with all its contrasts, became the emblem of the Russian people. The system which he began has been developed by his successors. In some respects, indeed, there has been progress; a national literature, for instance, has begun to replace translations from foreigners; but, on the whole, Russia is what Peter made it,—a society under perpetual martial law, with the discipline of a camp instead of the order of a state, the people enregimented without being educated, modern administrative experience serving oriental despotism, the extremes of natural barbarism and imported civilization elbowing each other at every turn; and the immorality, venality, servility, and mendacity of all ranks justifying the terrible sentence of Diderot, that "Russia was a fruit which had rotted before ripening." Russia passed at one bound from childhood to artificial manhood: the impatience of her Monarchs deprived her of the lessons of adolescence, of the deep fermentation of slow and natural civilization. It taught her to live for appearances, to impose upon the world

by the spectacle of her power, and of her imitations of European culture, without troubling herself about the degraded condition of the mass of her population, and the low moral standard of all.

Peter ordered his Nobles to give balls at St. Petersburg, and he made a decree to oblige their wives and daughters to appear at them, and abandon their Asiatic seclusion. Such sovereign cares may excite a smile; but, be it remembered, they were the beginning of a minute inquisitorial tyranny, in which the Czars have continued to indulge, and from the stifling grasp of which no domestic privacy is safe. The habits of Western Europe, and the German functionaries introduced by Peter, wounded the national feeling of the great body of the Russians; and the struggle between the national and foreign element was, as it were, personified in that between the Czar himself and his son Alexis, who, after flying from the empire, returned, was thrown into prison, and poisoned there. Peter vanquished the resistance of the old Muscovites; but, instead of looking upon his despotism as a necessary evil, which should be softened down in future generations, as society got less rude, he took every precaution to render it perpetual. Up to his time, the ukases began with this formula, "The great Prince has ordained: the Boyards have approved." He suppressed it; he would not even leave the Boyards the semblance of a political right. Of course, since one mind is not able to go through the business of an immense empire, it is necessary that there should be a Senate, and governmental departments of all sorts; but the will of the Autocrat is supreme and uncontrolled. The only means by which the Boyards can exercise an influence upon the affairs of state, is through the comparative facility which their access to the person of the Sovereign affords them of using poison or the dagger; and modern Russian history presents us with tragedies which the rest of Europe has not heard of since the Middle Ages, almost justifying M. de Custine's definition, "An absolute monarchy, tempered by assassination." A body of nobility, who have no voice in the affairs of their country, are necessarily dissipated; they are driven to debauchery and profligality by very weariness at St. Petersburg now, like those of Venice once. Hence the proprietors of Russia have been accumulating debts for several generations, with a recklessness unknown in other countries. Catherine II., in order to save them from the clutches of private usurers, founded a state bank, in which money is lent to them at eight *per cent*. By this means their property falls rapidly into the hands of Government: the Crown now possesses half the lands of the empire, if we are to judge by the number of its serfs, which is nearly equal to that of all the other proprietors put together; so that Russia is making giant strides towards the Socialist ideal of—the state the uni-

versal land-owner. One human being Autocrat, Pontiff, and landlord of all the Russias! What a prospect for those who admire authority! It is no wonder that the high reactionary aristocracy of Germany should openly express their sympathy for the Czar at the present crisis, under the influence of the same morbid feeling which makes some of them every day turn Papists or Irvingites.

For the still greater centralization of power, all the free members of society were distributed by Peter into fourteen classes, the civil and military hierarchies corresponding to each other, and rank throughout the empire being determined by the class assigned to each individual in this vast organization, which begins with the Field-Marshal and the Patriarch, and ends with the Ensign and the Sexton. Between the Nobles and the serfs there is an intermediate class, the burgesses of towns, divided into three guilds: the first consists of burgesses who have £8,000 capital and upwards; the second, of those who have £3,200; the third, £1,280. The members of the first two guilds may ride in a carriage with two horses, and they are exempt from corporal chastisement; the members of the third may not aspire to more than a one-horse carriage, and may be caned and knouted at pleasure. All three may have houses of their own, and even gardens; but they cannot buy land with serfs upon it.

It is evident, that a country in the circumstances of Russia under Peter the Great, could borrow the military arts of the civilized world more easily than any other; indeed, a semi-barbarous people, when disciplined, are, in many respects, more formidable in war than more advanced races. Large armies can be more easily levied and supported; the wants of the soldier are fewer, and he sets lightly by his own life and that of others. Russia, upon assuming her rank among the powers of Europe, found herself capable of exercising, by mere physical strength, far greater influence than she would have been entitled to from any other consideration. It was natural, therefore, that she should bestow especial attention on the only sphere in which she could successfully compete with other nations, and that she should become an essentially military power. This tendency was increased by a great many causes. The disposition to extend oneself at the expense of others, and neglect internal improvement for foreign conquest, is not extinct in the more highly civilized nations; but it does certainly prevail to a greater extent among the less civilized. A spirit of restless agitation is the character of all northern nations in particular, unless where serious religious development and domestic comfort attach them to their home. The Russian peasant has instincts not altogether unrelated to those of the Tartar who oppressed him once: the thought of more fertile and sunny regions gleams betimes across his generally apathetic mind,

inspiring a vague desire to visit and possess them. He does not attach himself to his monotonous plains, forests, and marshes, like the inhabitants of regions of more strongly marked and varied character: his patriotism concerns itself with the language, the religion, and the customs of his people, rather than with the land they live in, and can readily resign itself to emigration. Again: hereditary strife with Sweden, Poland, and Turkey had assumed a religious character, and accustomed the Russian soldier to shoulder his musket with deeper feelings than those of national antagonism. Let us add, that the state of all the neighbouring countries was such as might tempt a more highly-principled Court than that of St. Petersburg to turn to account their dissensions, and their many elements of internal weakness, by timely alternations of intrigue and force.

All these causes combined prepared Russia to be an invading people, ever ready to seize the opportunity of aggrandizement, and retaining the prey that it had once seized with the tenacity of the Maelstrom. It is now the only people of Europe which retains the theory and the practice of conquest, while experience has taught all the others to give it up, and reciprocally respect their several national existences. Peter showed his successors, by his example, the directions in which they were to march on the career of systematic aggression which his daring, inhuman, and unscrupulous genius traced out for them. He planned the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, though he was himself signally defeated by them, and driven behind the Dnieper; he commanded the Caspian by a fleet, his influence and alliances extended to the banks of the Indus, and he got possession of a considerable part of Persia, though it was soon retaken by the vigorous conduct of Nadir Shah; in the North he wrested Ingria, Livonia, and Esthonia from Sweden, inflicting the first serious wound on the power of that noble people. The foundation of St. Petersburg embodied at once all his thoughts, his purposes, and his faults. It was the triumph of his self-love over the independence of the old Muscovites who wished to resist his innovations: it inaugurated the naval power of a great continental people finding its way to the ocean: its costly edifices, built with Grecian and Roman colonnades, so unlike the national architecture of the Kremlin, and so unsuited to a country of level plains and undefined horizons, were a fit expression of an artificial civilization that had no roots in the soil. At the same time a capital built upon ground won from Sweden was the proudest emblem that could be devised of the vast and persevering ambition that premeditated raising its greatness upon the spoils of the world. It was a trophy prophetic of the future power of Russia, and, from its erection onward, Princes and people have been planning for the future, while the other nations of Europe have been living for the present.

Strange coincidence ! it is to the United States that one must go to find equal pre-occupation about the future, and equal susceptibility on the score of national institutions.

Of all the successors of Peter the Great, Catherine II. trod most completely in his steps ; whether we consider the vices of her private life, or her boundless ambition, military triumphs, and diplomatic dexterity. This reign of thirty-four years witnessed the two dismemberments of Poland, the first permanent footing gained south of Caucasus,—when Heraclius, Sovereign of Georgia, Imeretia, and Mingrelia, was inveigled into recognising himself the vassal of Russia,—two successful wars with Turkey, the annexation of the Crimea, and the advance of the south-west frontier first to the Bogue, and then to the Dniester. That is to say, she augmented the empire by several millions of souls, and by territories larger than France or than the Austrian Empire. Catherine may be said to have settled and perfected the successive processes by which independent states, or the provinces of other empires, were henceforth to be incorporated with Russia. The formula is well defined by Sir John M'Neil to be the following : first, *disorganization* by means of corruption and secret agency ; next in order, *military occupation*, to restore tranquillity ; then *protection*, followed by *incorporation*. Her first war with Turkey was remarkable for the first great victory of the Russian navy, in the destruction of the Turkish fleet at Tchesme by Alexis Orloff, under the direction of an English officer, Admiral Greig. This war was undertaken by the Porte, in 1769, essentially to procure the evacuation of Poland. The war of 1787 was the result of a secret arrangement with the Emperor Joseph II. of Austria, for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire ; and Egypt was offered to France, if she would join in the project ; but it was defeated by the interposition of England and Prussia. On this occasion, the idea of disturbing the British Empire in India was seriously entertained at St. Petersburg. Prince Nassau Siegen drew up a project for the march of an army, through Bokhara and Cashmere, to Bengal ; and the scheme has never been forgotten in Russia : the sacrifices of blood and treasure which have secured her trans-Caucasian provinces, must have been made for some greater end than the simple possession of those costly appendages to the empire.

The work which Peter had begun, of subduing the Cossacks, and making their very habits of wild independence subserve the strength of the empire, was completed by Catherine. Those communities of hardy borderers had gradually formed themselves in the Ukraine. The love of independence had early attracted into the unpeopled regions between Russia and Poland fugitive peasants,—criminals betimes,—the bolder and discontented spirits who would own the authority of neither country.

They sought protection from each, alternately, when the other tried to bring them into subjection; and were as much Polish as Russian, until the intolerance of the Jesuits threw them finally into the arms of the power that professed their own religion. The communities of the Don were formed of Russians, Tartars, and Circassians, under similar circumstances. The name, "Cos-sack," originated here from the Turkish word *casak*, "partisan," "light-horseman." The borderers of the Ukraine were first called *Zaporogues*; a term which indicated their abode "above the cataracts" of the Dnieper. Completely tamed by the severity of Peter and Catherine, they are now military colonists, with many privileges, and great equality amongst each other. The lands they cultivate do not belong to the individual proprietors, but to the commune.

At Voltaire's death Catherine bought his library, and had it arranged, with his bust in the middle, in a sumptuous apartment of the palace. With a spurious liberalism, quite in Voltaire's taste, she pretended to copy institutions, the spirit of which she could not adopt. Thus she once determined to have a Parliament, and convoked Deputies from all the provinces to Moscow, to compile a "fundamental legislation." It soon came out, however, that there were still to be ukases; and no reply could be given to the homely remark of a Tartar, that if there were still to be ukases, he did not see the use of laws! Another time the Empress published an ukase, ordering the word "slave" to be banished from the Russian vocabulary: however, the *thing* remained unchanged, and, worse, its action was extended; for it was in the reign of this Princess that the peasants of Little Russia were reduced to the condition of serfs, which they had hitherto escaped.

At the close of the eighteenth century Russia had made immense progress towards the accomplishment of Peter the Great's projects. She had acquired supremacy in the Baltic, and nearly exclusive possession of the Black Sea and the Caspian. She had begun to domineer in Persia, with a view to open the road to India. She knew how to convert her neighbours into dependents, by tempting them with territory; or, when their hostility was aroused by her usurpations, she managed to conquer their resistance by the influence she possessed over Cabinets at a distance. She presented a spectacle of territorial aggrandizement such as the world had not witnessed since ancient Rome; and it was not obtained, like that of Rome, by fierce conflict with her equals; for she had never come into hostile contact, as a principal, and unaided, with any of the great powers of Europe: she had but profited by the weakness, or the disorganization, or the decay, of neighbouring countries.

The reader is aware that the unfortunate Emperor Paul was murdered in March, 1801, in his new palace of St. Michael, in

the most determined and barbarous manner, by some Nobles who had suffered private injuries, and persuaded themselves that they were doing good service to their country. Early on the following morning Alexander was proclaimed Emperor of all the Russias. "May the horror of this first day," he exclaimed, "be effaced by the glory of those that are to follow!" Alexander had the natural religious instinct of the people he was called to govern; and the theocratic principles which previous Sovereigns had professed in deference to the spirit of their people, became matter of real conviction with him. The administrative bureaucracy, borrowed from Germany, was, indeed, retained as a convenient instrument; but the Asiatic idea of the supreme power, formed under the influence of the Mongols, and the peculiarly Russian idea of the religious character and mission of this supreme power, were dominant; and the sympathies of the Court became intensely national. Boris Godunof and Peter the Great had so far understood the Russian character, that they knew how to use popular superstitions and prejudices to serve their own ambitious purposes; but Alexander, and Nicolas after him, who adopted the popular conceptions and aspirations for their own sakes, felt themselves responsible to God and to Russia, and made their personal ambition the instrument of the ambition of their people. In this important respect the reigns of Alexander and Nicolas have formed a new period in Russian history. The national spirit has developed itself among the higher classes, partly through the example of the Princes, partly through the enthusiasm awakened by the great struggle with Napoleon, and still more, perhaps, from a participation in the general tendencies of the age, which create, in all countries, a feeling of nationality previously unknown. The Russian language is now spoken at Court, by order of Nicolas. Russian literature no longer consists in translations and imitations; it has begun to be original. Karamsin wrote his Classical History of Russia early in this century. Mouravieff, tutor of the Grand Dukes Alexander and Constantine, has written a History of the Russian Church. Kriloff displayed his genius for fables and apologues so far back as 1808, writing in that satirical spirit in which his countrymen excel, and depicting Russian manners, ideas, prejudices, character, physiognomy, and even costumes, with wonderful fidelity. Gogol and Kukolnik are distinguished dramatists. Iukovski, Batiuchkov, Lermontoff, are poets, —eclipsed, however, by Alexander Pouchkin, whose death, in a duel in 1837, was bewailed as a national misfortune. There are also respectable labours in oriental languages, undertaken in connexion with the University of Kazan.

During the first years of his reign Alexander managed to reconcile a somewhat dissipated life with his constitutional mysticism; but he had struggles of conscience; and when Madame

de Krudener forced her way into his tent one evening, as he passed through Germany on his march to Paris, he received her as a messenger from Heaven, and learned to read his Bible with prayer, and to ask a blessing from God upon all his undertakings. It was in the first fervour of his conversion that he proposed the Holy Alliance, in which the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia concurred, through a sort of condescendence to the whim of their royal brother, and with the feeling, doubtless, that it might usefully counteract the prevailing democratic spirit; but, for the ardent, and at that time generous, mind of the Czar, it was really the expression of his heart's desire to wield his sceptre according to the will of God, and for the good of the millions confided to him. We knew the late Monsieur Empeytaz, of Geneva, who was intimately acquainted with Alexander at that eventful period, was one of his spiritual advisers, and often bowed the knee with him in private prayer; and he was persuaded of the entire sincerity with which the young Monarch composed the manifesto of the Alliance. If we remember rightly, the Rev. Legh Richmond, also, and some pious members of the Society of Friends, had opportunities of edifying conversation or prayer with Alexander during his visit to England.

Even in the time of Catherine II., a Monsieur St. Martin, a Frenchman, had brought a sort of religious mysticism into vogue among the upper classes of Russia. It escaped conflict with the Greek Church by hiding itself under the cloak of Freemasonry: the terrible Souvaroff and Prince Potemkin were among its adepts; and it made Alexander's religious ideas more comprehensible to some of those about him than they otherwise would have been. He cherished fond ideas of religious and civil reformation. The Bible was to become a household book in Russia. The Bible Society of St. Petersburg was instituted under his immediate protection; and its branches soon spread into the remotest regions of Siberia. He abolished the Secret State Chancery and sundry cruel punishments, permitted the nobility to emancipate their serfs if they pleased, and improved the condition of the serfs of the Crown,—both of them measures intended to pave the way for a future general emancipation. He proved the sincerity of his liberalism on September 27th, 1815, by proclaiming Poland a distinct and constitutional kingdom; the laws and taxes to be voted by a National Assembly; the serfs to be enfranchised gradually; the Judges immovable; the Diet to consist of sixty-four Senators nominated by the King for life, seventy-seven appointed by the Nobles, and fifty-one Deputies of Communal Assemblies; the Polish army not to be employed out of Europe. When the Herald-at-Arms of Poland proclaimed the kingdom at Warsaw, there was immense enthusiasm; the Palatines appeared at the coronation with their several banners; the eagle of the Sobieski floated every where; and

the shouts of a re-nationalized people rent the air. Alas that it should have been but a delusion and a dream !

When Madame de Staël visited Russia, "You will be hurt, Madam," said the Emperor, "on witnessing the serfdom of the peasantry. I have done what I could; I have enfranchised the serfs of my own dominions; but I must respect the rights of the Nobles just as much as if we had a constitution, which, unfortunately, we have not." "Sire, your character is a constitution," said the talented authoress,—of course, with winning smile and graceful inclination. Unfortunately for Russia, and for the world, this clever piece of flattery was nothing more, as the sequel proved. Alexander's generous purposes were the fruits of impulse rather than of fixed and clearly understood principle. He was naturally inconstant; and his religion, though heartfelt, had a character of vague mysticism, partly from personal temperament, partly because this is the form which religion invariably assumes when its external profession and rites have become so corrupt and materialized as not to bear examination. His liberalism was earnest enough to make him wish to be, under God, the minister of good to his subjects; but it did not carry him so far as to make him allow them to do good to themselves without his help. The autocratic habit of thinking remained unchanged beneath the superficial, though by no means affected, admiration of the state of happier societies; and he gave Poland a Constitution without understanding the practical working of self-government, without any serious intention of abdicating his absolute power, and without so much as perceiving that he ought in consistency to do so; just as he actually, at about the same time, proposed declaring his Ministers responsible, though a ukase would have force of law, whether countersigned by the Ministers or not! He had imbibed too deeply that Ultramontane theory of divine right, which pretends to recognise God's supremacy over human society more directly by looking upon men as belonging to their Prince, than by looking upon them as belonging to themselves. It soon appeared that the Poles and their Emperor had not the same idea of constitutional monarchy. When, in 1818, they petitioned for trial by jury, and the liberty of the press, as corollaries of the franchises they had already obtained, the Czar closed the Session abruptly. The Diet was not re-opened until 1822, and then publicity of discussion was suppressed: a change had come over Alexander's sympathies. Now that the din of battle was hushed in Europe, and its smoke cleared away, it was easier to perceive the extent to which the principles of the French Revolution had survived five-and-twenty years of strife, pervaded the minds of men, and changed the face of society. The Emperor shuddered at the advancing tide of democracy, and persuaded himself that Providence had put a million of bayonets at his disposal in order to

turn it back. Prince Metternich, who, though the Minister of another empire, had great weight with Alexander, did his best to foster those dispositions. The revolutionary attempts in Italy, the practical difficulty felt in governing Poland on the constitutional system, without becoming himself a constitutional Monarch, the spread of secret societies in Russia itself, all concurred to confirm the Czar in the idea that resistance to the spirit of modern times was his particular mission. Young men were no longer sent abroad to study at the expense of the Crown; the Professors of political sciences were deprived of their chairs; an inquisitorial temper was felt every where. Even the insurrection in Greece, which all the traditions of Russian policy should have induced the Emperor to sustain, could not tempt him from his determination to support existing powers under all circumstances. He acquiesced in the determination of the Congress of Verona, not to receive the envoy of the Greek insurgents; and, as we learn from Chateaubriand's "Memoirs," the French intervention of 1823, to put down constitutional government in Spain, was essentially his work.

So late as 1819, we find Alexander engaging in prayer with William Allen, and betraying considerable emotion at their parting. Under Metternich's influence, he meditated suppressing the Bible Society, which would have been a final rupture with all his earlier tendencies; but he did not actually take this step. In 1825, he undertook a journey to the south of his dominions, and was apparently about to come to some decision in favour of Greece, when he fell ill at Taganrog, and died after a few hours' suffering. It is believed by many that he was poisoned by some of the ultra-theocratic party, who felt they could not depend upon him; and, in corroboration of this idea, it is alleged, that, having taken the draught prepared by his Physician, he looked fixedly at the latter, and exclaimed, "O crime!" It is possible this story may not be true; imagination is wont to make great men die by extraordinary means; and so many Czars have met violent deaths, as to render suspicions likely to arise in their case, even when unfounded. Be that as it may, the Grand Duke Constantine, who should have succeeded his brother, renounced the throne, because he felt himself too unpopular among the Boyards to be sure of his life upon it. "Whether his abdication warded off the fate he dreaded, God knows," says M. de Custine; "and, perhaps, there are men too who know."

The death of Alexander, and the abdication of Constantine, placed Nicolas upon the throne for which nature made him; and the energy of his iron character found its first occasion to display itself, in his celebrated suppression of the revolt among the troops at St. Petersburg. It should be premised that the first secret societies of Russia, *The Union of Safety*, and *The True and Faithful Children of the Country*, formed in the war of 1815,

only sought to ameliorate existing institutions. *The Society of Knights*, formed later, and *The Union of Public Weal*, projected a republic, which, as they were all young Nobles, would have turned out to be an oligarchy. That of *The United Slavonians* would have organized, in one vast confederacy, all the Slavonians with the Roumans and Magyars; that is to say, the eastern half of Europe; and Petzel, one of their number, had a new code of laws ready to publish, as soon as there should be a people for whom to legislate. The death of Alexander took the conspirators by surprise; but it was an opportunity which they could not let go; so they broke out into insurrection at St. Petersburg, proclaiming Prince Trubetzkoi Dictator. The troops had been disaffected by artful and busy insinuations that there had been foul play used to procure the abdication of their legitimate Prince, Constantine; and armed thousands filled the great square of Isaac, shouting, "Hurrah for the Constitution!" which the poor fellows, in their ignorance, had been taught to believe was the name of Constantine's wife. Singular spectacle! an attempt at revolution, got up by a few enthusiasts of republican, or at least liberal, ideas; and it could only be rendered formidable by misleading the royalist zeal of the soldiers! Such an attempt, for which the people whom it was proposed to liberate were utterly unprepared, and which they were incapable of understanding, could in no circumstances have been finally successful; but if the misunderstanding of the soldiers had continued, it might have led to the most awful anarchy. This was averted, as every body knows, by the Emperor's presence of mind. Riding up alone in front of the revolted regiments, he exclaimed, with uplifted hand, and voice loud enough to reach far distant ranks, "Ye have sinned; down on your knees!" The armed multitude, spell-bound by the authority of his mien and gesture, yielded to their native instinct of submission, and fell on their knees: the rebellion was over,—a few cannon-shots dispersed the handful of real conspirators; the gibbet and Siberia did the rest. The Bible Society was suppressed in the following year; but a Protestant Society, on a limited scale, was allowed to be formed in its stead.

Nicolas has nothing of Alexander's constitutional melancholy, nor does he seem to share his brother's aspirations after a real and personal piety. He is a man of strict and even stern morality, setting great value on the domestic affections and virtues, and has continued to keep the Russian Court ostensibly pure from the profligacy which once sullied it more than any Court in Europe; but his relaxations have a worldly character, and his religion consists apparently in worship of the authority he wields. He has become the very incarnation of the theocratic spirit of his people. When putting on the insignia of the Kingdom of Poland, he swore, indeed, to reign according

to the Charter; but he chafed continually under his promise, calling the constitutional system one of falsehood, and not perceiving that in his own case the falsehood consisted in the unwillingness of the man to carry out the system. The civil war and the re-conquest of Poland, in 1830–31, set him free from his obligation; while the second French Revolution, the changes that followed, and the hopes that were awakened throughout great part of Europe, armed him all the more against the democratic spirit of the age, and made him assume, in his own eyes, and those of the world, the attitude of the great champion of authority.

The Emperor has not given up the idea of preparing the gradual emancipation of the serfs. In 1831, the Nobles of Livonia, Esthonia, and Courland were empowered to commute the personal services of their dependents, and their three days of labour in the week, for a territorial rent; and the wealthier proprietors have generally availed themselves of the permission, while the smaller proprietors, who oversee their own farming operations, and get more out of the peasants by the three days' labour, continue to maintain the old system. Those provinces, it will be remembered, were conquered from Sweden; serfdom was both less deeply rooted and less oppressive there than in Russia Proper. The Emperor wished to make the same ameliorations universal. A celebrated ukase of 1842 ordered the proprietors to regulate by contract their relations with their peasants, so that their reciprocal duties and rights should be defined, and exaction and oppression become less easy; but this measure failed before the passive resistance of the Nobles.

With the single exception of this fatal sore of serfdom, all the other tendencies of the reigning Autocrat are to strengthen the hands of despotism. The Nobles are subjected to a system of restraint and *espionnage* greater than ever. Books and newspapers from abroad are rigorously examined before they are allowed to circulate; they are almost always mutilated, and frequently prohibited altogether. The native press is kept under the most inquisitorial inspection: thus the critical Review, called "The Telegraph," published for ten years by an eminent man of letters, Polevoi, was suppressed in 1835 by authority. Strangers are exposed to the most systematic and vexatious surveillance. Russia is at once anxious to govern Europe, and afraid to come in contact with it. In other countries, order is but a means for higher ends; in Russia, the maintenance of silence and mechanical submission is the end for which human governments are supposed to exist. All possible means of producing religious unity, and bringing the varied populations of the empire into the pale of the orthodox Church, are resorted to,—intrigue, violence, favouritism, and systematic pressure. The patriotic chord was touched with such success in Lithuania, that over two millions of so-called "United Greeks"—that is, Greeks who, while retain-

ing their peculiar rites and Liturgy, were in communion with Rome—have been won back to the National Church. The Roman Catholic Priests and Nuns who interposed an obstacle to Greek proselytism in Poland, have met with downright persecution. The Lutheran peasantry of the Baltic provinces were induced, in numbers, to declare themselves Greeks by promises never intended to be kept; and, once re-baptized, are not allowed to return to their old communion. The Jews are subjected to all manner of humiliations, and no one is allowed to circulate copies of the Hebrew Scriptures among them. No Russian subject of any religion or sect can transfer himself to another Church, unless it be the Greek. Protestant Missionaries cannot baptize Heathen or Mahometan converts; and the unhappy Greek who would become either Roman Catholic or Protestant, without the preliminary caution of voluntary exile, must reckon upon a cell in a convent or in a madhouse, or else upon Siberia. In a word, Nicolas does his utmost to repair the fault of Providence, in letting man escape on the day of the creation, free and intelligent, into the midst of the universe. He has put society under perpetual martial law; he has established the discipline of a camp, instead of the order of a state; and, more than all, one man stands between High Heaven and sixty-seven millions of human beings, telling them they are to worship no God but the one he chooses, and in no way but the way he chooses.

The Czar has recently adopted the title, "the Lord who fears God;" the heir-apparent is, officially, "the Most Orthodox Lord." "There are few ukases," says M. Léouzou, "in which the words '*Holy Russia*' do not repeatedly occur." *Orthodoxy, autocracy, nationality*,—that is to say, intolerance, despotism, and exclusiveness,—these are the three principles on which every thing in the empire is made to turn. No means are spared of inculcating upon the people the most servile and idolatrous veneration for the Sovereign. In the Catechism the names of God and the Emperor are printed in large letters, that of Jesus Christ in small. The Emperor and members of the royal family are mentioned in the public prayers more frequently than that Name which has been given among men that they might be saved thereby. In the Catechism printed at Wilna in 1832, and imposed on the Roman Catholic children, the child is made to say, as part of the development of the Fourth Commandment: "The authority of the Emperor emanates directly from God. We owe him worship, submission, service, principally love, thanksgiving, prayer; in a word, adoration and love. He must be adored by words, by signs, by acts, by conduct, and in the bottom of the heart. The authorities whom he appoints must be respected, because they emanate from him. Through the ineffable action of this authority, the Emperor is every where. The Autocrat is an emanation of God, his Vicar, and his Minister."

It is difficult to read such statements, and to know that they are taught to millions of children, without being somewhat of the mind of the Starowers. If the Czar be not Antichrist, his system is undoubtedly very antichristian; and it is exactly what the Dictator of a Red Republic would aspire to realize.

The Holy Synod, or Supreme Ecclesiastical Council, has had the control of all higher studies confided to it, with the express purpose of infusing the theocratic spirit. Two principles preside over the direction of public instruction in Russia: one is, that every body is not admissible into the Universities; the other, that the Universities have not the right to teach every thing. The chairs of Philosophy have lately been suppressed at St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kharkof, Kazan, Kiev, Dorpat, at the Pedagogic Institute of St. Petersburg, and the Richelieu Lyceum at Odessa. At the same time Professors of Theology have been appointed to the chairs of Logic and Experimental Psychology. In 1849, the Emperor limited to three hundred the number of students to be received into the Universities at their own expense, only making exception for the faculty of Medicine, and for the Protestant faculty of Theology at Dorpat; moreover, preference was to be given to young men destined for the civil service. In the twenty-seven military schools, there are about ten thousand pupils who have all originality and spontaneity drilled out of them. The different establishments under the direction of the Minister of Public Instruction, including the great majority of the schools in the empire, exclusive of Poland, reckon about 188,000 pupils. The Museums and scientific collections of Russia can bear comparison with those of England and France; but the instruction given even at the Universities is superficial, while the poor are almost altogether neglected. The villages of the domains of the Crown have a population of about 20,000,000 of serfs: now the official list of boys in the royal schools on those domains is 14,064, girls 4,648, total 18,707; or something about 1 in 1,100 persons! Reckoning the children of an age to go to school at one-sixth of the population, we may calculate that of the royal serfs 1 boy in 100 learns to read, and 1 girl in 400. It is probable that, if we knew all, it would be found that even this *minimum* consists of the children of Priests or Overseers. The serfs of the other proprietors are not better off in this respect than those of the Crown. Some years ago there were a few schools opened among them; but, for the most part, they have since been closed. Incurable Poland has, of course, its full share of restriction and suspicion in what concerns the schoolmaster. No Pole can have a foreigner as private tutor for his children, unless he consent to wear the livery of a servant: it is thought that preceptors who do not respect their profession, are least likely to be dangerous. The University of Wilna was abolished in 1832. The three upper classes in the Gymnasium

at Warsaw are limited to fifty pupils each ; and these must belong to families living in the city or its neighbourhood. Yet with all this jealousy, Poland has a decided intellectual pre-eminence over Russia ; and its modern literature is more rich than that of any age during its independence, as if its oppressed nationality had taken refuge in the Temple of the Muses as a last asylum. Mickiewicz is Poland's great living poet ; Slovacki is a distinguished dramatist ; and the unknown author of "the Infernal Comedy" is pronounced by the *Revue des Deux Mondes* worthy to rank among the most powerful writers of any age or country.

While the last fifty years have formed a new period in Russian history, by the reign of a national and seriously theocratic spirit in the Court, the more vulgar and old Russian process of extending the empire by conquest has been pursued without intermission. In vain do geography and diplomacy assign to her limits ; she never concludes a treaty without aggrandizement ; she undermines every thing within her reach ; and the obscurity that surrounds her movements, renders them the more menacing. Never did any school of diplomacy display more address in taking advantage of circumstances, and in getting other powers to work for them, even those whose interests were most opposed to theirs. 1806-7 saw the singular spectacle of an English army in Egypt, and an English fleet in the Dardanelles, co-operating with the Russians on the Danube. This suicidal policy was interrupted, not by the returning wisdom of British Rulers, but by Alexander's changing his allies, or rather, his instruments. At the Conference of Tilsit, Alexander and Napoleon discussed the terms on which the world could be divided between them. They could not agree, because Alexander insisted on having both shores of the Dardanelles. "I offer you the half of Europe ; I will help you to obtain it, secure you in the possession of it ; and all I ask in return is the possession of a single strait, which is also the key of my house." Napoleon was too clear-sighted to be won by this appeal. It was only agreed that Russia should exclude the British flag from her ports, while France was to acquiesce in the conquest of Finland. Alexander thus finding his hands free, Sweden was summoned to abandon the English alliance ; and on her refusal, a Russian army seized Finland, "to procure," says the Proclamation of General Buxhowden, "a *sufficient guarantee*, (!) in case his Swedish Majesty should persevere in the resolution not to accept the equitable conditions of peace that have been proposed to him." Then followed the only war that ever took place between England and Russia, and which was practically limited to a cessation of commercial intercourse. Our ally lost Finland for remaining faithful to us, and the Swedes consider Norway no compensation for the loss. The Congress of Vienna, in decreeing this compensation, only attempted to repair an injury upon Sweden by inflicting an injury upon

Denmark. In both cases it taught the nations loyalty, by dissolving unions consecrated by time, by benefits, and by affections. But it was necessary; for when France was divested of her conquests, and England restored foreign colonies in both hemispheres, Russia would restore nothing.

The Treaty of Tilsit stipulated the instant evacuation of Moldavia and Wallachia. In 1808, the Russian forces entered them again, and gained repeated victories over the Turks; and though the preparations of Napoleon's mighty invasion obliged Russia to conclude the Peace of Bucharest, 1812, which enabled her to concentrate her forces in the north, she did not the less by this treaty advance her frontier to the south. In the further east, more remote from European scrutiny, Russian ambition assumed fewest disguises. Georgia and the neighbouring provinces, after enjoying seventeen years' protection, had been annexed by a ukase of the Czar Paul in 1800. Then followed unprovoked aggressions upon Persia, and the Peace of Goolistan, (1814,) effected at an enormous sacrifice to the latter; and during its negotiation Russia would not hear of a formal mediation of England. A new war broke out on the accession of Nicolas, because the Persians were driven to despair by the harsh and unjust conduct of the Governor-General of Georgia. It was terminated by the Peace of Turkmanchai, (February, 1828,) in which, of course, Russia made new acquisitions, more important from the facility they afford for future aggressions, than from their real value. Her position on the Araxes is seven hundred miles beyond the frontier line traced by Peter the Great between the Volga and the Don; and the regiments stationed at her furthest outposts are at about equal distance from St. Petersburg and from Delhi. No sooner were the Persians off the Czar's hands, than he undertook that war against the Porte which led to the Treaty of Adrianople; and though, in deference to the expostulations of Europe, he disclaimed all intention to add to his dominions, yet he prevailed upon himself to accept the convenience of a considerable extent of coast on the Black Sea, and part of the Pachalic of Akhaltzik, with the possession of the mouth of the Danube, and sanitary regulations which virtually separate the Principalities of the Danube from Turkey. Erivan is now an arsenal for future operations against Persia, while Alexandropol threatens Turkey in Asia,—a citadel from which some future Romanof, is to set out on a career of Asiatic conquest. Four years later, the revolt of the Pacha of Egypt enabled the ever-vigilant Cabinet of St. Petersburg to obtain a new vantage-ground, which would have been cheaply purchased at the cost of another war. England and France had so reduced their naval forces, as to be unable to meet the Sultan's suit for protection against his rebellious vassal. The Czar seized the opportunity, and sent the Sultan a fleet and army; but extorted, as the price of his assistance, the Treaty of

Unkiar Skellessi, (1833,) whereby an alliance, offensive and defensive, was formed between the two powers; and the Porte engaged to close the Dardanelles against foreign ships of war. This treaty practically constituted Russia protectress of Turkey and mistress of the Dardanelles. "Russia knew well," says Sir John M'Neil, "that the most important point in a process of conquest, to a power which has to dread opposition, is that at which resistance ceases, and protection begins,—a point beyond which violence is no longer necessary, and the absence of collision presents no occasion for third parties to interpose."

Thus situated, Russia seemed to have adopted an expectant position, eschewing, for the moment, further territorial conquest, and reckoning upon the sure operation of time, for Turkey's internal decomposition. She presents herself, meanwhile, to the Rayah populations of the Turkish Empire, as the only depositary of the Christian faith; accustoming them to look to her in the most trifling matters; influencing the choice of their religious dignitaries, from the Metropolitan to the Parish Priest; using their ecclesiastical revenues as a fund to pension her creatures; printing for their public and private use Prayer Books, in which the Czar is prayed for as their natural protector and future Sovereign; and making her Consuls in every province the dispensers of rewards to her partizans, and the ministers of indirect vengeance upon the refractory. The troubles of 1848 drew the Czar from this quiescent attitude; his armed intervention in Hungary placed Austria under obligations that shackled her political independence. A foolish revolutionary excitement at Bucharest gave him an excuse for sending fifty thousand men into the Principalities. The occupation lasted three years:—men were surprised that it was not prolonged; but the joint occupation by ten thousand Turks paralysed its effects; it was thought better to withdraw, in order to return alone. Meantime, the occupation made Russia the creditor, as well as the protector, of these unfortunate populations. The Divan would not make the Wallachians pay any thing for the maintenance of its troops; but Russia, besides exacting an additional fifth over the ordinary revenue during the stay of her troops, set down the Hospodars £500,000 in her debt, and would not allow them to consult the Porte on the matter. Unhappy provinces! During the last eighty-five years they have been occupied by Russia eight times, and that, altogether, for more than thirty years; they have been the battle-field of the Russian and the Turk in twenty campaigns; and when their august protector does not send his legions to eat their corn, he lets the mouths of the Danube choke up, to prevent their exporting it, and underselling Odessa.

We need not report the different phases of the mingled process of menace, usurpation, and negotiation, which, beginning with the embassy of Prince Menschikoff, and ending with the

disaster of Sinope, has at length brought Russia into a positive conflict with the Western Powers, alike unexpected and unwelcome to her and to them. Evidently, the Emperor and his advisers counted upon the forbearance of Europe. His haughty mediation during the misunderstanding between Austria and Prussia was a sort of trial of the patience of Germany; and it satisfied the Autocrat, that he could go very far indeed, without awakening the opposition of the Conservative Governments of the Continent, who looked upon him as the great representative of the anti-revolutionary principle. France needed peace for her internal security; England was proverbially indisposed to war. Moreover, the peculiar policy of Russia had been so long pursued with success and impunity, that the Czar assumed a sort of prescriptive right to carry it out; he had accustomed himself to treat as unreasonable and presumptuous the resistance of other powers to his plans, and to see them end by giving him their co-operation and sanction. It is possible, that Austria was, to a certain extent, his accomplice; and that the mission of Count Leiningen was intended to give a colour to that of Prince Menschikoff. His confidential communications with the British Ministry, in the beginning of 1853, showed him, indeed, that they would be no partners to a partition of Turkey before the fact; but then there was nothing in their tone to lead him to suppose that they would proceed to extremities after it; and so he determined to dare that hostile occupation of the Principalities, which, after all he said to Sir Hamilton Seymour about the moribund state of Turkey, he must have looked upon as giving the signal for its dissolution, preparing for wholesale annexation, if possible,—if not, for the establishment of a power which should prove a dependency of Russia.

The fifteen-year wars of Napoleon I.—that most awful expenditure of human labour, human suffering, and human life, that the world ever witnessed—were, for all essential purposes, sterile of results. After so many millions had perished miserably,—multitudes in the field, and far greater multitudes from the consequences of war,—the nations found themselves in nearly the same situation in which they had been at the beginning; and the moral changes were yet less important than the material. In this respect, the wars of the French Empire are a pendant to the eighteenth century, rather than the proper beginning of the nineteenth. They belong, by principle, to a period in which mankind—the Continent, at least—disturbed itself for petty purposes, for selfish and personal motives, unlike those of the great quarrels of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The first attack of the Allied Sovereigns on the French Republic was, indeed, a war of principle; but it soon lost that character, and it effected nothing. On the contrary, the struggle which is now being begun between Russia, England, and France,

may be one pregnant with vast consequences for the future. As Mr. Urquhart says, "Wars in the West lead to great effusion of blood, but to little alteration of frontiers; those in the East alone determine great results." The three most powerful nations in the world are armed against each other; and those three nations are at the same time the proper representatives of the most fundamental differences:—they represent respectively the three great races which inhabit Europe, and the three great religions into which Christendom is divided. The belligerent parties are, on the one hand, the nations who are at the head and front of European civilization, the legitimate heirs of every thing that the West of Europe has acquired or accomplished through the experiences of fourteen centuries; on the other hand, the first military power in the world,—heart and body of an immense religious and national unity, with different remembrances and a different civilization, the latter aspiring to predominance. When the actors in this momentous crisis are such as these, Providence has some mighty act to accomplish. Let us draw near to witness it. But, first, what are the grounds on which Russia may hope for success, or claim help from Heaven, in the perilous contest which she has provoked?

What is the character of that Church which so proudly professes itself intended to regenerate the world? Like all the other corruptions of Christianity, it brings the worshippers into contact with magical rites, and living or dead mediators, instead of Jesus Christ. The religion it teaches is but a spiritual gymnasticism of genuflexions, and orthodox signs of the cross. It has a copy of the Scriptures, richly bound, upon every altar; but it is *shut* with a golden clasp. The poor do not know how to read, and the Priests do not know its contents. Preaching is much rarer than in the Church of Rome; its worship of Mary is, at least, equally great, and its worship of departed saints in general: but there is this advantage in Russia,—that people cannot mistake the object of worship; for the ground refuses to retain the body of a real saint, and it comes to the surface incorrupt, after a certain time. It is thus that saints are distinguished from sinners; and this natural canonization is certainly more satisfactory than the legal process pursued at Rome. Ornamented pictures, in the Byzantine style, are the idols of the sanctuary; and every family has its *kivott*, or little press, fastened in the wall, containing its holy images, before which a lamp is kept burning. Pilgrimages are in great esteem; and, of course, the most important is that to Jerusalem. The Greeks have certainly a better right to the key of the church at Bethlehem than the Latins; for there are annually twelve thousand pilgrims of the former communion, and but one hundred of the latter. The pilgrim, or "man of God," fasts prodigiously; but the more he can drink without becoming intoxicated, the more per-

sued the peasantry are of his holiness, and the more they value his blessing. This last feature is but one among innumerable symptoms of the separation between religion and morality in the thoughts of the people. The fasts are more frequent and more rigorous than in the Church of Rome; and, for that reason, the Carnival is twice as long. It lasts a fortnight, and is celebrated with disgraceful orgies. In addition to the elements of evil it presents in common with other degraded Churches, the peculiar characteristic of the Russian Church is, its absolute subserviency to the State. The Emperor is represented in the Holy Synod by a *haut Procureur*, who controls all its decisions. This functionary—the working head of the Church—is at this moment the cavalry General, Protasoff. The Russian Clergy have never reprobated any one bad act of the Government; the Council of Moscow, in 1595, confirmed the state of slavery instituted by Boris Godunof the year before; and the seal of the Church has never been wanting on any subsequent increase of rigour. It helps the police to deceive the people, and ever gratefully remembers that its cradle was the palace. The Government in turn exempts the persons of the Clergy from the knout and the cane. Catherine II. seized the property of the Church, and allotted, to both regular and secular Clergy, incomes to which the most intrepid ecclesiastical reformers can hardly object:—the Metropolitan receives £160 a-year; an Archbishop, £120! a Monk is “passing rich” on £6. 8s. Hence the Russian Priest tries to make money by all possible means, and to enjoy his neighbours’ tables as often as he can: he is not respected; his ignorance and gluttony are the themes of popular witticism. The Russian views his Priest with superstitious reverence while ministering at the altar; but if he meet him on the road when beginning a journey, it is a sign of bad luck, and he spits on the ground to avert the sinister omen. A painful proof that this contempt of the Clergy is not without foundation, is the number of them who appear before the criminal courts. In 1836, 208 Ecclesiastics were degraded for great crimes, and 1,985 were punished for offences more or less serious. Now, as in 1836 the total number of the Clergy was 102,426, it follows that one in fifty had been found guilty of immoral acts, sufficiently tangible to call down the action of the laws. In the following years the proportion increased. In 1839, it was *one in twenty*,—over 5,000 clerical criminals for the year. Of course there is no kind of Christianity so low as not to exhibit some traces of religious life; and we have heard that the reports of some of the Russian Missionaries to the Heathen in Siberia are such as to invite the sympathies of all Christians: but the fact is, that real piety in Russia seems a personal thing, and generally independent of ecclesiastical institutions. That revival of interest in religious matters which is felt all over the world, has also assumed in

Russia, among other shapes, that of *Messianism*, which is a democratic and social theory, with a dreamy religiousness about it. The Russian Nobles move from scepticism in the direction of a sort of Mysticism, which is at once a reaction against the mechanism of Russian institutions, civil and religious, and against the abstract Rationalism of the West. It deals in intuition rather than reflection, adores the name of Jesus Christ, and bitterly criticizes the official Church. It finds its expression most readily in Slavists out of Russia; and they are greater friends to Popery than to the Greek Church. It should be added, to complete this picture, that the Clergy have contributed nothing, as far as we can ascertain, to the higher literature of their country.

What is the social state of the nation that pretends it has elements of stability to communicate to Europe? According to the statistics of Tegoborski, Russia in Europe contained, in 1849, 62,047,000 inhabitants; Russia in Asia, 5,200,000. Of these 67,000,000, about 44,000,000 are pure Russian, forming the body and centre of this vast empire, which has surrounded itself with a mighty border of subjugated populations. By a strange anomaly, which has nothing resembling it in history, it is this central properly Russian people which is alone cursed with serfdom. "None but a real Russian can be a slave in Russia," writes Tourgueneff with bitterness. The institution has never been introduced in some of the conquered countries; it is disappearing in the others; but it weighs, with all its force, upon those alone who might reasonably be expected to be masters. There are proprietors of English, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Tartar, Armenian, and Jewish origin, and they all have native Russians for their serfs; and the Tartar origin of the institution is unequivocally revealed in the very word for serf, *Chrestianin*, evidently a variation of *Christianin*, "Christian!" It was the term by which the Tartar designated the entire people. The service due to the proprietor by his peasant is called *obrok*. It consists either in three days' work during the week, or in money; the average of the latter being about three pounds sterling in the year. They are generally mildly treated; but their master may, if he pleases, beat them cruelly for the most trifling fault: he is not even legally responsible if they die of ill-treatment received at his hands, or by his orders, unless they die within three days after being beaten; and as for venturing to complain to the authorities of any ill-usage, here is the letter of the law: "If a serf, failing in the obedience which he owes his lord, presents a denunciation against him, still more if he address this denunciation to his Majesty the Emperor, he will be given up, along with the writer who drew up his petition, to the justice of the tribunals, and treated according to the utmost rigour of the law." Practically, the lord does as he pleases with his peasants; separates families, transfers them from one property to another,

is master of the labour of the men and the honour of the women; and, when he lives in a large town, he sends culprits to the prison, with an order for so many lashes, as is done with the slaves in America. It is easy to conceive how the character is degraded under this system. The peasants have proverbial sayings which speak volumes: "God is too high, the Czar is too far off;" "A man beaten is worth two with a whole skin;" "They are lazy fellows who don't beat us," &c. The Athenian slave of old could require to be sold to another master; but the serf who has the misfortune to fall into bad hands has no such resource. Hence he sometimes breaks out, and does himself justice,—wild and terrible justice. There were awful outrages perpetrated by insurgent serfs, on some large estates, in 1839. Perhaps Russia will have one day to struggle with a revolution on Communist principles: its present discipline is a sort of apprenticeship, the empire being one vast Phalanstery. The Cossacks have some Communist institutions; there is a small fanatical sect, called the Douchoborzi, who are decided Communists; and, more than all, the serf can never be persuaded that the land does not belong to *him*. When property changes hands, the serf imagines that it is he himself who is sold, in the first instance, and that the land only goes along with him. The serf is by law incapable of holding immovable property; and no one can give him credit for a higher amount than five assignat roubles, that is, about four shillings; so that if he has occasion to borrow a greater sum, he must ask his master to do it for him. Even when a serf obtains permission from his master to go and exercise some trade in a town, paying, of course, his *obrok* in money, the Government licence for the trade is taken out by the master, and the latter would have a legal right to appropriate the earnings of the serf. This, indeed, is never done, except in one or two infamous instances; but if the lord be ruined, which often happens, there is nothing to protect the property of his serfs from his creditors. Serfs have been often known to furnish needy but kind Nobles with money to buy themselves; others possess lands and houses in the name of their masters. A few of those engaged in commercial pursuits have large fortunes; but they are at their master's mercy; and when he gives some great ball at his hotel at St. Petersburg, the merchant must leave his business, don his master's livery, and wait at his table.

In 1850 there were in all the Russias (the Crimea included, we suppose) 11,900,840 male serfs belonging to Nobles; and of these latter there were 20,456 who possessed each of them above a hundred serfs. The population, then, under the worst kind of servitude amounts to about twenty-four millions. The male serfs of the Crown are over nine millions; they are called "free peasants" in official language. Their *obrok*, when not increased by the tyranny of subordinates, is only fifty shillings,

and they can easily procure permission to change their residence. They have, however, to work at roads, to lodge soldiers, and transport their baggage; and they escape the service of the Boyards to fall into the frequently ruder hands of the officers of Government. The really free peasants are about a million and a half. They are divided into two classes, distinguished by the greater or less liberty allowed them of possessing houses of their own, or a few acres of ground. Thus the real Russian people, the freemen, are fewer in number than the inhabitants of Switzerland or Holland; for the three millions of population represented by the last-mentioned class are, many or most of them, Tartars and other strangers, not native Russians. The small number of persons engaged in mercantile pursuits, their little wealth, comparatively, and the low estimation in which they are held, are so many more symptoms of the social state of Russia. Will it be believed that in the whole empire there are only 900 merchants and traders, &c., of the first guild (capital £8,000), 1,900 of the second (capital £3,200), 84,000 of the third (capital £1,280), and 5,300 serfs trading with authorization of their masters? It should be noted that slavery is much milder in Turkey than serfdom in Russia, and it is daily getting rarer: the slave-market at Constantinople has been closed since 1846.

When a people is held in the grasp of an unlimited and relentless despotism, so that no man can be sure of himself, or of any thing he possesses, the ordinary instinct of acquisition transforms itself into one of unbridled cupidity. This is, doubtless, the chief reason of the venality which disgraces the bureaucracy of Russia in all its ranks, and against which the inexorable severity of the Emperor Nicolas has proved itself powerless. Alexander used to say that if his *employés* could steal his teeth during his sleep without awakening him, they would not scruple doing it. A lawsuit is not a matter of right for the Judges who are to determine it, but one of speculation. The subordinate bureaucratic aristocracy are often directly revolutionists by their own ideas, and become so indirectly by the hatred their tyranny excites in others. For the same reason gaming is universal: it is, next to drunkenness, the dominant passion of the lower order; and, among the higher, he who does not like play is suspected of being a conspirator. We have already alluded to the excesses in which the young Nobles so frequently indulge; and that the morals of the people are no better, appears from the single fact, that the Foundling Hospitals of St. Petersburg and Moscow receive annually 12,000 children,—that is, more than the legitimate births of those capitals.

What is the nature of that power that claims to be, in a peculiar sense, divine? The House of Holstein Gottorp cannot pretend to represent the principle of legitimacy: its claims flow from an *illegitimate* daughter of Peter the Great, and it came

upon the throne by a revolution, so late as 1762. It is not connected with a long series of national remembrances, like that of Rurik or the Bourbons. It is not the symbol of great and beneficial changes, the guardian of a nation's dearly-bought liberties, like the House of Hanover in England. Nor is its origin lost in the night of time, and clothed with a sort of superhuman character, like that of the Merovingians and the Ottomans. The principle of Russian loyalty is the divinization of the powers that *be*, under the influence of physical force and spiritual terrorism, and without questioning how these powers came to *be*. The Government is obliged to exercise upon the people a *prestige* stronger than the feeling of their own rights. The Russians would be highly scandalized if the Czar took himself for a mere Emperor: there is a mysterious spell, a "dim religious light," about the very title, borrowed from the extinct royalty of Constantinople. He cannot treat other people or Princes as equals; every war he undertakes is a holy war; he must act as a demi-god, or cease to be absolute. Every Czar must make gigantic efforts to accomplish the ideal: it was never more lofty than at the present moment, and never more worthily sustained. The Emperor Nicolas is, perhaps, the finest man in his dominions physically, and the most energetic morally. He is at work in his cabinet in the morning, while the whole empire is still buried in slumber: his vigilant and intelligent attention to every thing makes him a kind of special providence over his people. A natural inconvenience of having assumed such an attitude is, that the Emperor is responsible for every thing. Incredible as it may appear, when any catastrophe happens, even those which no human foresight could have avoided, the police hush up the matter, and make it appear less dreadful than the reality, lest the people should blaspheme the idol. A railway accident, or lives lost in a storm in the Gulf of Finland, are dangerous to the royal popularity; and newspapers are ordered to be silent about offences and crimes, even when they have nothing to do with politics. Another inconvenience of power founded on superstition is, that it is limited in its exercise by the very prejudices through which it subsists. The Czar can, at his will, tear hundreds of thousands from their homes and families, says M. de Maistre, but he dare not correct the Calendar,—that impiety were as much as his life and crown were worth. It tasked Peter the Great's despotism to its full extent to get his recruits' beards cut off, which made Napoleon say that if there ever came a Czar who would let his beard grow, he would give law to Europe. But the essential objection to Czarism is, that it would retain mankind in an inferior and degraded condition, opposed to the purpose of God in creating man in his image. Men were not intended to be the property of society,—the idea of the old Pagans and modern Socialists; nor to be the property of

an Emperor,—the idea of the despots of old Rome and modern Russia: they were intended to belong to themselves and to God. There are states of society in which men conceive themselves as existing only to be the limbs of others, as was the case of the Scottish clansman towards his Chief only a hundred years ago: the allegiance, affection, and fidelity, which belong to God, are transferred to a creature; and the man himself is lowered, because the being whom he serves is a mortal, and a fallen one. As long as this state of subserviency is submitted to willingly, without questioning, as a thing that could not be otherwise, it may elicit acts of admirable devotedness; and when an entire people is in this state, they may be capable of exhibiting resistless energy: but it is not the less an imperfect condition, which must come to an end sooner or later, and which becomes intolerable and intensely degrading, when felt to be a yoke, and submitted to unwillingly. Now, the degree of *espionnage* and severity which the Government of the Autocrat uses, even in Russia Proper, would seem to indicate that the people are already tired of paternal government. It is true there is much to awaken respect and enthusiasm in the personal character of the Czar; and the Russians of all ranks sometimes appear intoxicated with slavery, glorying in the power of the Autocrat's will, as if it represented, in some sort, their own. But if this feeling be universal and steady, why so much violence and suspicion? There was a democratic conspiracy suppressed in 1849, and we live in an age in which fictions cannot long survive. In any case, there are millions, from the Finlander to the Georgian, subjected to the Russian sceptre, who have no sympathy with Czarism. So intolerable is the Muscovite yoke above all others, that tribes of Circassians, who were Christians, became Mahometans in the hope of securing more effectual support from Turkey; and, in 1771, half a million of Kalmuks fled across Asia, fighting their way through hostile tribes, in order to escape from the Russian to the Chinese territory. The continuance of the sullen passive resistance of unhappy Poland is proved by the measures taken to crush it. A ukase of May, 1852, regrets that the Polish Nobles systematically abstain from seeking civil or military service; it ordains that the sons of all the Nobles who are not of the Greek religion, and who possess a fortune of a hundred serfs, are to be enrolled at the age of eighteen, with the rank of Ensigns, if they can pass the necessary examination. They can only escape by accepting the civil service. It seems the Poles regret even the suppression of the Custom-Houses between Russia and Poland, because, though a financial boon, it tends to efface their nationality more and more.

Are the aggressions of Russia the result of a national providential calling to assimilate to herself populations kindred by blood and by religion? This is a question upon which, unlike

the preceding ones, something can be said for Russia. All great nations have gradually drawn around one centre provinces and minor kingdoms that were once politically distinct from the people forming the nucleus, but related to it geographically or ethnologically, or in both ways together. Thus the separate kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy merged into one; and Wales, Scotland, and Ireland have been successively added to that one. Thus France and Spain have each come to be one undivided monarchy, absorbing separate and often hostile provinces, some of which maintained their political independence for ages. The process has not been repeated in Germany for want of a nucleus; yet even there the smaller feudal principalities do gradually melt into the larger. Now, it is clear, that, if those populations of Turkey in Europe which have a Slavonic origin and Greek religion are being attracted towards Russia by the operation of the same law which has made France and Spain undivided nations, then no power on earth can prevent that result. However, we are very much mistaken, or this attraction is much more feeble. Every authentic information that reaches us about the state of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire leads us to the conclusion, that Russia, by her despotism and selfishness, has forfeited her natural claims upon the kindred races of the South. The Greeks of Epirus would profit by the present emergency to throw off the Moslem yoke, but it is with the wish to belong to Independent Greece; the sluggish Bulgarian resists the temptation to insurrection; the hardy Servian would die to maintain his patriarchal democracy. The Rouman, whose tie to Russia is that of religion, not race, entertains toward his *protector* a constantly and justly increasing hatred. Those rich provinces may be the seat of a future Christian confederacy, mistress of the Dardanelles; but we hope and believe they never will be Russian. The extraordinary disclosures in Sir Hamilton Seymour's Dispatches have not only painfully undeceived those who trusted in the Emperor Nicolas's probity and magnanimity, but they have also betrayed an indifference to the welfare of the Eastern Christians, except as instruments to effect his purposes, such as we should have believed a calumny from any lips but his own. The determination so haughtily expressed not at any price to allow those countries to attain to independence and political importance, shows the vanity of the pretence of paternal feeling on the ground of either Slavism or orthodoxy. What Russia wants is the actual or virtual possession of the Sound and the Dardanelles, and her position with respect to both is thus ably summed up by Mr. Urquhart: "In two nations of the world political vitality is concentrated in the capital: those two capitals are exposed to bombardment from a fleet; both are placed on the inner side of narrow and defensible straits; both are exposed from within to a superior

Russian naval force; the maritime power of both has been destroyed by England; and Russia has constructed a powerful arsenal and fortress, which from an equal distance permanently menaces both,—Cronstadt for Copenhagen, Sevastopol for Constantinople.” The temptation is strong. It is a singular configuration of the earth which has left this immense empire without ready access to the ocean, except through two internal seas, having such narrow outlets, without the possession of which she can be hermetically sealed up by a superior maritime power, and with the possession of which she would hold in her hand the food of nations, defy their attacks, and attack them at advantage when she pleased. With those two “keys of the house” Russia could, indeed, give laws to the world. It was only since the beginning of this century that the Germans left off praying in their parish churches for deliverance from the Turks. They would do well to substitute a nearer and more powerful enemy of their national independence.

What is the material strength with which the Colossus of the North means to meet the power of England and France? As to his fleets, though superior in number of guns and men, they will doubtless be swept from the seas, if they show themselves there. Ay, if skill and courage can do it, they will possibly, ere these pages meet the reader’s eye, have been destroyed under the very batteries of Cronstadt and Sevastopol. As to his armies, though we may not have implicit faith in the million of bayonets and the eighteen hundred cannon officially trumpeted forth, and though the universally-practised embezzlement renders every corps weaker and worse-appointed than officials themselves can ascertain, yet those armies are certainly numerically superior to those of any power in the world. These are the troops of whom Frederick the Great used to say, “You can kill, but you cannot beat, them;” and Napoleon, “After you have killed them, you have still the trouble of knocking them down.” The Russian soldier is, indeed, more apathetic than would be supposed from his worship of the Sovereign; it would seem, that superstition, carried beyond a certain point, is too materialized to produce active fanaticism. Like the Spaniard in similar circumstances, the Russian made his faith to consist in hating the infidels; and, like the Spaniard, the remembrance of early religious controversies is stamped indelibly on his mind: the one glories in the title of *Catholic*, and the other in that of *Orthodox*: but the native independence of the Spaniard hindered him from identifying his religion with obedience to his Prince, and his fanaticism was all the more energetic from not being diverted out of its proper channel. The Russian, on the contrary, marches to death with a sort of melancholy obedience. The very shout with which the army greets the Czar breathes this sort of disconsolate patriotism, “We are ready to do all we

can, your Imperial Majesty." Fanaticism is a fire that burns out sooner or later in the breast of every people, and it is only upon trial that it can be known whether it is extinct or not. The trouble taken to get up enthusiasm among the Russian soldiers and people at present, may be a proof that there is too little; and in that case wholesale desertion may break up and disorganize the legions that have crossed, or are to cross, the Pruth: as it is, no army in the world, except the Russian, presents the spectacle of officers of high rank in intelligence with the enemy, and the desertion of whole companies at a time. If, however, the spirit that gave the Russian soldiers of a former generation their extraordinary passive courage, still survives in the bosoms of those hundreds of thousands,—in that case no possession of the seas by their enemies, and no strategic disadvantages, can keep them from first successes in the field, which will startle those amongst us who treat the war with levity. If,—to make a third supposition,—if they do really wield their arms in the spirit of a holy war, we may be assured they will light their watch-fires before the gates of *Czargrad*, the "City of the Czars," as they significantly term Constantinople. Even in this extreme and unlikely case, they will finally serve—not their master's ambition, but—that cause of oppressed nationality, with which he has so little sympathy. However the war begins, it must, humanly speaking, end well; for England is almost the only market for the raw produce of Russia; the simple cessation of commerce must ruin the Russian finances, private and public; her armies, who live upon so little, may subsist for a season or two by the pillage of the wretched populations they profess to deliver; but, in the end, Russia must succumb, and the emancipation of the Rayahs will remain, at least, one durable result of the struggle,—an example and a pledge for other oppressed populations.

"Europe," says M. Thiers, "unwisely divided, like the towns of Greece in the presence of the Kings of Macedonia, will have probably the same fate." This startling comparison will have suggested itself to many minds; it occurred to us in childhood. In both cases there is a half-civilized country uniting the arts of its neighbours to its own barbarian hardihood,—a country geographically forming the base of the pyramid of which the nations whose liberties it was to absorb formed the apex,—its extent nearly equal to all the rest put together, its Government stronger, and pursuing its ambitious aims with untiring hereditary zeal, profiting by the traditional rivalry of its victims, until it had them all in its power. Again, it might be suggested, that military and territorial Rome beat naval and commercial Carthage; beat her, too, upon her own element, creating a navy artificially, as Russia has done. Or, without going so far for examples, Poland, with its three religions and its intestine dis-

sensions, was no bad epitome of Europe. But we are nothing daunted by these ill-omened analogies. We can see why Macedonia and Rome both triumphed in their turns,—they were both necessary for the purposes of Providence; but what has Russia to communicate to the world? We do not found our confidence on Britain's "dread arm of floating power," nor yet on that gallant army whose heroism makes up for the smallness of its numbers, nor yet upon the help of our powerful and chivalrous ally. The real ground of confidence for those who scan the destinies of England in the light of history and human progress, is this,—that God has a great work for England to do, and she may not be hindered in its performance; while our adversary would, in principle, bring back the world to the state that preceded the Middle Ages. Russia cannot even stand up before the West as the heiress of Greece disputing once more, after twenty centuries, the supremacy of Rome. No; England and France are better representatives of whatever elements ancient Greece possessed to bequeath to the future. The entire sum of the acquisitions of the old world turned the Alps at our extremity of Europe; they have been preserved and augmented amongst us; the experiences necessary for the future development of the human race have been made and are being made amongst us; while Russia is but the repetition of the despotism and the social corruption that were fatal to the Western and Eastern Empires in their turns. Doubtless the day will come when the greatest of the Slavonian nations will contribute largely to the common weal of humanity. We have all something to give and something to receive; and the natural piety, the reverential feeling, the respect for superiority, the wonderful imitative power, and the innate grace of the Russian may make him, in many respects, a model and a helper for his fellows; but it is not as the instruments of Czarism that our Slavonian brethren will ever attain that position.

We have spoken as if England were the real adversary of Russia, and France but a powerful ally. It is even so: the principles of antagonism which exist between England and Russia are so much deeper than those existing between France and Russia, that morally the struggle lies between the two former powers as principals.

In the first place, they are rivals, as the two nations possessing in themselves the greatest powers of expansion, the greatest resources for the future, just as they are also the least vulnerable at the present moment. If the world were to remain as it is for a century, without any great changes or commotions, the other nations of Europe would maintain the same position and relative strength that they have now; while Russia and England would both have become far stronger in proportion than they are now. The one would have filled her vast territories with a prodigious

population, and probably augmented her continental acquisitions; the other would have spread over the seas, peopled distant regions with millions of her children, and augmented her oceanic acquisitions, colonizing with the energy of the ancient Greeks, but on a vastly larger scale. It is remarkable that both the nations of the future should be enemies of the Pope; so that, in the natural course of events, even without any considerable proselytism, Popery must more and more lose its hold on the world. Hence the equally bitter hatred with which both Russia and England are regarded by reflecting men of the Ultramontane school, as, for instance, by the late Donoso Cortez. Some eighty years ago, Herder, in his "Philosophy of History," after criticizing the Chinese, breaks off with a—"But what is to be expected of a people who fill their stomachs with hot water?" He would have been surprised to learn that the empire of the world should be one day disputed by two tea-drinking nations. Our readers are aware that tea is a favourite beverage of even the poor in Russia. The humblest housewife's first purchase is a teapot, and a *samovare*, or kettle of yellow copper.

In the second place, there is the rivalry of material interests. We meet in China, in India, in Persia, in the Levant. The present Russian expedition against Khiva is the fourth; and, if successful, the conquest will soon be extended along the Oxus to the northern slopes of the Hindoo Koosh. The conquest of Herat and Kandahar by the Shah of Persia, had it been accomplished, would have been another Russian advance towards India, at least for the purpose of intrigue and disorganization. The latest Russian acquisitions south of the Caucasus bring her frontier within nine miles of the road from Trebizond to Tabriz,—the route by which an immense amount of British manufactures are conveyed to Persia. In short, all Asia is either English or Russian, or the debateable ground of English and Russian outposts. Again, one is a manufacturing and commercial people, opening its ports to the world; the other, jealous in matters of commerce as in politics, adopts not merely a system of protection, but in many cases one of absolute prohibition. She is glad to dispose of her raw produce, but will make no return.

There is the rivalry of different races and civilizations. The Slavonians are not in contact with the Celto-Romans; but there is a long frontier between the Slavonian and the German. The Russian peasant calls the latter a *dummy*. Now, of all the Germanic tribes, the Anglo-Saxon is the most complete antithesis of the Slavonian. He is pre-eminently the man of the western world, the man who has carried out to the fullest extent the instincts and the calling of the noble Germanic stock. His civilization is essentially one of great cities. There are in the British Isles thirteen cities, reckoning each more than a hundred thousand inhabitants; there are already seven in the United

States; there are eight more in British India; that is, in all, twenty-eight,—one-third of the cities of that rank in the world, inhabited by, or belonging to, Anglo-Saxons. There are but three such cities in all the vast empire of the Czar.

There is the rivalry of political and social institutions. This, indeed, is partially shared by the French; for there is more equality of ranks, more social democracy, in France than in England. But the Frenchman is at all times, and more especially under Louis Napoleon, accustomed to the omnipotence of the police, and to have his personal liberty interfered with in a way that would not be borne in England. It is the spirit of England that is essentially antipathetic to that of Russia. On the one side is a self-governing people, becoming, at every crisis in its history, more its own master, more worthy to be so, and more anxious to spread the boon to others; on the other, a people of serfs,—unhappy instrument in the hand of the Autocrat to crush every people within his reach who aspire after freedom.

The last element of antagonism that we shall mention is the most important. It is the difference of religion. This also is shared by France, who unfortunately prides herself on being the eldest daughter of the Church of Rome, and as such must regard with aversion the pretensions of the military Pope of the North. Most of the Roman Catholic Missionaries in the Levant are Frenchmen, and have frequently to complain of Russian intolerance and intrigues. But in this sphere, again, the Anglo-Saxon is the real antagonist of the orthodox Church: our Missionaries, or those of America, labour among all the Asiatic populations over which the Russian Empire and Russian Church desire to extend their sway. We have got the start of both bayonets and holy oil, and are pre-occupying the ground with moral influences such as neither of them can eradicate. We are becoming from year to year more emphatically the champions of religious liberty, while the Autocrat's despotism is becoming in the same proportion more and more ecclesiastical. Prince Menschikoff complained to the Porte of the labours of the American Missionaries, and would have gladly swept away all that had been done for religious liberty in the East during these last eight years. The antagonism of religion is, indeed, the most deep-rooted and persevering of all; and we live in an age which is beginning to feel its power. Unfortunately, as Russia understands the matter, religious disputes are not to be settled by religious weapons.

Apparently, it ought to have been a great object with the Russian Court to gain time, colonize its forests, and let its immense resources accumulate; while the construction of railways would have made its armies available for immediate service wherever wanted,—north, south, or west,—instead of having, as now, to drag themselves along a slow and wearying march, sometimes of many months' duration. We may hope, that the

precipitation which has brought on the present crisis has been providentially over-ruled, in order to give an effectual check to the advance of Russian ambition. It is impossible to review the events of the last hundred years,—with their significant commentary, the Czar's overtures to Sir H. Seymour,—without feeling that the tremendous conflict between the Englishman and the Russian must have arisen sooner or later. As it is, we have secured the help of the most formidable of the military powers, after Russia herself: nay, France has been the most forward of the two. The privileges she asked for the Latins at Bethlehem were the first occasion of the Sultan's difficulties with the Czar. Her fleet was first in the Greek seas; her Ambassadors used the most stringent terms when the combined fleet entered the Black Sea. With the natural reluctance of a commercial people to engage in war, and with a somewhat vague instinct of the desperate nature of the conflict if it should be finally entered upon, we have been, as it were, dragged into it; just as it was France that dragged all Europe into the Crusades. And now the sons of Richard Cœur de Lion and Philip Augustus stand in the East shoulder to shoulder, as they did seven hundred years ago. If the alliance is nominally in favour of the Crescent now, it is not the less true to the spirit of the Crusades; it is formed against the common enemy of the civil and religious liberties of Europe. The Christians of the East will be the first to profit by it; and it is to be hoped Philip will not abandon Richard this time.

There has been some unseemly levity in high places at the beginning of this war, some confidence in our own strength, that, however natural, would have been better placed in the righteousness of our cause. Moreover, the attitude of the press has been by no means uniformly worthy of this country. The leading Journal reflected the difficulties of the situation in the incoherence of its language,—one day declaiming against the Divan, and the next railing against the Czar. We trust there is more self-possession and more earnest consistency in the English mind, than a stranger would be led to infer from the perusal of its supposed organs. And we fervently desire, that, in peace or in war, the high calling of the British nation may be present to the thoughts of all its members. Let us not act in the spirit of mere selfish national rivalry, but with the strengthening and ennobling consciousness of a providential mission.

- ART. II.—1. *Homiletics ; or, The Theory of Preaching.* By A. VINET. Translated from the French. Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark. 1853.
2. *A Letter to a Junior Methodist Preacher, concerning the general Course and Prosecution of his Studies in Christian Theology.* By JOHN HANNAH, D.D. Third Edition. London : John Mason. 1853.
3. *An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times.* By JOHN ANGELL JAMES. Fifth Edition. London : Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1841.

THE Pulpit—understanding it as the symbol of religious instruction and influence—cannot be too highly estimated. Nothing can equal it in importance, nothing compare with it in beneficial results. Secular education may diffuse useful knowledge, philosophy and science shed their light, and legislation confer its benefits ; but these, in their bearing on the perfection and happiness of man, are no more to be compared with the Pulpit, than a glimmering star to the meridian sun. Doubtless, it has been in all ages the prime method of arousing the energies of the mind, and enriching it with exalted and just views of divine doctrines and morals ; of rescuing the heart from the gnawings of a guilty conscience, and the tyranny of depraved passions ; and of securing the existence and finest manifestation of personal and social virtue and happiness. The Pulpit

“ (in the sober use
Of its legitimate peculiar powers)
Must stand acknowledg'd, while the world shall stand,
The most important and effectual guard,
Support, and ornament of Virtue's cause.
There stands the messenger of truth : there stands
The legate of the skies !—His theme divine,
His office sacred, his credentials clear.
By him the violated law speaks out
Its thunders ; and by him, in strains as sweet
As angels use, the Gospel whispers peace.
He 'stablishes the strong, restores the weak,
Reclaims the wanderer, binds the broken heart,
And, arm'd himself in panoply complete
Of heavenly temper, furnishes with arms
Bright as his own, and trains, by every rule
Of holy discipline, to glorious war,
The sacramental host of God's elect !”

Various and instructive are the aspects under which the Pulpit may be viewed. We might consider it in its history, from the earliest times down to the present ; or as a divine instrument,

during all the dispensations of God's grace and truth, by which to influence the human mind, and form it to knowledge and rectitude. The dispensation of the Patriarchs had its preachers of righteousness, such as Enoch and Noah; and that of the Law had Moses and the Prophets. The Christian dispensation, founded by the *incarnate Son of God*, and infallibly set forth in the ministry and writings of his inspired Apostles, has its Ministers, (chosen by Christ himself,) whose great calling is to preach the Gospel to all nations. To mark this history, as it is furnished in sacred and ecclesiastical annals, would be as profitable as interesting, and would force upon us the conviction, that it is, in the judgment of the Infinite Intelligence, an instrument pre-eminently suited to the mental and moral necessities of mankind. The Pulpit might also be viewed in relation to the magnificent ends which are proposed to be accomplished by it, and its adaptation to those ends, together with the evidences which have already appeared of its successes and triumphs. Yet further, we might consider the formal variations, both as to matter and style, which, notwithstanding the substantial unity of the truth, have appeared therein during the different ages of the Church.

To enter on such a field, inviting as it is, and redolent of intellectual pleasure, is not our present purpose. Neither the history of the Pulpit, nor its philosophic aspect, nor its past results, come within the range of our intention. Our business will rather be, to give a brief sketch of the modern British Pulpit, as it is found in the leading Christian and Protestant denominations existing among us, and then to make such remarks and suggestions as may lead to its greater efficiency. The modern Pulpit has not reached its full energy; nor does it display all the beneficial uses to which it may, and ought to, be applied. Fairness and impartiality must be maintained. The interests of truth must not be sacrificed to a false delicacy. If sometimes we may seem to deal severely, it is the severity of friendship, employed to correct, if possible, certain existing defects, and to lead those who are engaged in the sacred calling of the Ministry, to a more careful and practical consideration of the duties which devolve upon them, and of the manner in which those duties should be continuously discharged.

Before, however, we direct attention to the immediate object of this paper, it may be necessary to observe, that all remarks directly bearing on the immoralities which may often have disgraced the occupants of the pulpit are purposely excluded. The truth is universally admitted, that an office so sacred should be held only by those whose characters are, to say the least, outwardly consistent. Though occasion for severe remark on this topic may easily be found, yet we deem it sufficient to make only this passing allusion, knowing full well, that the moral sense of the public will both readily perceive and condemn the

inconsistencies of a Minister's personal character, whether such inconsistencies be marked by flagrant evils, or by those only that are regarded as fashionable and refined.

The first in order is the Established Church of England. In this venerable ecclesiastical system, a wide diversity obtains, both in the substance and style of preaching. However much some of its indiscriminating admirers and advocates may boast of its unity, it is notorious that parties exist among its Ministers, as different from each other in sentiment, as truth is from error, and in positions, not only of difference, but of direct antagonism. True it is, that the old party of quiet moralists, of Ministers who deem it sufficient to give a discourse on the common duties of life, having in it more of Seneca than of Christ, and indicating a better acquaintance with the Ethics of Aristotle than with the glowing and energetic doctrine of the Apostles of Christianity, is less numerous than formerly. Still some of them may be found in the cathedrals, and college chapels, and in some of the churches of the large towns; but more especially in rural villages. Happily, indeed, this cold and moonlight instruction is on the decline, and striking indications of a beneficial change are manifested. During the last half century, or more, this change has been gradually developed in the evangelical character of the pulpits of the Established Church. In the ministry of such men as William Romaine, John Newton, Charles Simeon, and Richard Cecil, came the revival of a more scriptural theology, and the consequent revival of religious life. Their preaching may be as favourably contrasted with what then generally prevailed among their clerical brethren, as the genial influence of spring with the chill and death of winter. The one was like a sunbeam, the other like an iceberg. And since the days of these devoted and earnest men, the doctrines they proclaimed, and the piety they exemplified, have been steadily on the increase amongst the Clergy. Many honoured names might be given, but we shall mention only two,—Melville of London, and M'Neile of Liverpool. Though not willing to endorse all their theological tenets, we cheerfully confess them to be, in the main, Evangelical. We simply name these popular Ministers as occupying the foremost rank, and exerting a wide-spread influence, amongst the Evangelical party. Numbers of the junior Clergy adopt them as their models.*

* The names of these eminent Ministers may be allowed to stand together, as they both do signal honour to the most influential party in the Establishment. Yet their position in the Church, the nature of their gifts, and the personal characteristics of their ministry, are essentially different, and may be more easily contrasted than compared. Though truly evangelical in his teaching, Melville belongs properly to that order of independent Preachers of which the Church of England has produced so many learned and eloquent examples; while M'Neile is to be regarded as the type of an earnest, practical, and useful class, and more or less acknowledged as the leader of a powerful party. This contrast is well marked in their personal gifts and ministrations. The one excels in

With all our admiration of the Evangelical party, we do not regard them as being faultless. Their pulpit ministrations too frequently want substance, and are often disfigured by a crude Calvinism on the one hand, and a confused Millenarianism on the other. No doubt they evidence a seriousness of spirit, a fragrance of piety that seems like air wafted from a grove of spices, an earnestness of manner that shows a true regard to the spiritual interests of the people: nevertheless, their discourses lack a definite and substantial theology. From their feebleness of thought, one would be almost tempted to think that they considered the mere superficial exhibition of the elementary truths of the Gospel all that was needed to ministerial efficiency; whereas pulpit discourses should evidence deliberate and close study, be enriched with Christian truth in its clearness and vigour, and display a becoming amplitude of scriptural treasures. The importance of the subject, and the claims of the people, demand that such should be the case. Extremes are doubtless to be avoided,—a redundant fulness on the one hand, as well as a meagre poverty on the other. The Evangelical Clergy would do well to give themselves to the hard and diligent study of the massive writings of such men as Isaac Barrow, and Bishops Reynolds and Hopkins,—not, however, to adopt the same elaborate mode of sermonizing, but to enrich their own dis-

the *science*, and the other in the *art*, of preaching. The mind of Melville is cast in the noble mould of Barrow, and the masculine Preachers of the seventeenth century. To listen to him is an intellectual treat, even more than an evangelical feast. The key-note of his discourse is struck in his opening sentence, and the elaborate strain is equally sustained to the moment of its full and perfect close. In the closet we study his composition like an organic work of nature,—admire the adaptation of its parts, and glow with pleasure in view of its just symmetry and vital beauty. M'Neile is emphatically, and in the popular and proper sense, a *Preacher*. The pulpit is to him, what the tribune is to the orator,—a throne of power; but his power is chiefly manifested when the character of his audience corresponds to the elements of his preaching, which is suitably addressed to the average class of hearers. To a choice assembly, the science of Melville, and the imagination of Irving, would come with tokens of far superior greatness. Without any remarkable reach of intellect, M'Neile has almost unlimited influence over the opinions and affections of an ordinary and stated congregation. His accomplishments are numerous; his person is attractive and commanding in a high degree. His voice obeys him like a perfect instrument in the hands of a master. His attitudes and gestures are full of grace,—perhaps, too studied to affect pleasurably some minds, who look to the pulpit, at least, for simplicity and entire forgetfulness of self; but not the less telling on the bulk of hearers, with whom it is often the readiest symbol of superior talent. These are, perhaps, little matters in themselves, but they are powerful in combination, and in the pulpit efforts of M'Neile they are marshalled and directed with consummate tact: with him, not the pointing of a finger, nor the inflection of a tone, is lost. Yet these alone would not insure so eminent and (still less) so useful a success. The preacher is animated by the genuine spirit of the Gospel. From many of his views of scriptural interpretation we are compelled to dissent, as unsound and misleading; but the doctrine of salvation by faith, we believe, he has always simply and zealously enforced. Often inconsistent with himself, he is yet uniformly faithful to this great practical truth of Christianity. His influence is chiefly local and personal, but we rejoice that it is, for the most part, pure and salutary; and if not entitled to the character of a great Divine, few so well as he deserve the praise of an earnest Evangelist, and a champion successfully “contending for the faith.”

courses, and imbue them with an evangelism that is at once intellectual, vigorous, and replete with unction. An infusion of such old elements would be of the highest service to religion, and would also redeem the Established Clergy from the oft-repeated, and perhaps just, complaint, of being poor Preachers,—poor in the sense of mental energy. Ingots of gold are more precious than a few scattered grains. It is a serious fault with many of the Clergy that they attach too little importance to the pulpit, and neglect to apply themselves with sufficient diligence in preparation for it. The pulpit is too often subordinated to the reading-desk, and the ministration of the truth less regarded than the ritual. Both should be respected according to their claims. Whilst the spirit of devotion breathes its wishes to heaven, divine truths—like pointed arrows—should be affectionately and earnestly directed to the people. The man of God in the pulpit should rise to all the dignity and zeal of one who has interests of infinite value to secure. Truly does the pious George Herbert remark on the Parson's preaching, "The pulpit is his joy and his throne." Were the rising Evangelical Clergy careful to combine richness of biblical truth with pointedness of style and earnestness of address, their profiting would appear to many; their sun would rise to a higher altitude in the ecclesiastical firmament, and shed a brighter and more beneficial radiance.

About twenty years ago, amidst the growing popularity and successful labours of the Evangelical party, there arose another class of Ministers in the Establishment, whose religious opinions are directly antagonistic to theirs. They are the Tractarians. Did it accord with our purpose, it would be interesting to trace the causes of such a development. We simply suggest the inquiry whether the want of a more strenuous regard to the outward form of religion, on the part of the Evangelicals, was not amongst the causes which brought it into existence. There can be no question but that, where the doctrines of grace are preached without a distinct and continued enforcement of their practical tendency, such preaching leads to Antinomian carelessness: outward religious ordinances are comparatively despised, and the duties of fasting, and alms-giving, and visitation of the sick, are almost entirely forgotten. Hence the doctrines of grace, though designed and fitted to be most fruitful of practical godliness, and to be embodied in an outward form of moral loveliness and consistency, have often, in consequence of their partial and one-sided exhibition, failed to accomplish their noble ends, and sometimes have even been the occasion of the development of error. Not only should the truths of the Bible be presented in their true character and import, but in their mutual relations, according to the *αναλογία πιστεως*.

But, whatever may be the causes of Tractarianism, its exist-

ence is a stubborn fact, and many of the pulpits of the Establishment are occupied by its strenuous advocates. The first promoters of this heresy may have sought what they considered a purer and more perfect outward form of Christianity; but they neglected the divine and spiritual life, which could alone give it animation and value. Ritualism was made to take the place of vital Christianity. The form, graceful in many of its parts, was destitute of soul. It was a marble statue, rather than a living power. Deviating into the path of error, they very soon adopted sentiments thoroughly anti-Protestant, and which, if followed to their logical consequences, must lead them into the bosom of Popery. Their teaching substitutes Popish dogmas and practices in lieu of pure Christian truth and divine charity, and demonstrates them to be the occupiers of pulpits which they cannot hold with consistency and honour; their teaching being in direct opposition to the Articles of faith to which they have subscribed, and consequently in open violation of their solemn vows. The pulpit, occupied by such Ministers, not only gives an uncertain sound, but ignores the very principles on which the Established Church was raised, and levels a blow at its foundations.

True, there is great plausibility, the garb of extraordinary sanctity, the display of a fascinating ritualism, "the dim religious light," and the putting forth of energetic action in the spread of pernicious error. But all this only tends to deceive the minds of the unwary, and to mislead the simple and unsuspecting. Whatever may be the temporary success of Tractarianism in the Anglican pulpits, we have the utmost confidence as to its ultimate overthrow. It is like the dark clouds that intercept the brightness of the sun. But the sun is above the clouds. Scriptural truth will prevail against every form of error. Meanwhile, it is the imperative duty of every faithful Minister of the Establishment to contend earnestly for the faith transmitted by their forefathers, and sealed by their blood; to preach the truth as it is in Jesus, with the same point, plainness, and unction, as good old Latimer. The Church of England gives evidence of increased vigour, and proclaims the Protestant truth—which is both her tower of strength, and her crown of glory—with increased success. It is pleasing to find Mr. James, in his admirable book on an "Earnest Ministry," bearing his emphatic testimony in favour of the Establishment, and urging it as a motive to his Dissenting brethren to augmented earnestness and labour. He certainly is not, in this case, a prejudiced witness.

"The Church of England is in earnest. Many of us can recollect the time when it was not so. A pervading secularity characterized her Clergy, a drowsy indifference her people. If the former got their tithes, and ate, drank, and were merry; and the latter got christening, confirmation, and the sacrament when they died; it was all they cared

for. The only thing that moved either of them to a pang of zeal, was the coming of the Methodists into the parish; and when these were mobbed away, they relapsed again into their former apathy. Exceptions there were,—bright and blessed ones; but they were only exceptions. Thank God, it is not so now! A vivifying wind has swept over the valley of dry bones, and an army, not only of living, but of life-giving, men has sprung up. Venn, Berridge, and Romaine, Newton, Cecil, and Simeon, have lived, and have awakened a new spirit in the Church to which they belonged. Look at that Church as she is now to be seen,—full of energy and earnestness; divided, it is true, into parties, as to theological opinion, to a considerable extent Romanized in her spirit, and aggressive in her designs; but instinct with life, and a great deal of it life of the best kind. Even the orthodox and the Puseyite Clergy are all now active,—preaching, catechizing, visiting the sick, instituting and superintending schools. The day is happily gone by, when the taunt of fox-hunting, play-going, ball-frequenting Parsons could be, with justice, thrown at the Clergy of the State Church. They are no longer to be found in those scenes of folly and vanity, but at the bed-side of the sick man, or in the cottage of the poor one. We must rejoice in their labours and in their success, except when their object and aim are to crush Dissenters. There are very many among them of the *true* apostolic succession, in doctrine, spirit, and devotedness; many whose piety and zeal we should do well to emulate; many with whom it is among the felicities of my life to be united in the bonds of private friendship, and public co-operation. Sincerely and cordially attached to their Church, they are labouring, in season and out of season, to promote its interests. Who can blame them? Instead of this, let us imitate them. For zeal and devotedness they are worthy of it. I know their labours, and am astonished at them.”—Pp. 253–255.

The Presbyterian pulpit must now be considered. Within the narrow limits of half a century, *Moderatism*, so called, generally prevailed among the Clergy of the Presbyterian bodies. Robertson and Blair exerted, in their day, a wide influence, and considerably moulded the sentiments and style of the Scottish pulpits,—an influence by no means favourable to evangelical truth and piety. Their preaching was more like a stagnant pool than the river of life. A happy change was to appear,—a warm and masculine theology was to supersede their vapid morality. The spiritual winter was to be followed by the bursting beauties of a spiritual spring. The late Dr. Chalmers was, under God, a powerful instrument in effecting this beneficial change. It is pleasing to witness the triumph of evangelical truth and life in his own mind, constituting him an angel of good to the churches of his country. In the early period of his ministry, it is true, he was no better than Robertson and Blair. For a while, he made religion subservient to philosophy, not philosophy subservient to religion. His sermons were rather finished essays on outward morality, than expositions of the doctrine of the Cross,—eloquent denunciations of vicious practices, rather than manifestations

of divine truth to the conscience. But when the "truth of the Gospel of Christ" came, "with the demonstration of the Spirit and of power," to his own mind,—when Christianity became a living and an active principle in his own heart,—when there was a spiritual revolution in his inward thoughts and feelings, he immediately gave evidence of the marvellous transition, not only in his personal conduct, but in his public ministrations. With all the earnestness of one who had made a new discovery in theological science, he began to proclaim the "glorious Gospel of the blessed God." With a mind full of the treasures of science and classical lore, still more enriched with the priceless treasures of saving "grace and truth,"—possessed of a fervid and brilliant eloquence,—great in energy, and resolute in enterprise,—he devoted himself to the high interests of spiritual religion, and determined to "know nothing among men save Jesus Christ and him crucified." He took "up the reproach of the Gospel, and bound it as a crown around his brow." No longer treating religion as he would a problem in Euclid, or an experiment in chemistry, or a law in mental and moral science, or a landscape, stretching itself, in serene or wild beauty and magnificence, before his eye; but regarding it as a DIVINE LIFE, he sought to enthrone it in the thoughts and affections of the people. His word was with power. The blasts of his silver trumpet resounded through the mountains and vales of his father-land. Some were startled and enraged; many hailed his ministry with joy, and saw in it the revival of a living and transforming Christianity. It was the day of Scotland's religious awakening and prosperity.

In paying this tribute to the evangelical character and influence of a departed great man, let us not be supposed to overlook or undervalue the labours of some of his contemporaries. Other faithful and godly Ministers exerted similar influence; but certainly none so extensively as Dr. Chalmers. Rich are the fruits that now appear. Whether we look into the Scottish Establishment, the Free Church, the United Presbyterians, or the sturdy Cameronians, we find noble examples of ministerial efficiency. For the rich evangelical truth that underlies their discourses, combined with their seriousness of spirit and earnestness of manner, they are entitled to the warmest commendation. This is true of many, not of all. The improvement, though general, is not universal. The leaven of Moderatism, in a greater or less degree, still remains in the generality of the Presbyterian Churches. If it be said of numbers of their Clergy, that their ministrations are spirit and life,—that they spread a lovely Paradise of truth, rich in the glory of Jesus, and fruitful in the graces of the Holy Spirit,—it may yet be said of others, that their ministrations are stiff and lifeless, reminding one of the coldness and desolation of winter.

It is natural to suppose that, with the revival of Christian life,

there would be an increased consideration of Christian truth. So it proved; and, as one consequence, *rigid* Calvinism is becoming *effete*. Chalmers himself, although he held the Calvinistic creed, presented that creed under a new phase, and greatly softened down its stern and rigorous character; so much so, that it can scarcely be called "Calvinism." Whilst he held a limited view of the atonement, he insisted on the universal offer of the benefits of that atonement, and maintained the positive guilt of all who refused to accept it. This method, adopted by himself and followers, was intended to preserve, what they call, "*logical consistency*" (we should say, consistency with the "Confession of Faith"). We have found some of them puzzled—not to use any stronger term—how to reconcile their view of a limited atonement for sin with the universal offer of the saving benefits of that atonement. A truer logic and clearer metaphysics will, ere long, it is hoped, lead them to the scriptural view, that the provision of salvation must be as extensive and as real as the offer of it. Indeed, this more true and scriptural logic has already developed itself in the theological views of the late celebrated Dr. Balmer,* Professor of Theology in the United Presbyterian Church; and as clearly also, and even more decidedly, in the Morrisonian school.

The Congregationalists must now be considered. They have an honourable parentage, and can boast of a galaxy of great and good Preachers. If we allow, what by some is still disputed, that the Nonconformists in the time of Charles II. are their legitimate parents, we may well congratulate them on their origin, and almost envy the glory which they inherit. The succession has been more or less maintained until now, if not in majesty of intellect and wealth of thought, yet in evangelical teaching, and a serene and deep piety.

Great, indeed, has been the loss recently sustained by the Congregationalists in the removal of some of their most distinguished ornaments. They are no more in this world. Having fulfilled their earthly vocation, they now enjoy their reward, and know the mysterious secrecies and wonders of what to us is invisible. Among these is Pye Smith, who, with a diversified scholarship, an extensive acquaintance with science, a

* "It is, I apprehend, a truth admitting of no doubt, that the Almighty *wishes* the salvation of all. But, if so, the sacrifice of Christ must have been *intended* for all; for it is on the basis of that sacrifice that the universal invitation of the Gospel is founded, and, without the sacrifice, the invitation would never have been made. And why, then, are not all saved? Why, I might ask in return, did Adam fall, when God *wished* him to stand? &c. You seem to think that the atonement was accepted only for a limited number. I suspect that, in the term *accepted*, there is an ambiguity similar to that which attaches to the word *intended*, when used in reference to this subject. In my opinion, however, it would be more accurate to say, that it was accepted for all; but that those only will be saved by it, who, by faith, accept it for themselves."—*Balmer's Lectures*, vol. i., p. 49. See also, in the same volume, his Lecture on the "Gospel Call," p. 459.

patient and deep research, combined evangelical soundness in doctrine, and the richness of tried piety. Wardlaw, also, whose religion was to him as a second nature, and whose mind, if not of the same compass as Pye Smith's, was quick and logical, penetrating and luminous, and successfully employed in the defence of the Gospel. There is yet another, more recent still in his departure from us,—the venerable and much-loved Jay. His excellencies are as diversified and fragrant as the roses he was wont to cultivate.* Though not equal to his contemporaries just named, either in natural or acquired abilities, yet in piety he was as beautiful, and, for efficiency in the pulpit, and extent of religious influence, superior to both. Each in his sphere shed "the lustre of an evening star, and reflected upon the Church the glory of that great Sun of Righteousness, in whose attraction it had been their delight, through a long, and holy, and useful life, to revolve."

If a few bright luminaries have been withdrawn from the Congregational firmament, others yet remain. Ministers are still amongst them who approve themselves worthy successors of their honourable and godly forefathers, who display the same richness of evangelical truth, the same fervour of piety, the same simplicity of aim, the same devotedness to the interests of religion. Too much praise can scarcely be given to such men as Dr. Raffles, and John Angell James, and Dr. Leifchild, and Thomas Binney, and James Parsons. The mantle of their ascended Elijahs has fallen upon them. But these "elect ones" cannot be considered the types of the prevailing order of the Dissenting Clergy; they are rather connecting links between the past and the present, having, however, more of the former than the latter. Bright is their example, and beneficial their influence. Would that we could persuade ourselves that the rising Ministry imbibed their spirit, and were ambitious to emulate their evangelical and earnest ministrations! But this we cannot do. Instead of renewing their strength like the eagle, they show signs of weakness, and indicate diminished power and adaptation to the great ends of the Christian Ministry. Whilst the Clergy of the English Establishment are improving in the qualities requisite for ministerial success, those among the Dissenters are rather on the decline. Say we this from any undue preference of the one to the other? By no means. Vital Christianity has been so largely promoted by the manifold labours of this respectable body, that we cannot but desire the increase of its usefulness, and regret the appearance of any symptoms of decay. Such symptoms, we believe, are really developed. The fine old school of Dissent is in danger of passing

* Mr. Jay was remarkably partial to roses, of which he had in his garden, as he once informed us, no less than one hundred and twenty varieties.

away; and a new school is seeking to rise into its place. The masculine thought, the profound deference to Holy Scripture, the pointedness of address, and the godly concern for the salvation of men, which were the distinguishing marks of the old Nonconforming Ministers, are now ominously wanting among some of those who profess to be their successors.

We shall not stay to inquire whether any of the modern Dissenting Clergy are so deeply immersed in politics, as to give proof of an earnestness in these matters, equal to what they display in religion. Nor shall we attempt to settle the question, how far such zeal is of advantage to ministerial character or ministerial usefulness. Willingly do we leave the case of those who err in this matter to the condemnation which they will assuredly receive from some of their own gifted and pious brethren. Our business is with the pulpit. How does this present itself among the Congregationalists? Is its general tendency to an increased, or a diminished, efficiency? We regret to have to record our conviction that its tendency is downward. A speculative, rather than a dogmatic, theology is rising into the ascendant amongst some of them. In a few instances, there are signs of a departure from what are justly styled "the evangelical peculiarities;" and, if not a near approach to the modern Socinianism of the American Channing, certainly a growing sympathy with German Neology. With these, as with the loose German theologians, the Scriptures are brought down from their high ground of plenary inspiration; and principles of hermeneutics are adopted, as dangerous as they are false, as blighting to man's peace as they are delusive to his mind. The doctrine of real atonement for sin, by the shedding of the Redeemer's blood, is being lowered to a mere exhibition of love, as a motive to constrain; the eternity of future punishments, notwithstanding the unanswerable production of their departed great light, Dr. Winter Hamilton, is giving place to the Winchesterian notion of restoration after limited punishment, or to the more modern one of absolute annihilation. The specific and direct agency of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of men, and in their formation to a divine character, is in danger of being supplanted by the notion that the truth *per se* accomplishes this change.* Preachers of this sort, to whatever denomination they may belong, are clouds without water; blights that darken heaven, and smite the earth

* In confirmation of our remarks, we may refer to Mr. White's book, entitled, "Life in Christ;" also to Mr. Dobney's book on Future Punishment, and to the more recent "Lectures" of Mr. Ham. We give an extract from the Rev. Mr. Davis's (recently of Bristol) Letter to the Rev. J. P. Ham: "While you confined yourself to your views on the nature of man and of future punishment, [annihilation,] and satisfied yourself with those modes of promulgating them to which none can object, I felt no inclination to interfere with you; because your views on these subjects, though in my opinion erroneous, yet are not deadly. That you held some peculiarities on the atonement, I had heard; but

stars of disastrous influence. On this point, Mr. James not only expresses his fears, but gives an earnest and affectionate warning.

"Education," says he, "will no longer be confined to literature and natural science. A disposition and determination are formed to explore the world of mind, as well as that of matter, and to give to subjective studies a place, and that a very high one, perhaps above the objective ones. Psychology is now, and will be still more so, the favourite pursuit of great multitudes of reflective intellects. The mind of Germany is operating with power and success upon the mind of England, to an extent which is surprising, and, in some views of the case, alarming. It is, one should think, impossible to trace the progress of Transcendentalism from the time of Kant to that of Hegel, and to see how, as it diverged more and more widely from the metaphysics of our land, it has associated itself with Rationalism in theology, and led on to Pantheism in philosophy, and not feel some apprehension for the result of its introduction to this country. Perhaps the practical character of the English understanding will be one of our safeguards against a system which, to the great multitude, must ever remain a matter of mere scientific speculation. It may, however, be feared that some of our young Ministers, and our students in theology, especially those of speculative habits, captivated by the daring boldness, the intellectual vigour, and the theoretic attractions of the great German philosophers, may too adventurously launch forth on this dangerous ocean, and make shipwreck of their doctrinal simplicity and practical usefulness. Let them be assured that neither the Transcendentalism of Kant, nor the Eclecticism of Cousin, is a safe guide for men who would be useful in saving souls. We would by no means contend that there is nothing in the industry of German investigation, in its method of analysis, in its subjective taste, or even in the systems which are the fruits of its researches, which may not be borrowed with advantage by ourselves; but against that willing and entire surrender of the understanding to a school, the masters of which have left us no Gospel but a fable, and no God but nature, which some in this land are beginning to manifest, we must raise an emphatic and protesting voice."—Pp. 243-245.

We could name Dissenting pulpits which, only a few years ago, were occupied by men of noble intellects, the richest Evangelism, and fine ministerial parts, that are now occupied by

little did I think you had wandered so far from the truth as to give up the proper sacrifice of Christ's death, and to teach that atonement only means *our* reconciliation to God, *on being informed that he loves us*, and that Christ only died *for us*, 'because, in showing mankind this lovely image of God, he fell a victim to the wickedness of self-seeking men, who put him to a violent death!' Alas, alas! into what depths have you not fallen! And now that you have not only sunk into this miserable Socinianism, but have led with you many poor souls, who, I believe, know not whither they are going, or where they now are, and are sending your emissaries to spread these arrows of death amongst the congregations, the time for silence is past; and it becomes every man who is indeed a truth-lover to arise, and contend earnestly for 'the faith once delivered to the saints.' " In one of our interviews with Mr. Jay, not very long before his last illness, he expressed his deep regret that German Neology was getting among some of the Dissenting Ministers, but said that he should still hold to his three "R's,"—"Ruin by Adam, Redemption by Christ, and Regeneration by the Holy Spirit."

those whose sermons exhibit a fearful lack of the evangelical truth and earnestness, which distinguished their illustrious predecessors. Of course, they are not to blame for inferiority of intellect; but they are for inferiority of doctrine and spirit. We should like to see the return of former days with them, in the manifestation of the power and unction of the Nonconformists of the seventeenth century. The junior Dissenting Clergy would do well not to yield themselves, so much as they appear disposed to do, to what is called, "the spirit of the age;" but to seek, rather, the spirit of Howe, and Charnock, and Baxter; and not to waste their time and thoughts amidst the gilded summer clouds of modern fashionable literature,—clouds as unsubstantial as they are attractive,—but, rather, to reap the fruitful fields which their fathers have left them as an inheritance.

Willingly do we bear testimony, that there are yet numbers of the Dissenting Clergy who are faithful servants of their Divine Master; who are as sound in the essentials of Christian doctrine, as they are pious in character, and are ever found complying with the apostolic injunction, "Study to be quiet, and to do your own business." Mr. James's advice to his brethren deserves special notice. He is himself an example of what he recommends.

"Dissenters of England, and especially Dissenting Ministers, I say, therefore, unto you, Be in earnest: first of all, and chief of all, in attachment to the doctrines of Evangelism, to the creed of Protestantism, to the great principles which God has employed, in every age and country where true religion has had existence, to vitalize a dead, and purify a corrupt, world. Be it your prayer, your endeavour, your hallowed ambition, to possess a Ministry of competent learning, and especially of soundly evangelical sentiment; a Ministry which, in the simplicity of their discourses and the intensity of their zeal, the fervour of their piety and the all-comprehending extent of their labours, shall vie with the best specimens of the Clergy of the Church of England. There is earnestness among *them*; and if we would not be swallowed up in the rising tide of their zeal, let us meet it with a corresponding intensity. Let each Minister, in his own separate and individual sphere of action, set himself to work, and put forth all his energies, without waiting for combination with others. Not that I speak against combination. We have far too little of it, and this is our weakness. In polity we are too independent, and should be vastly improved, as regards our internal condition and our external influence, if we were more compact. But as to ministerial earnestness, we need not wait for others: each man can do what he wills, and may do much, though no other man did any thing. Ministerial activity, like Christian piety, is a matter of individual obligation; and no one is so dependent upon his neighbours, as that he needs to halt till they are ready to march with him."—Pp. 257, 258.

It is time to pass on to the Wesleyan Pulpit. Although it has not been in existence much more than a century, it has

accomplished, both in Britain and throughout the world, an amount of good beyond arithmetical calculation. Since the days of the Apostles, no pulpit ministrations have been more successful than the Wesleyan, in promoting the true interests of religion. For its rapid and wide-spread successes, it is perfectly unique in the history of Christendom. No overweening preferences dictate this remark. The fact is broadly before the world, and Methodism at this day, through the power of its agencies, is the most influential religious denomination in existence. The Wesleys and their coadjutors were splendid examples of the right kind of preaching. Their sermons were as clear as a sunbeam, and also as genial. Thoroughly evangelical in doctrine, rich in the personal experience of that doctrine, constrained by divine love to proclaim it to others, intent only on preaching "Jesus Christ, and him crucified," possessed, generally, of masculine intellects, of warm hearts, and a simple and pointed style of address,—they went forth to fulfil their great mission, and "the hand of the Lord was with them." They "spoke—sometimes with a startling conciseness, sometimes with an overwhelming copiousness—of heaven, of hell, of eternity, of the power, and justice, and mercy of God, of an ample redemption, of an immediate release from guilt and danger, and of a present fruition of the divine favour. The style and manner of these Preachers seemed like a clearing of the clouds from the heavens, so that the sun in his strength might shine upon the dead earth."

Nor has Wesleyan Methodism ever wanted Preachers of the same genuine stamp. From its commencement until now, it has supplied some of the choicest specimens of pulpit efficiency. Such men as Joseph Benson, whose evangelical eloquence rushed like the mountain-torrent; and Richard Watson, whose thoughts were like the conceptions of angels,—whose imagination, abounding alike in beautiful and sublime imagery, was always subordinate to a healthy and vigorous judgment,—whose spirit was pervaded by deep piety, and whose entire mien was dignified and Christian; and David M'Nicoll, whose robust understanding, fine taste, and poetic fancy, were constantly sanctified to the great ends of the ministry;—were Ministers of whom the Wesleyans have reason to boast as the glory of their churches. Methodism has supplied another order of Ministers,—an order, though not so eloquent as Benson and Bradburn, nor so majestic in thought as Watson, nor so able and comprehensive as M'Nicoll, nor so learned as Clarke,—yet, possessed of rich Gospel truth, and employing right words, and animated by a soul glowing with the love and zeal of a seraph, eminently successful in winning men to Christ. Their word was as forceful as lightning: it aroused, alarmed, and subdued the people, like a crash of thunder. The late David Stoner is

their type. And men of pulpit power, equal to any of their predecessors, are still to be found amongst them. There is one especially, yet living, who may be justly pronounced the first Preacher Methodism ever produced, and, for all the great ends of the ministry, one of the most admirable examples that the ancient or modern pulpit can furnish:—we need hardly mention the name of Dr. Bunting. For clear conception of scriptural truth, fulness and vigour of thought, compactness and force of argument, correctness and simplicity of style, and powerful and overwhelming appeals to the conscience, he is entitled to rank amongst the most distinguished of Preachers. In his palmy days, we are told, that his preaching was absolutely irresistible, commanding alike the judgment and the feelings of his audience, and eminently conducive to the lofty purposes of his sacred calling. Without flattery, it may be said of him, taking him all in all, that he is the *facile princeps* of Preachers. Other living examples might be named, who are richly endowed with high mental and spiritual qualifications, and are quite equal to the best specimens of other Churches, and, in some respects, superior.*

Unqualified praise, however, cannot be awarded to the Wesleyan Clergy. Some of them are defective in what constitute the prime qualities of the pulpit. There are even indications of

* We have purposely refrained from quoting other names to illustrate the living Ministry of the Wesleyan Church; but as this sheet is passing through the press, the melancholy tidings reach us of the death of Dr. Newton; and we cannot allow the occasion to pass without a brief tribute to the memory of the departed, on a page where it may so appropriately appear. Robert Newton has "finished his course" in the fulness of age. Like his venerable friend and survivor mentioned in the text, for upwards of half a century he served the Church of Christ with unwearied zeal and eminent success; and perhaps no section of that Church in modern times has been blessed by the contemporary labours of two such men. While the profound genius and wisdom of the one largely contributed to mature and consolidate the Wesleyan system, then providentially settling into a distinctive Church-communion; the remarkable activity and faithful preaching of the other, blessed with unusual success, served to recruit and animate the ranks of Methodism in all parts of the country. The extent of Dr. Newton's labours, in connexion with the abundance of their fruits, would form an interesting chapter of ministerial biography. Between his own more stated services, he held himself at the call of congregations, near and remote, and rendered valuable aid to the cause of religious charity on almost innumerable occasions. On the Missionary platform he was remarkable for his successful advocacy. In the pulpit he was distinguished by evangelical simplicity and power. In either sphere of action he manifested some very unusual gifts. Wherever he appeared, and whatever assembly he addressed, the same attractive qualities attended him. Of lofty and noble presence, and a demeanour almost grand in its simplicity, it was a positive delight to see him rise into his place, to mark the ease of his bearing, and the natural majesty of his appearance. When he spoke, the spell was deepened, and not broken. His voice was of the finest order, and his action full of unstudied grace. He was the orator of nature far more than any we have seen or heard: the fervour of zeal, and not the rules of art, developed all his gifts. Though popular in a remarkable degree, there was nothing meretricious, nothing coarse, nothing violent in his appeals. He delivered the message of the Gospel with earnestness, as to perishing men; but with becoming dignity, as an Ambassador for God. It is pleasing to know, that, throughout his whole career, his simplicity remained uncorrupted, and his zeal unabated; and that nothing was allowed to divert him from the one object of his life,—the simple preaching of the cross of Christ.

a downward tendency amongst a few of the rising Ministry. We hope that by a timely check it may be effectually counteracted. Having had opportunities of hearing some of the younger Ministers, we have detected a departure from what has always constituted the glory and success of the Wesleyan pulpit. The jealous interest we take in the strength and progress of Methodism, and the claims of justice, demand that we emphatically declare our solemn conviction that danger threatens,—that some of the junior Preachers are abandoning the old style of clear religious instruction and faithful warning, and adopting one that is feeble and frothy, having more of figure than of thought, more of fancy than of truth, more of a false and tawdry picturing, than of the manifestation of the Gospel to the understanding and the conscience. If they are not like some of the Dissenters in their speculative tendencies, they are approaching them in the love of what is ignorantly called “Intellectualism,” and fine preaching—that which shall please the people, whatever may become of their immortal natures. They are defective in substance and point, and in direct and personal appeal to the conscience. The evangelical doctrines—the plain and earnest preaching of which were, under God, instrumental in raising Methodism to its present position, and are still needed for its continuance and extension—are not the staple of their ministrations. If pleasing, rather than profiting,—if the worthless applause which they secure, rather than the glory of Christ,—be the ends at which they aim, verily they have their reward. We would fain hope that only few come under this censure, and that even they, ere long, will obtain wisdom enough to give their days and nights to the diligent study of the writings of John Wesley, and others of kindred spirit, and form themselves after his excellent model.*

Just censure has been administered to the few: let us not withhold the praise due to the many. The vast majority of Ministers among the Wesleyans deserve high commendation. They are stars of propitious influence. If they excite not a

* In one of his remarkable prefaces, the following passage occurs:—

“I could even now write as floridly and rhetorically as even the admired Dr. B——, but I dare not; because I seek the honour that cometh of God only..... I should purposely decline, what many admire, an highly ornamental style. I cannot admire French oratory; I despise it from my heart. Let those that please be in raptures at the pretty elegant sentences of Massillon, or Bourdaloue; but give me the plain, nervous style of Dr. South, Dr. Bates, or Mr. John Howe. And for elegance show me any French writer who exceeds Dean Young, or Mr. Seed. Let who will admire the French frippery, I am still for the plain, sound English.

“I think a preacher or a writer of sermons has lost his way when he imitates any of the French orators, even the most famous of them. Only let his language be plain, proper, and clear, and it is enough. God himself has told us how to speak, both as to the matter and the manner: ‘If any man speak,’ in the name of God, ‘let him speak as the oracles of God;’ and if he would imitate any part of these above the rest, let it be the First Epistle of St. John.”—*Wesley’s Works*, vol. vi., pp. 186, 187.

wondrous gaze, still they successfully pursue their course. They are held in the right hand of Him who kindled up their brightness, and commanded them to let their light shine before men. Large is the number of such godly Ministers. They are not "popular" in the common acceptation of the term, nor much known beyond the circles in which they respectively move; not distinguished by any great mental endowments: yet they are men of good common sense, thoroughly understand the truth of the Gospel, are endued with living and practical piety, and, despite of fatigues and hardships, successfully prosecute the duties of their sacred calling. Faithful indeed are such men, and worthy of all honour;—they are the sinews and strength of the Methodist body.

It is time to bring to a close our remarks on the pulpits of the various leading Protestant denominations of Britain, and to suggest a few topics for the serious consideration of all Ministers of the Gospel. Seeing such an array of ministerial agency, knowing the peculiar adaptation of the pulpit to the important ends for which it has been instituted, the question naturally occurs, How is it that the pulpit is not more efficient? The fact is undeniable, that the Clergy of all denominations make no advancement on the surface population. This is as startling as it is true. How comes it, therefore? Is it not generally admitted, that the preaching of the Gospel is the divinely appointed instrument in the regeneration of the human species, and in bringing them to loyal subjection and obedience to HIM, who is King of kings, and Lord of lords? And yet, in Britain, where preaching prevails more than in any other country, there is comparatively little success. How is this to be accounted for? Without laying claim to any peculiar wisdom, or dogmatically stating our opinions, we may enumerate some of the causes which, in our judgment, hinder the progress of Christianity.

One ground of pulpit failure, we think, is the absence of *directness of aim*,—arising from the want of a duly practical consideration, on the part of Ministers, of the *end for which they are put into the Ministry*. The attributes which distinguish the Gospel show, that the end of its publication is spiritual,—that it is to instruct men in their relation to the Supreme Being, and to persuade them to act according to that relation; or, to use the language of Scripture, to lead them to "repentance towards God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ;" "to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and inheritance among them which are sanctified by faith that is in Christ." This end involves the deathless interests of mankind, and no higher end can possibly be proposed. An Apostle speaks of Ministers being "the savour of life unto life, or of

death unto death." The thorough conviction of such being the issues of the Christian Ministry would be amazingly influential: it would lead them to present such matter, adopt such a style, and use such earnestness, as manifestly to declare them to be men of ONE GREAT BUSINESS. It would be the impelling force of their whole conduct, which no obstacles could withstand, and no opposition overpower; their energy would be as resistless as the rushing wind, as intense as fire in its sevenfold heat.

Another reason why the pulpit is so comparatively inefficient, is the lack of that *evangelical truth* which is essential to all successful preaching. Biblical criticism, or ancient manners and customs, or natural theology, or the evidence furnished by science of the truth of religion, ought not to be the main subjects of pulpit discourses. We would not altogether exclude them; but THE GOSPEL, in its peculiar and distinctive character, should be the subject-matter. The apostolic example claims close and rigid imitation: "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord."

Professor Vinet expresses his mind on this subject with great clearness and beauty: his thoughts are precious gems:—

"The pulpit has not been erected in order that every thing may be there treated in a Christian manner: it has a special object, which is to introduce the Christian idea into life. It draws from the mine the precious metal of which each of us will make vessels or instruments for his own particular use. It is properly Christianity which it teaches, in its principles, and in its general applications. Christianity is first in order; Christianity is the object; the rest is only example, explanation, &c.

"I should say, then, Every thing that does not conduce directly to edification (to form Christ in us); every thing which an ordinary hearer cannot of himself convert into the bread of life; or, at least, every subject which you, Preacher, acknowledge to be such,—you ought not to make a subject of your preaching.

"You will exclude, then, every subject which has for its object some interest of this world. You will not even present religion under this aspect, except so far as it is necessary to exhibit the goodness of God, and the truth of religion itself. You will never consent to sell the Christian pulpit to the interests of the life that is passing away." —Pp. 53, 54.

The "Gospel of Christ" is the divinely-appointed instrument for the conversion of men, and their preparation for a higher state of existence. Any failure of a full and clear exhibition of this "Gospel" will, in equal ratio, cause a failure in the lofty ends of the Christian Ministry. All pulpits are somewhat defective in this particular. Indeed, we fear, there is a growing desire to preach sermons which shall consist of little prettinesses, rather than solid truth; or of civil rights, rather than Gospel freedom. What would be thought of a Protestant Minister in a large town

declaring from his pulpit, that at these times it was not necessary to insist on the doctrine of justification by faith, but rather to lift up the voice against priestly despotism? And yet such is the fact. If this is to be the matter of pulpit ministrations, the world would be no loser were our churches and chapels converted into Halls of Science, and our pulpits into *rostra* for the delivery of lectures on literature, on ethics, on philosophy, on political economy, and one knows not what else. It would be a dark and woful day for Britain, were her pulpits to lose their evangelical character. Priestly despotism, or infidel tyranny, would, despite of all our loud remonstrances, reign in fearful ascendancy. The duty enjoined on Timothy is the duty of Ministers in every age,—“PREACH THE WORD.” And on the clear, full, pointed, and earnest enunciation of this, will their success mainly depend. The Gospel is the best guardian of our civil freedom, as it is the only charter of our religious privileges and blessings.

The style, or language, of the pulpit is often another, and very serious, hinderance to the success of the Gospel. If our pulpits in former days were disfigured by scraps of Greek and Latin, they had the redeeming quality of an immense amount of evangelical truth, clothed in language easy to be understood, and with a point and simplicity of aim that failed not of being impressive. Whereas, in these days, though learned phrases are happily excluded from the pulpits, there is often miserable poverty of thought, arrayed in language either vapid or bombastic, attenuated to an unconscionable degree, or groaning under the weight of figures and illustrations, that are sometimes as false as they are vulgar, and as unmeaning as they are ridiculously gaudy.

The first requisite in language is perspicuity; and “by perspicuity,” as Quintilian observes, “care is to be taken, not that the hearer *may* understand, if he will; but that he *must* understand, whether he will or not.”* On this topic we cannot refrain from giving an extract from an admirable living writer: †—

“The appropriateness of any composition, whether written or spoken, is easily deduced from its object. If the object be to instruct, convince, or persuade, or all these at the same time, we naturally expect that it should be throughout of a direct and earnest character; indicating a mind absorbed in the avowed object, and solicitous only about what may subserve it. We expect that this singleness of purpose should be seen in the topics discussed, in the arguments selected to enforce them, in the modes of illustration, and even in the peculiarities of style and expression. We expect that nothing shall be introduced merely for the purpose of inspiring an interest, either in the thoughts

* “*Non ut intelligere possit, sed ne omnino possit non intelligere curandum.*”—*Instit.*, lib. viii., cap. 2.

† H. Rogers.

or in the language, apart from their pertinency to the object; or of exciting an emotion of delight for its own sake, as in poetry; although it is quite true that the most vivid pleasure will necessarily result from perceiving an exact adaptation of the means to the end. We cannot readily pardon mere beauties or elegancies, striking thoughts, or graceful imagery, if they are marked by this irrelevancy; since they serve only to impede the vehement current of argument or feeling. In a word, we expect nothing but what, under the circumstances of the speaker, is prompted by *nature*,—nature, not as opposed to a deliberate effort to adapt the means to the ends, and to do what is to be done as well as possible; for this, though in one sense art, is also the truest nature,—but nature, as opposed to whatever is inconsistent with the idea that the man is under the dominion of genuine feeling, and bent upon taking the directest path to the accomplishment of his object.

“True eloquence is not like some painted window, which both transmits the light of day variegated and tinged with a thousand hues, and diverts the attention from its proper use to the pomp and splendour of the artist’s doings. It is a perfectly transparent medium, transmitting light, without suggesting a thought about the medium itself. Adaptation to the one single object is every thing.

“These maxims have been universally recognised in deliberative and forensic eloquence. Those who have most severely exemplified them, have ever been regarded as the truest models; while those who have partially violated them, though still considered in a qualified sense very eloquent, have failed to obtain the highest place. Nor, it may be safely said, would the irrelevant discussions, the florid declamation, the imaginative finery, the tawdry ornament, which too often disgrace the Pulpit,—which too often are heard in it, not only without astonishment, but with admiration,—be tolerated for a moment in the Senate, or at the Bar.

“We have long felt convinced that the eloquence of the Pulpit in its general character has never been assimilated, so far as it might have been, and ought to have been, to that which has produced the greatest effect elsewhere; and which is shown to be of the right kind, both by the success which has attended it, and by the analysis of the qualities by which it has been distinguished. If we were compelled to give a brief definition of the principal characteristics of this truest style of eloquence, we should say it was ‘practical reasoning, animated by strong emotion;’ or, if we might be indulged in what is rather a description than a definition of it, we should say that it consisted in reasoning on topics calculated to inspire a common interest, expressed in the language of ordinary life, and in that brief, rapid, familiar style, which natural emotion ever assumes. The former half of this description would condemn no small portion of the compositions called ‘Sermons,’ and the latter half a still larger portion.”

In looking at the Sermons and Discourses which now issue from the press, as what have been previously delivered from the pulpits, one is grieved to find, generally, the absence of a clear, vigorous, and thoroughly English style. Dr. Cumming, who has acquired an extensive popularity, and whose pulpit utterances

are published through the press almost as rapidly as they are published from the pulpit, is not free from censure. His style is loose, careless, and repeatedly spoiled by incorrect figures and similes. Perhaps one cause of his failure is the rapidity with which he publishes. It would be of immense advantage—if not to his exchequer, certainly to his literary reputation—if he wrote less and thought more; if he took the same time to write one thoroughly good book, which he has hitherto deemed sufficient for the writing of half-a-dozen inferior ones. He has the ability, and can, if he will, use it to admirable purpose, both for his own honour, and the benefit of mankind. Dr. James Hamilton, of London, is not free from faults of style. His sterling religious character, his loving spirit, and the popularity he has acquired, make his writings to be not only admired, but imitated; and imitated, not in their beauties, but in their defects. Possessing an imagination richly luxuriant, he sometimes suffers that luxuriance to run positively wild. His figures of speech, being often drawn from the peculiarities of science, surround his thoughts as with a Scotch mist, rather than exhibit them as under a bright southern sky. Figurative language, whilst it is partly to please, is chiefly to make thought more luminous and impressive; and in this Dr. Hamilton repeatedly fails.

"Sermo est imago cogitationis." Language, being "the image of thought," should be transparent as crystal, easy to be understood, of forcible construction, and fitted directly to convey the thought to the mind. So far as it wants these characteristics, it is essentially defective.* It would seem as if some Preachers tried how far they could indulge the bombastic and ridiculous in style: they barbarously do to their intellects, what the wild Indians do to their bodies,—daub them with gay and fantastic colours. Wearisome would be the task, to note the instances of false and extravagant figures and illustrations, which form the staple of many of the sermons of the present day. Not long

* "Besides the ordinary rules of perspicuity, in respect of diction, which, in common with every other public speaker, he ought to attend to, he must advert to this in particular,—that the terms and phrases he employs in his discourse be not beyond the reach of the inferior ranks of people. Otherwise his preaching is, to the bulk of his audience, but beating the air; whatever the discourse may be in itself, the speaker is to them no better than 'as sounding brass, or a tinkling cymbal.' It is reported of Archbishop Tillotson, that he was wont, before preaching his sermons, to read them privately to an illiterate old woman of plain sense, who lived in the house with him; and wherever he found he had employed any word or expression which she did not understand, he instantly erased it, and substituted a plainer in its place, till he brought the style down to her level. The story is much to the Prelate's honour; for, however incompetent such judges might be of the composition, the doctrine, or the argument, they are certainly the most competent judges of what terms and phrases fall within the comprehension of the vulgar, the class to which they belong. But though such an expedient would not answer in every situation, we ought, at least, to supply the want of it by making it more an object of attention than is commonly done, to discover what, in point of language, falls within, and what without, the sphere of the common people."—*Dr. Campbell's "Pulpit Eloquence."*

ago, we heard a preacher, amid a host of fine sayings, state that "the twelfth chapter of Romans rose up in the New Testament like the tree of knowledge of good and evil." And we know another who (*reverenter scribatur*) spoke of "the Holy Ghost putting his hand down the moral spine of a child's back."

For the benefit of the junior Clergy of all denominations, we will select an extract from South, who (always excepting his vituperation and unseemly witticisms) is about the best model of pulpit style our nation has produced. The truth embodied in the following passages is not less valuable because the author did not always himself remember it, but came frequently within the reach of his own satire; for the extravagance of wit is quite as blameable as that of fancy:—

"Nothing in nature can be imagined more absurd, irrational, and contrary to the very design and end of speaking, than an obscure discourse; for in that case the Preacher may as well leave his *tongue*, and the auditors their *ears*, behind them; as neither he communicates, nor they understand, any more of his mind and meaning, after he has spoken to them, than they did before. And yet, as ridiculous as such fustian bombast from the pulpit is, none are so transported and pleased with it, as those who least understand it. For still the greatest admirers of it are the grossest, the most ignorant and illiterate people, who, of all men, are the fondest of high-flown metaphors and allegories."

Speaking of the style of the Apostles, he further adds, that "it was easy, obvious, and familiar; with nothing in it strained or far-fetched; no affected scheme, or airy fancies, above the reach or relish of an ordinary apprehension: no, nothing of all this; but their grand subject was truth, and, consequently, above all those petty arts and poor additions; as not being capable of any greater lustre or advantage than to appear just as it is. For there is a certain majesty in plainness; as the proclamation of a Prince never frisks it in tropes or fine conceits, in numerous and well-turned periods, but *commands* in sober, natural expressions. A substantial beauty, as it comes out of the hands of nature, needs neither paint nor patch; things never made to adorn, but to cover something that would be hid. To adorn and clothe them is to cover them, and that to obscure them. The eternal salvation and damnation of souls are not things to be treated of with jests and witticisms. And he who thinks to furnish himself out of plays and romances with language for the pulpit, shows himself much fitter to act a part in the revels, than for the cure of souls.

"'I speak the words of soberness,' said St. Paul. And I preach the Gospel 'not with the enticing words of man's wisdom.' This was the way of the Apostle's discoursing of things sacred. Nothing here of the *fringes of the north star*;

nothing of nature's becoming unnatural; nothing of the down of angels' wings, or the beautiful locks of cherubims; no starched similitudes, introduced with a '*Thus have I seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion,*' and the like. No; these were sublimities above the rise of the apostolic spirit. For the Apostles, poor mortals! were content to take lower steps, and to tell the world in plain terms, '*that he who believed should be saved, and that he who believed not should be damned.*' And this was the dialect which pierced the conscience, and made the hearers cry out, '*Men and brethren, what shall we do?*' It tickled not the ear, but sank into the heart; and when men came from such sermons, they never commended the preacher for his taking voice or gesture; for the fineness of such a simile, or the quaintness of such a sentence: but they spoke like men conquered by the overpowering force and evidence of the most concerning truths: much in the words of the two disciples going to Emmaus: '*Did not our hearts burn within us, while he opened to us the Scriptures?*'"

But we need not go back to the days of South for an excellent description of the Gospel Preacher. The evangelical poet, Cowper, who has already depicted for us the pulpit in its authority and power, shall teach us how to recognise its proper occupant.

"Would I describe a Preacher, such as Paul,
 Were he on earth, would hear, approve, and own,
 Paul should himself direct me. I would trace
 His master-strokes; and draw from his design.
 I would express him simple, grave, sincere;
 In doctrine uncorrupt; in language plain,
 And plain in manner; decent, solemn, chaste,
 And natural in gesture; much impress'd
 Himself, as conscious of his awful charge,
 And anxious mainly that the flock he feeds
 May feel it too; affectionate in look,
 And tender in address, as well becomes
 A messenger of grace to guilty men.
 Behold the picture!—Is it like?—Like whom?"

We shall be excused for giving an extract from Vinet on the language of the Bible; indeed, our readers will thank us. The passage forcibly reminds us of the divine proverb: "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver."

"I shall not attempt, after Rollin, and especially after Fénelon, and after Maury, to speak of the eloquence and of the poetry of the Bible. I shall only observe, that what distinguishes it, and places it above all the master-pieces of literature, is, that its beauties are not literary; that the thought has every where given the form in such a manner, that the union of the form and of the thought was never so intimate. The beauty of the language of the Bible, therefore, has every where something substantial, which immediately fixes the mind upon that which lies at the very bottom of the subject-matter, without

permitting it to amuse itself in disguising it. We are struck before we have time to enjoy, or even to admire, it.

"It is also a remarkable thing, that this oriental language, so strange, at the first aspect, to the imaginations of the West, should be, at the same time, so human, and, by that very circumstance, so universal, that it should easily assimilate itself to all nations, to all forms of civilization, to all languages, much better than could be done by the language and literature of any age, and any people, much less remote from us. All in the sacred books that relates to man, all that paints man, is characterized by a depth and a simplicity, which nothing has ever equalled: the Bible, on these subjects, has spoken a universal language, has displayed a universal poetry; the Bible was framed, in this respect, as in every other, to be the Book of the human race. Setting aside every reason founded on authority, we could borrow from no other source images and traits more suitable to the subjects of which we treat in the pulpit, nor adorn religious discourse with beauties more becoming and more grave.

"All the kinds of beauty proper to the religious discourse abound in Holy Scripture, and our position, *face to face* with it, gives us the right, imposes upon us the duty, to appropriate to ourselves all these beauties. There are none but we who can do this; that which, every where else, would be plagiarism or affectation, is one of the highest kinds of suitableness, is the truth of that species of eloquence which we cultivate. Who would not wish,—but who would dare?—in the other kinds of oratory, to sow his discourse with so many lively allusions, to colour it with so many reflections? But the Bible is more than a source or a document; the Bible is almost our subject: we have to speak of it; our voice serves to echo it: it is like a forest which we fell, like a field which we reap; this labour is less an addition to our task than it is our task itself; it is therefore, boldly and frankly, that we may draw from this treasure. And what a treasure! This book reaches the sublime of all subjects. The most finished types of the grand and of the pathetic, of the human and of the religious, of the strong and of the tender, are there as in a repository. Among all the books which expressed ideas of the same order, if one were free to choose, if their authority were equal, it is to this that we would always return. The names which it has given to all the things of God and of man are definitive, are irrevocable. What it has expressed in one manner, cannot be expressed in any other manner without being enfeebled. Whole nations have possessed themselves of this language, and have blended it with their own; the Bible has given to human speech a multitude of expressions, as it has given to human thought some of its consecrated forms. In repeating to men the sayings of the Bible, we recall to them family traditions."—Pp. 383–385.

Another most important reason why the Gospel is not more efficient, is the want of more solemn and earnest trust in the Supreme Being, to accompany the ministration of it with his own divine influence. However much the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's agency in the progress of the Gospel is under-rated in the present day; and however much taste, and education, and propitious circumstances, may be now advocated as the regenerators of the

human species, we must emphatically maintain, not only that the Gospel is the only remedy, but that the real ends of the Gospel institute can never be attained except by the accompanying energy of the Eternal Spirit. Even the truth itself, though presented with all possible clearness, and arrayed in all the charms of the most finished eloquence, and expressed in language the most pointed and vigorous, cannot succeed in the conversion of mankind. As an instrument, the truth is, indeed, adapted with exquisite fitness; but God the Holy Ghost is the Sovereign Agent who alone can wield it with effect. The spiritual and moral achievements which the Bible proposes, are accomplished, not by the wisdom of men, but by the power of God. What, then, is more obvious than that it is the duty of Ministers, in all their efforts for the spreading of scriptural truth by the sowing of the incorruptible seed which is the word of God, to depend entirely on Jehovah to give the increase?

The last reason we shall name, is a deficiency of that deep personal piety which should be possessed and exemplified by Christian Ministers. The Christian Ministry is not a learned profession, but a divine vocation,—a vocation that requires those who engage in it to be partakers of the life and power of that Gospel which they preach to others. Were it needful, overwhelming evidence might be produced from Scripture, that wickedness disqualifies for this office, and that the highest Christian purity is demanded. The primitive Church had a lively sense of the indispensable necessity of personal holiness before men could be separated to this sacred calling. The character of Barnabas is what should be always exemplified by Christian Ministers: “He was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith.”

Dr. Hannah, in his excellent “Letter to a Junior Preacher,” makes impressive reference to this point:—

“Remember that the Christian system is concerned with the heart of man; and that, while it instructs his mind, it especially seeks to restore him to the favour, the image, and the communion of his God. If it is compared to light, it is the light of the sun, which shines by its unrivalled splendour; but which, at the same time, penetrates, warms, animates,—kindles all into life, and crowns all with joy. Assure yourself, then, that an improvement in personal piety ought to be associated, nay, identified, with your progress in theological studies. Never think it enough to say, that you have read many books, solved many difficult problems in divinity, and acquired many new and rare sentiments. All this may be true. But allow me to ask, with all the affectionate solicitude which I would use towards an own friend or brother, Have you also gained a larger measure of the meek, holy, loving spirit of Jesus, your great Teacher? Have you ‘grown in the grace,’ as well as ‘in the knowledge,’—and, indeed, as the means of your growing in the knowledge,—‘of our Lord and Saviour?’ If you have not, ‘be not deceived.’ You have miserably failed in the

attainment of your object. Boast not of your skill in theology: it is a perfect illusion. Too much light you cannot receive; but O! let it be the light of life."—Pp. 65, 66.

These are weighty sentiments, and cannot be too carefully pondered.

The reasons of pulpit failure above assigned, we regard as the most important. Some may be disposed to attribute that *failure* to the want of what they consider a more perfect form of Church government. From these we decidedly differ. Christianity is not advanced by mere ecclesiastical economics; they may exist never so completely, and yet fail in producing one instance of the sublime end for which Christianity is made known. The form is comparatively nothing; the vital religious power is the great *desideratum*. Were Ministers universally to possess the mind, and imitate the example, of their Divine Master; were they to preach the *truth as it is in Jesus*, and nothing but the truth; were they to commend that truth to the consciences of men in language, simple, terse, and transparent; were they, in all their ministrations, to look away from themselves, and rely, with implicit confidence, on the promised aid of the Holy Spirit; they would then find how God, as in apostolic times, "would cause them to triumph in Christ, and make manifest the savour of his knowledge by them in every place;"—converts would appear, numerous as the drops of dew from the womb of the morning, and arrayed in the beauties of holiness.

- ART. III.—1. *Histoire des Ducs d'Orleans*. Par M. LAURENTIE.
Quatre Tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1850.
2. *Histoire de la Vie Politique et Privée de Louis Philippe*.
Par A. DUMAS. Deux Tomes. 8vo. Paris. 1854.
3. *The History of the House of Orleans*. By W. COOKE TAY-
LOR, LL.D. Three Vols. 8vo. London: Bentley. 1853.

THAT the Duke of Orleans, for the time being, was always a pretender to the throne, and the enemy of its occupant, appears ever to have been considered an incontrovertible fact. It is one that can hardly be disputed; and the antagonism between Orleans and the sceptre commenced with the first little Prince on the roll of these royal Dukes.

The young gentleman in question was the second son of Philip VI. (de Valois). He was born at Vincennes, in 1336; and the good city whose name was borrowed, in order to furnish him with a ducal title, fell, or rose, into a state of delightful enthusiasm at the honour. It was to this Prince that Humbert, Dauphin of Vienne, made gift of his territory; but the father of Philip of Orleans compelled him to resign gift and title, which

were transferred to his elder brother John. From that period the heir to the French throne was called "the Dauphin;" and it is historically clear that the Dukes of Orleans not only desired to recover the title, but the inheritance.

The career of the first Duke, Philip, was not very long, nor yet particularly brilliant. He was a good soldier and a sorry Christian. At Poitiers, when scarcely twenty years of age, he led six-and-thirty banners and a couple of hundred pennons into the field. When he had brought his followers within sight of the English ranks, he remarked, "Now, Sirs, you talked right valiantly at your hearths of how you would eat these pestilent English knaves, if you could but get your hands upon their throats. There they are before you! Charge! and may St. Denis give you power both to eat and to digest!" But the broad-cloth arrows and the spears of England were too much for even the eager followers of Orleans. Few of them got back to the hearths around which they had so lately boasted.

Duke Philip led a gay life in England during the period he remained here as hostage for his brother, the King, John, who had been allowed to return to France to raise a ransom. He had been married, when only in his ninth year, to Blanche, daughter of Charles the Fair; and his profligacy was of a quality to break the heart of sterner wives than gentle Blanche. He survived till the reign of Charles V., the son of John, who cut down his appanages, and had much to do in guarding against his uncle's designs in return. But the King had not to keep guard long; for Philip of Orleans, worn out with his excesses, died in 1375, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and was buried with as much pomp, in the church of the Celestines in Paris, as though there were men who had honoured him when living, or who mourned at his departure.

Philip died childless. Charles V., his elder brother, had two sons; one named after himself; the second, Louis Count de Valois, who ultimately had conferred on him the title, by which he became the second Duke of Orleans. He was a marvellous boy; and the first words he uttered were, "*Ave, Maria!*" It is seriously averred that, at the age of eleven years, he bore himself as bravely on the bloody field of Rosbecque as any veteran soldier there. He was, indeed, precocious in most things, and began to whisper in ladies' ears, when preceptors should have been pulling his own. He was fair of face, graceful of figure, sweet of voice, seductive of speech, and easy of principle. He loved money and hated morality; a double fact which he illustrated by receiving under his protection Pierre de Craon, who came to him laden with the gold of which that unfaithful servant had plundered his master, Louis of Anjou. He was, in truth, a young monster of iniquity and avarice. He married the superb Valentine, daughter of Galeas Visconti, Duke of

Milan; but he basely outraged this lady, as he did nature itself, when he seduced from her duty the wife of his own brother, Isabella of Bavaria. He could not gain the crown; but he could dishonour and destroy the Queen, nothing loth to encounter him half way in guilt. The Duke and his royal brother held a passage-of-arms at St. Denis, at which the orgies would have made even the Babylonians of Quintus Curtius blush. Valour induced friends to hack at one another gallantly in the lists by day; and the general licence of the night made of the banquet a scene, at sight of which not only might the angels have wept, but demons have shuddered. Louis was leader in the fray; for it was more of fray than feast, where drink maddened the vicious, and the vicious acknowledged no restraint. At banquet or in battle, however, the thoughts of Louis were with his sister-in-law, Isabella. He had neither respect nor love for his consort, Valentine, and their two sons. He was, on one occasion, in Languedoc with his brother Charles, when he proposed that they should try their skill in horsemanship by galloping back to Paris. The trial was accepted; but Louis arrived in the capital long before his King and brother; and Isabella too warmly welcomed him who first arrived. Valentine, perhaps, would not have learned her husband's guilt, but for that very Pierre de Craon whom Louis had encouraged in crime, by the commission of which he pecuniarily profited; and he was now betrayed by the criminal, whom he would not further serve, because from that criminal there was nothing more to be gained.

But Louis of Orleans had contrived to secure much of the ill-gotten wealth of De Craon; and, with a portion thereof he erected an expiatory chapel, at the opening of which he walked barefooted to the altar, in testimony of his sorrow at the fatal issue of one of the roughest of his jokes. At a grand marriage-festival, given in honour of the nuptials of one of the ladies of Queen Isabella, Louis introduced an *entrée masquée*, consisting of six individuals chained together as satyrs. One of these was the King; and the whole half-dozen were attired in dresses of a highly inflammable nature. The deportment of these satyrs was "beastly;" nay, it is almost an injustice to "beasts" to say so. Heaven and human nature were alike outraged on this occasion. The debauchery and drunken revelry of the satyrs were at the highest, when Louis of Orleans, thoughtlessly,—and yet some say, maliciously,—thrusting a lighted torch at the King's dress, set it on fire; and, in an instant, the chained six were struggling in a mass of flames, howling, cursing, and helpless. The King was rescued; but two Knights died of their injuries: and it was that their souls might rest in peace, and that he himself might be reconciled with Heaven, that Louis built a chapel out of funds which he had forced from a man who had stolen them from his master. Louis laughed when all was done; but the angels must

have wept. This consequence, however, would have little affected the unscrupulous Duke, who was as unjust as he was grasping. He banished his wife, Valentine, to Neufchatel, on an accusation of her being too familiar with the now half-insane King; and from the royal semi-idiot he obtained a grant of all property forfeited by criminals. Mezeray might well say of him, "*Il profitait de tout.*" But he forced more from the King than this. He obtained the power of levying taxes, and the revenue arising therefrom he placed in his own coffers; thus robbing the people, and cheating the King. When murmurs arose at the impost, his answer was, that it was levied, not on his sole authority, but with the consent of the other administrators of the kingdom,—his kinsmen, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berri. The wrathful denial of the two Dukes compelled Louis of Orleans to abolish the tax; and thereupon he unblushingly intimated to the people, that they were relieved of the impost solely in consequence of his own remonstrance with the King! That poor King! He never woke to transient reason without beholding the precipice down which Louis was driving the chariot of the State; Isabella at his side; and fierce Burgundy loading the air with imprecations, not at the wickedness of Orleans, but that he himself could not share in the Government and the profits. And these profits were enormous: that they were tempting to unscrupulous cupidity, may be seen in the fact that, on one occasion, when the royal officers deposited the taxes in the Treasury, and defended the deposit, Louis headed an armed force, attacked the Treasury, defeated its faithful defenders, and triumphantly carried off the "resources of the kingdom." He was, moreover, a remover of landmarks; acre to acre he added to his estates; and, like the Nobleman in Hamlet, he was "spacious in the possession of dirt."

His name was a familiar one in England at the period of which we are treating; for it was by his especial aid that Henry of Lancaster dethroned the gentle Richard. Monstrelet cites the legal deed by which Henry of Lancaster and Louis of Orleans entered into bonds of sworn brotherhood; but this line of fraternity did not restrain the French Duke from summoning the usurper King to mortal combat, on the ground that the latter was the assassin of his liege lord. Henry denied the imputation, refused the challenge, and dismissed the bearer of it with the deed of brotherhood, which he contemptuously returned to his capricious *quasi*-kinsman.

Louis was the father of Dunois, the famous "Bâtard d'Orleans." The mother of Dunois was a married lady, Mariette d'Enghien; and history has no such horrible story, nor romance any such revolting legend, as that which tells of the fiendish brutality of the sire of Dunois. The very soul sickens at the thought of the revolting treatment to which the noble Mariette was subjected.

But fiend as was the perpetrator, he could, like the devils spoken of by the Apostle, "*tremble*." His courage was not perfect, even when he became Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, with the Pope to sanction all he did. The most truculent of Roman Emperors used to hide himself beneath his bed when thunder hurtled in the air; and Louis, once overtaken by a sudden storm on his way from chapel, where he had heard a comminatory sermon, was so alarmed that he called his creditors together, in order that he might satisfy their demands, and so, in one sense, obey the apostolic injunction, which says, "Owe no man any thing." But when the ecstatic creditors were assembled at the ducal palace, the storm had passed away, and the sermon was forgotten; and therewith the creditors were violently driven from the mansion, with pouches and purses as ungarnished as when they had entered. Avarice was, perhaps, his besetting sin; and he even offered to resign his high office of Lieutenant-General, provided he might have, in its place, the irresponsible administration of the national finances. He negotiated the marriage subsequently concluded between his son Charles and Isabella, the widow of our own royal Richard, with a sharpness of view towards the settlements, which proves that the Orleans of the House of Valois were not of a less mercantile spirit, even in affairs of the heart, than the Orleans of Bourbon, who transacted the famous marriage which united the illegitimate and the legitimate branches of the house, in the persons of Mlle. de Penthièvre and the Duke de Chartres (Philippe Egalité).

The fiercest adversary of Louis was that redoubtable Duke of Burgundy, who is known in history as "John the Fearless." These foes, however, were reconciled by mutual friends; and to show how earnest they were, they proceeded, hand-in-hand, to church, knelt at the altar, received the sacrament, and, with what they took for "very God" in their mouths, swore that thenceforward they would be only as loving brothers. In further token of their reconciliation they, for several nights, shared the same couch,—a knightly ceremony much followed by men in their respective positions. Shortly after, Orleans conducted Burgundy into his gallery of portraits. It was a gallery like that which some of our readers may have seen at Munich, during the late King's reign, wherein hung the counterfeit presentations of all those ladies whose beauty had excited the admiration of the owner of the gallery. Jean Sans-Peur is said to have recognised among them a portrait which marvellously reminded him of his own consort; but he passed on, and said nothing. He meditated so much the more deeply; and such terrible threatenings seemed to sit upon his brow, that the Duke de Berri, suspecting at whom they pointed, made both his kinsmen attend him to the altar, where they once more took the sacrament, and vowed eternal friendship. It was not many nights after, that

Orleans was on his way, mounted on a mule, and accompanied by a feeble escort of his followers, returning from a guilty visit to the Queen Isabella, at her residence, the Hotel Barbette. He had suddenly arisen from supper with the Queen, on feigned intimation conveyed to him by a conspirator,—who assumed, for the nonce, the office of a King's messenger,—that His Majesty required the Duke's presence at the Hotel de Saint Pol. He went forth, mounted as we have said, three footmen carrying torches before him. Eighteen armed men awaited him in the old Rue de Temple. They fell upon their victim just as he had reached the front of the house called "*L'Image de Notre Dame.*" All his followers fled, save one, who met death with his worthless master. The assassins assailed the Duke with cries of "*Death! Death!*" Orleans, conceiving some mistake, exclaimed, "What means this violence? Know ye not I am the Duke of Orleans?" "All the better!" was the fatal rejoinder; "it is you whom we have been waiting for!" Orleans pulled up his bridle, but a blow from a battle-axe cut off the hand which held the rein, at the wrist. Daggers pierced his sides, and swords his throat; and at length, as he fell from the mule, a blow from a club dashed out his brains, and he lay dead in the middle of the street. At this moment a man issued from the house, "*L'Image de Notre Dame;*" his features were concealed by a hood of scarlet cloth, trimmed with gold. It was Burgundy himself. He bore a club; and as another of the murderers held a torch over the fallen body, Burgundy dealt the latter a heavy blow with his club, and added, "He is dead! Put out your lights, and disperse!" The order was not prematurely given; the street was filling with people, and the assassins, in passing through the house, set fire to it, in order to attract that way the public attention. They got clear off; and on the following day, when the body of the murdered Orleans was exposed in the church of the Blancs Manteaux, there was no one there who seemed so profoundly sorrowful at the fact, and indignant against the perpetrators, as the hypocritical Burgundy, who touched the corpse, in company with all present, as a token of being innocent of all participation. The attention of the police, however, was inconveniently directed towards the palace of the Duke of Burgundy, whither one of the assassins, in a scarlet hood, had been seen to fly for refuge. John was no longer what his name declared him,—"*the Fearless.*" He sent for his kinsman Berri, made hurried avowal of, and apology for, his crime, and then set foot in stirrup, nor ever pulled rein, till he was beyond the power of France, in his own sovereign dukedom. He was of course a pious man, was this Burgundian Duke, according to the spirit of the times,—and, indeed, of very recent times also. It is not many years ago that we were discussing this murder upon the very stage where it had been enacted; and our then youthful indignation found

expression in some stringent terms. "Burgundy had his virtues, nevertheless," was the remark of one at our side. "Ay, marry, and how did the villain manifest them?" "Nay, Sir," was the calm rejoinder, "call him not 'villain;' for, in pious thanksgiving for his escape, he ordered the *Angelus* to be rung for ever at one o'clock in the afternoon, in memory of the hour at which he crossed the frontier into his ducal territory, on the last day of November, 1407." We looked inquiringly at the speaker, but we saw nothing on his brow, save sincerity and error.

The conduct of the wife of Orleans exhibits another curious trait of the times. She was the mother of three sons, Charles, Philip, and John. But she did not look to them in her great sorrow. She sent for Dunois, that natural son of her husband, and who returned little of the strange affection which she showed for him. He was then very young, but she looked upon him as missioned to punish her husband's murderer. She loved him as her own, and reared him as tenderly as though he had been heir to a Crown. Whenever she saw him full of soul and ardour, the tears would well to her eyes, and she would remark, that she had been wronged of him, that he ought to have been hers, and that none of her children were so well qualified to take revenge upon the assassin of their sire, as this, the illegitimate John,—who was afterwards so renowned under his more familiar appellation of Dunois.

Full as strongly did the wronged Valentine continue to mourn. She assumed for her device a watering-pot,—of course, pouring forth salt tears. On the mouth-piece of the "rose" was engraven a coil of *S's* which some ingenious interpreter declared to signify, "*Solam Sæpe Seipsam Sollicitari Suspirare-que.*" She chose, for a legend beneath, the expressive phrase: "*Nil mihi præterea, præterea nil mihi.*" But stranger still was the settlement of this great feud. Burgundy returned to Paris upon safe-warrant. Before the whole Court, and in presence therewith of the entire family of Orleans, he made *amende* for his deed. He confessed the murder, and justified it, pronouncing the late Duke to have been a traitor, to rid the King of whom, was to do the Monarch justice. And thereupon that Monarch meekly expressed his obligations to the murderer of his brother; the family of the victim (after a show of decent reluctance) declared themselves satisfied; and, to let the tragedy be followed by a dramatic act of gaiety, the assassin espoused a Princess of the family, the Church blessed the entire arrangements, and all was thenceforth to go as merrily as a marriage-bell.

The third Duke of Orleans was Charles, son of the second Duke. He was of so poor merit that even the party which cared for his interests (and its own) took its name, not from their leader, but from the Count d'Armagnac, father of Bona, the second wife of Duke Charles. Between the Armagnacs and

the Burgundians, France was reduced to the most fearful condition of misery. The object of the former was, to avenge and make pecuniary profit of the murder of the late Duke:—and that one murder led to a thousand others; and no one profited thereby, save Satan, who appears to have been the chief adviser of both parties.

At length, however, the arms of each were turned against one common foe,—the English. The great collision took place at Agincourt, and resulted in a triumph, the shouts of which still echo in the hearts of the descendants of the victors. The young Duke of Orleans was made captive on that terrible day, and was so overwhelmed at the dreadful calamity, that for two whole days he refused all nourishment. Appetite, however, then got the better of his grief, and his stomach proved stronger than his sorrow. Henry brought him prisoner to England, where he resided during more than a quarter of a century. During this long time, he was occupied in writing poetry, bewailing his detention from La Belle France, kissing with expansive demonstration of affection the French Ambassador from the Duke of Burgundy in England, and tempting Henry to set him at liberty without ransom, in return for certain treachery, which he offered to commit against his own Sovereign, Charles VII., whom he engaged to renounce,—acknowledging Henry in his place. At length his release was effected, and that by Burgundian aid. Philip, son of John the Fearless, slain on the bridge at Montereau, paid down 300,000 crowns, the city of Orleans contributed some 9,000 gold francs, and therewith the captive Duke had permission to return to France, where he married a niece of his ransom, Philip; thus once more, by gold and a wedding, patching-up a peace between two houses to whom it was second nature to be at war.

There were few things illustrative of character or scene that escaped the observation or memory of Shakspeare. The echo at the foot of Macbeth's Castle still does justice to the remark of the usurping King to the Doctor,—

"I would applaud them *to the very echo*,
That should applaud again."

In Shakspeare's "Henry V.," the Duke of Orleans has little to do, and less to say; but the latter is perfectly characteristic of the Prince in question. The poetical knowledge of the royal poet is illustrated in the remark made by him when the Dauphin states that he had written a sonnet in praise of his palfrey, which began thus, "*Wonder of nature.*" "I have heard," says Orleans, "a sonnet begin so to one's mistress." Of all the French Lords, he is the only one who is made to deliver a common truth in fancy phrase, "The sun doth gild our armour; up, my Lords!" And when others despair, he alone, as was the case, entertains hope, and cheerfully exclaims:—

"We are enough yet living in the field,
To smother up the English in our throngs,
If any order might be thought upon."

When Charles of Orleans returned to France, the last visit he paid was one to the King. He resided for some time in retirement at Orleans and Blois. The French Monarch, however, behaved with noble generosity towards him, received him cordially, when the Duke experienced an attack of loyalty, and gave him 160,000 francs, wherewith to purchase the freedom of his brother, the Count of Angoulême, then detained as a hostage in England. Various opinions have been given with respect to the conduct of Duke Charles in this country during his captivity; but the pages of Rymer show, that, much as he was given to poetry, he could dabble a little in treason; and that, in *his* estimation, it was perfectly right, that self should take precedence of country, and the general good yield to that of the individual,—in other words, of himself. In France, as he grew in years, he became more and more devoted to agricultural pursuits; but, like Philippe Egalité at Villers-Cotterets, while he watched the growth of cabbages, he was vigilant as to what he thought his rights. Thence his expedition against Milan, to the ducal Crown of which he laid claim, an immediate male heir to the late Duke being wanting, through his mother. But the lance of Orleans was shivered by the sword of Sforza; and when the former heard of the utter failure of his expeditionary force, he left the quarrel to be bloodily contested, as it was, by more than one succeeding heir. In the mean time, Louis XI. had ascended the throne which his father Charles had left vacant, and the King of France and the Duke of Orleans were good friends,—when they were not antagonists. The Duke is said, indeed, to have become so mere a courtier in his advanced age, that, Louis, on one occasion, speaking to him in terms of strong reproach, he took it so to heart, that he crawled to Amboise, like a stricken deer to the covert, and there died despairingly, in the seventy-fourth year of his age.

He has always had a reputation for piety; but as this is chiefly based upon the fact, that every Friday he entertained thirteen poor people at dinner, waiting on them himself, and that annually, on Ascension Thursday, he washed the feet (previously cleaned) of as many mendicants, Charles of Orleans has but few claims to occupy a chapter in Hagio-biography.

He was thrice married: first, to Isabella, the widow of our Richard the Second; afterwards, to Bonne d'Armagnac; and, thirdly, to Maria of Cleves, by whom he had that son Louis, who succeeded him as Duke of Orleans, and ultimately wore the French crown as Louis XII.

The most remarkable of these wives was the first, Isabella, daughter of Charles VI. of France. This Princess was married

to our Richard when the bride was scarcely nine years of age, and the bridegroom was about four times as much. Richard espoused her for the sake of the alliance with France; and he treated her paternally, petting her like a lamb, giving her sweet-meats, and telling her fairy tales. He was fond of the child, and she of him; and when he departed from Windsor, on the outbreak of the rebellion of Bolingbroke, he left a kiss upon her brow that was impressed with the deep melancholy of a father perhaps separating for ever from a favourite daughter. It was with the feverish partiality of a child that Isabella espoused his cause; and, after death descended upon him so terribly, and she was taken back to France, it was long before she would lay down the trappings of her woe, or allow her young heart to be consoled for the loss of her old protector. Questions of State again made of her a wife; and in 1406, when she was but in her thirteenth year, her hand was given to Charles of Orleans, then only eleven years of age. Three years afterwards she gave birth to a daughter, and at the same time yielded up her own life,—that brief life, the happier for its brevity.

The merits of Charles of Orleans, as a poet, were undoubtedly very great. He had little of the obscurity of the poets of his day, few of their conceits, and none of their over-strained compliments. His Muse was gentle in her song,—tender, as became one who sang in a long captivity in Pontefract Castle. The lines devoted to descriptions of nature seem, if one may say so, to breathe freshly upon the cheeks like May breezes. They remind us chiefly of Surrey, particularly of that noble poet's exquisite sonnet on Spring. Charles's muse grew joyous as he grew in years, when he penned noisy roundelays, and those famous *chansons à danser*, which gained from him the name of "*Caroles*,"—a name common now, even in English, to all lyrics resonant of joy and glad tidings. Charles left the bulk of his manuscripts behind him in this country. Some of them found their way to France, and are now in the chief public library in Paris; but enough remain in this country to give life and excitement to the whole Society of Antiquaries, who will doubtless be obliged to us for reminding them of the fact.

We add one sample of the royal troubadour's quality, translated by the practised pen of Mr. Carey. Of its original author, we will only add one more additional trait. After the battle of Agincourt, Henry took him and the other captive Princes, in his own ship, from Calais to Dover. The passage was one of the stormiest; and the warriors who had encountered the horrors of the battle-field without blenching, were as timid as sick girls at finding themselves the sport of the furious wind on the unstable main. Charles especially excited the mirth of the English King, by dolorously asserting that he had rather fight a dozen Agincourts over again, than endure for another hour such a pas-

sage by sea. But to our promised taste of his quality as a poet:—

“ To make my lady’s obsequies,
 My love a minster wrought,
 And in the chantry service there
 Was sung by doleful thought.
 The tapers were of burning sighs,
 That life and odour gave;
 And grief, illuminéd by tears,
 Irradiated her grave;
 And round about, in quaintest guise,
 Was carved,—‘ Within this tomb there lies
 The fairest thing to mortal eyes!’

“ Above her lieth spread a tomb
 Of gold and sapphires blue:
 The gold doth show her blessedness,
 The sapphires mark her true.
 For blessedness and truth in her
 Were livelyly portray’d,
 When gracious God, *with both his hands*,
 Her wondrous beauty made:
 She was, to speak without disguise,
 The fairest thing to mortal eyes.

“ No more, no more! My heart doth faint,
 When I the life recall
 Of her who lived so free from taint,
 So virtuous deem’d by all;
 Who in herself was so complete,
 I think that she was ta’en,
 By God, to feed his paradise,
 And with his saints to reign.
 For well she doth become the skies,
 Whom, while on earth, each one did prize,
 The fairest thing to mortal eyes.”

We now come to the first Duke of Orleans who ascended the throne of France. Louis, son of Charles, was born at Blois, in 1462. He will doubtless be familiar to most of our readers, figuring so graphically as he does in the “*Quentin Durward*” of Sir Walter Scott. Louis XI. compelled him to marry his deformed and sterile daughter Joan, threatening him with death by drowning, if he refused. Anne de Beaujeu, the other daughter of the King, loved the graceful Orleans, who, in his turn, wooed a great many fair ladies generally, and Anne of Bretagne in particular. When Anne de Beaujeu became Regent for the youthful Charles VIII., the Duke of Orleans plunged into an active armed opposition, which ultimately made of him the prisoner of that Princess, who, stung by the *spretæ injuria formæ*, treated him with an atrocious severity, and kept him, during a portion

of his captivity, chained in an iron cage, like a wild beast. Her desire was to compel him to solicit her compassion, and to make offer of his love; but Orleans bore his dreadful fate courageously during five years, and then owed his liberation to the spontaneous act of the young King Charles. He had, in the mean time, made wise use of the hours of his adversity; and he stepped into freedom one of the most accomplished men of his day. The death of Charles VIII. left the throne open to him, its lawful possessor. He stood by the deceased Monarch with salt rheum upon his eye-lashes, and resolution at his heart. Whither this latter tended, may be seen in the fact, that Louis, now the Twelfth of the name, not only buried the late Monarch at his own expense, but married that Monarch's widow. The relict of the departed Sovereign was that Anne of Bretagne of whom we have already spoken. She and Louis had been lovers in their younger days; but they made but a very discordant pair in the maturer years of less passion, and more discretion. Their letters, indeed, have been cited to prove the contrary; and these *do* betray a most orthodox warmth of conjugal affection. But then these epistles are known to be from the hands of the Court poets, who, in their office of Secretary, took all their phraseology from an Italian vocabulary, and had a supreme contempt for veracity and common sense. To marry Anne, he repudiated the innocent Joan; and, on the death of his second wife, he looked towards the Court of our Henry VIII., and solicited from that Monarch the hand of his gentle sister, the peerless Mary Tudor.

Now, if Louis of Orleans was the husband of three wives, Mary of England was the lady of many lovers,—herself loving but one. She had been wooed by Albert of Austria, and Charles of Spain, and now by Louis of France; but her heart was with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who was the most successful of the lovers after all. Suffolk is said to have formed part of the escort which accompanied Mary across the Channel. Among her ladies was a Mistress Anne Boleyn, a vivacious girl, who lost her felicity in achieving greatness. St. Wulphran, to whom the last prayers of the wedding-party were addressed before going on board, ill repaid their pious zeal. After rolling about for many hours in the most tub-like of ships, Knights and ladies were flung ashore on a desolate part of the French coast, on which they pitched their tents, beneath whose sheltering canvas they smoothed their ruffled plumes, shook out their silks, and calmed their grievously tormented stomachs.

The "Pearl of England," as Mary was styled by her fond brother Henry VIII., set up her hasty but splendid "state" in a rude hut, which was turned, for the nonce, into a palace, whither the Boulognese flocked in crowds to admire the gorgeousness of her *trousseau* and general appointments. She was exquisite in her grace and accomplishments. "Madame Marie

d'Angleterre" won golden opinions from all who looked upon her. They were dazzled with the gems she wore, set by the artistic hands of "Master William Verner;" and if our readers are desirous to peruse the detailed inventory of all the wealth which accompanied the "Flower of England,"—a young blossom to be grafted on an old and withered stem,—they will find it in the business-like book of accounts of Andrew of Worcester.

Marie moved slowly on to Abbeville, where Louis impatiently waited the arrival of his young bride. His impatience got the better of his gout; and, swallowing some stimulating drugs to steady his nerves and strengthen his sinews, and under pretence of a hunting-match, he galloped through the gates of Abbeville, for the purpose of sooner beholding his bride. He was attended by a most glorious company:—a more brilliant had not passed beneath the archways of the ramparts since the morning on which Philip of Valois passed by the same outlet to meet the English army and an overthrow upon the bloody field of Cressy. When the procession of the bride, and that peerless lady on her palfrey, came in view, the shattered King felt something like young blood within his veins. He put spurs to his steed, charged close up to the side of the Princess, gazed into her face and radiant eyes, and then, clapping his feeble hands, he uttered his ordinary oath, invoking all the fiends in Tophet to seize him, if "Madame Marie" were not twice as beautiful as report had pronounced her to be. The royal pair rode on, side by side, in advance of the double escort; and if Suffolk looked upon them, he might have sung,—

*"Ah, qu'il soit Roi! Mais qu'il me porte envie;
J'ai votre cœur,—je suis plus Roi que lui."*

The marriage, after a world of tedious ceremony, took place in the church of St. Wulphran, at Abbeville. An old "custom of the country" had well-nigh determined Louis to have his wedding solemnized in another city; but he was gained over by a speech of the Mayor, who said, "Sire, you may wed here without breaking our old ecclesiastical law, which no longer exists, and which used to forbid husbands to dwell in company with their wives during three whole days and nights after the celebration of their nuptials." The matrimonial crown was worn by Mary for only three brief months. The way of life of Louis during that period would have killed a stronger man. In January, 1515, his excesses shook him off from the tree of life,—fruit withered and rotten,—into the grave beneath.

To follow the fortunes of our English Mary for a moment further, we may state that, in another three months, she was the happy wife of the Duke of Suffolk. Of this union there survived but two daughters,—Eleanor and Frances. Frances espoused Grey, Marquis of Dorset, on whom was conferred the title of Duke of Suffolk; and the most celebrated and unhappy

of whose children was that Lady Jane Grey, whose descent from Mary Tudor brought her to a momentary enjoyment of a throne, and, finally, to the block. The dust of Mary lies beneath the altar of the old abbey church at Bury St. Edmund's; and summer tourists could not possibly make a more agreeable or a cheaper trip, than by steaming from the Thames to Ipswich, up the beautiful river Orwell, and thence proceeding to the picturesque city of the royal martyr of England's early days.

In the person of that King, who was once noble-minded enough to say that Louis XII. had no recollection of the enemies of the Duke of Orleans, was extinguished the first lineal branch of the Orleans of the Valois race. The new Monarch was Francis I. (of Angoulême), cousin of the late King, who conferred the ducal title, whose descent we are tracing, upon his second son, Henry, born in 1518. Henry was that precocious Prince who, at fifteen, kissed the slipper, and made himself the amorous slave, of Diana de Poitiers, for whom he built the regal bower of Fontainebleau. Henry, as King, would have been more inclined to grant toleration to the Huguenots, but for the persuasion of his orthodox concubine. We now arrive at a period, of which we have fully treated in a previous Number,—the period of the greatness of the Guises. We may, therefore, pass lightly over it in this place. Confining ourselves simply to the line of Orleans, it must suffice to state, that when Henry became the successor of his elder brother Francis, the title of Duke of Orleans fell to his younger brother Charles. The latter was famed for his fiery courage and girl-like beauty, his gay spirit and reckless career, which was cut short, at Boulogne, by a fever. The title was then conferred on Louis, the second son of Henry II. This little Duke departed from that and all other worldly greatness, at the early age of one year and nine months. Henry then conferred it upon his brother Charles, who was afterwards “damned to everlasting fame” as Charles IX., the murderer of his Protestant subjects. When this Sovereign came to the throne, he added the title of Orleans to that of Anjou, already worn by his brother Henry, some time King of Poland, and subsequently King of France, under the style and title of King Henry III.,—the slayer of the great Guise, and the slain of the Dominican Jacques Clement. Henry III., when King, conferred the duchy on his mother, Catherine de Medicis. That exemplary lady enjoyed the usufruct thereof during life; and the duchy then (1589) reverted to the Crown,—but without possessing a Duke, until after the wars of the League, and the period of the peaceful days of “Henri Quatre,” the successor of Henry III. With the latter closed the line of Dukes of the second branch,—that of Angoulême-Valois. We now come to the third and last race,—the Dukes of Orleans of the House of Bourbon.

In the year 1697, a second son was born to Henri Quatre and Marie de Medicis. At the mature age of sixteen days old, he was created Duke of Orleans, and decorated with the chief military honours which the royal father had to bestow. Deans and sub-Deans rushed into pedantic poetry; and, in very crippled Latin verse, foretold the future greatness and happiness of the little Duke; whose destiny they had thus no sooner settled, than he straightway died, to shame the prophets; and on the coffin of the child, in his fourth year, was coined the lie, that therein reposed "the most high and puissant Prince," with a long line of sounding titles, to give dignity to the mendacity.

Henri bestowed the lapsed ducal title of Orleans upon his third son, Gaston, a Prince who was so named after the famous warrior, Gaston de Foix; whom he further resembled by wearing a sword on his thigh, a sash across his breast, and a plumed cap upon his head; but, unlike the noble De Foix, he had neither courage to wield his sword, nor a heart true to any cause, nor a head furnished with brains enough to hint to him the consequences of his own folly. "MONSIEUR," as he was called, did not succeed to the title of Orleans until he had advanced to manhood. In the mean time, his youth was passed amid a perplexing multiplicity of teachers. By some he was taught to be a bigot; by others, a hypocrite; by a third, a pedant; while the ex-soldier, D'Ornano, was so wroth with the innate obstinacy of his pupil, that he used to walk abroad with a couple of rods tied to his waist. These he was constantly holding up, *in terrorem*, above the royal pupil's person; but their descent was ever deprecated by Madame d'Ornano; and this farce was so constantly played, that Gaston came, at last, to look upon the rods with no more respect than what he threw away upon the wearer. He was naturally uncourteous and rude; so much so, that on one occasion, having treated with coarse incivility the Gentlemen of his Chamber, his tutor called up the scullions from the kitchen, to wait upon a Prince who knew not how to accept the attendance of men of higher rank. This was the most practically useful lesson which he ever received from any of his preceptors.

At an early age he was married, sorely against his will, to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, of the turbulent house of Guise. The vast fortune of the lady alone reconciled the recalcitrant bridegroom, whose own immense fortune, bestowed on him with the title of Duke of Orleans, was not sufficient for his great appetite for filthy lucre. His whole life was engaged in conspiring, and in betraying his confederates. He really seemed to delight in conducting them into danger, and in refusing to help them out of it, even when he had but to extend his hand to do so. He was as unstable as water, and so infirm of purpose, as to be always of the advice of the last comer. He maintained a

most regal state in his splendid palace, the chief saloons in which, however, were devoted to the purpose of a common gambling-house. He himself played deeply: nor was play his only vice. He was faithless, both as husband and subject,—untrue alike to consort and to King; and as to the sacred truth, he had no more scruple in violating it, when it suited his purpose, than has that exemplary personage, Nicolai, Czar of all the Russias! The "*parole de gentilhomme*" of the latter Prince is about of as much value as that of Mascarille.

The only trace of intellectuality in Gaston was in the debating club which he kept at his house, where questions of interest were discussed, but where, as in the conversational circles of Tiberius, every guest was required to be of the same opinion as the master of the house. Gaston, too, was famous for the Haroun Alraschid sort of propensity which he had for running about the streets in disguise, and in search of adventures. He often found more than he sought; and returned to his residence, at dawn, with tattered cloak, cudgelled sides, and very unedified brains.

Gaston of Orleans was of that timidity of spirit, and weakness of principle, which may drive men into mean crimes, but which will never lead them to the commission of even small virtues. He was essentially stupid, and yet not uninformed; for, in middle age, he was a great and a good reader. But so was the Emperor Claudius, without being for it a bit the better man. In 1627, his wife died in giving birth to a daughter; and Gaston, who looked to the throne as his own,—for his brother, Louis XIII., was childless,—two days after the death of his consort, was laughingly canvassing the names of high-born ladies, worthy to succeed to her place, and help to found a dynasty. He aimed at achieving what his brother, and his brother's Minister, Richelieu, aimed to extinguish,—popular liberty; and all three had the same selfish end in view,—individual profit. The ochlocracy of the *fauxbourgs*, however, recognised in Gaston their coming man; and when he appeared in the streets, his passage was hailed with shouts of "*Vive la liberté du peuple!*" at which Gaston encouragingly smiled, as Egalité, in similar circumstances, did after him. He privately married Mary of Lorraine; but his union with that lady did not prevent him from being the very meanest and most heartless of seducers; and he wore a gay air amid it all, until his brother Louis XIII., after twenty-three years of sterile union with Anne of Austria, became the father of a Dauphin, whose birth flung down Orleans from the height of his greatness and expectations. The King, we know not wherefore, insisted upon the Duke going through the form of a second and public marriage with Mary of Lorraine. The Church was reluctant to sanction a ceremony, which appeared to throw invalidity on the privately celebrated rite; but the Archbishop of Paris cleverly surmounted the difficulty; and when he had

pronounced the words, "*Ego vos conjungo*," he added, "*In quantum opus est*;" and so saved the honour of the Church, and the inviolability of her ordinances.

The new Duchess of Orleans was a lady of many charms, but without the energy to make them available. She was said to be pretty, without even looking so; and witty, without ever letting it be known. Like the lady in the satire, who "was not born to carry her own weight,"—who could not move across a room without foreign aid, and who ever

"Spoke with such a dying fall,
That Betty rather saw than heard the call,"—

she was subject, or thought herself subject, to fainting fits; and her husband used to witness their recurrence with undisguised laughter. He probably looked upon them as counterfeits; for, commonly, he did not lack courtesy towards his lady. She was, however, undoubtedly, the type of the "lackadaisical" fine lady, whom Dr. Young has so graphically painted:—

"The motion of her lips and meaning eye
Piece out the idea her faint words deny.
O listen with attention most profound!
Her voice is but the shadow of a sound.
And help, O help! her spirits are so dead,
One hand scarce lifts the other to her head.
If there a stubborn pin it triumphs o'er,
She pants, she sinks away, she is no more!
Let the robust and the gigantic carve,
Life is not worth so much;—she'd rather starve:
But chew she must herself;—ah! cruel fate,
That Roxalinda can't by proxy eat!"

It is astonishing how long the languid lady ruled the realms of *ton*. Laziness was as strong in them as in Lawrence's dog, which was too lazy to bark, unless it could lean its head against a wall.

We cannot trace the career of the Duke through the half-farce half-tragedy of the Fronde,—that sanguinary comedy, in which the actors struggled for power, and slew one another, now with sharp-pointed epigrams, and anon with as sharp-pointed swords. Gaston behaved throughout like a man coveting a prize which he had not the courage boldly to strike for. Not so his masculine daughter, the great *MADemoiselle*, whose *Memoirs* are full of far more extraordinary incidents than were ever invented by the hot and perplexity-stricken brains of fiction. Her sire used the daughter throughout the entire plot, only to betray her when it was failing, and to abuse her when it had exploded. Their quarrels were of the most ignoble quality; but, with all her faults, the daughter was of a far more heroic mould than her sire. The latter, when profit was no longer to be made by plotting, gave up the vocation; and, on being reconciled to Louis

XIV., celebrated the peace between himself and his royal nephew, by giving to the latter a dinner; but the banquet was of such detestable quality, that the young Monarch arose from it disgusted, and retired with a sense of insult which he never forgave. Gaston, thereupon, withdrew into private life, where, so strangely constituted were Princes then, he took a mistress, with whom he indulged in religious pursuits. Thrice a day did this worthy couple afford the congregation assembled at the church which they frequented, the edifying exhibition of a Prince and his concubine seriously "transacting their worship." When he died, exhausted in body and reputation, was it wonderful that France exclaimed, like Shakspeare's sentinel?—"For this relief much thanks!"

Louis XIII., the feeble heir of a mighty sire, was the father of two sons born late in wedlock. The first of these boys was Louis, afterwards the Fourteenth of that name; and the other, Philip, who, in his cradle, bore the title of Anjou, exchanging it in after-life for that of Orleans, which had been worn by his worthless uncle, Gaston. From him was lineally descended that Louis Philippe whose name pointed to his double descent;—from Philippe on the paternal side, and from Louis the XIV. through his mother, who was the grand-daughter of the Count of Toulouse;—the Count being one of the legitimatized children of the Grand Monarque and Madame de Montespan.

Before the accession of Louis XIV., the friends of his brother Philippe affected to look upon him as the son of Mazarin. Anne of Austria, however, was innocent of the implied accusation. The charge was, nevertheless, well remembered in the Orleans family. Prior to the period when Louis Philippe sat in the seat of Charles X., the former had ever a sneer ready to fling at the asserted legitimacy of Louis XIV.; but no sooner had that same Louis Philippe become King of the French, than he was heard to declare, that he was proud of his descent from the Great Monarch, although he could only claim the honour through that Monarch's illegitimate offspring.

Philip of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., was a small, bright-eyed, dark-haired boy, with the nose of a man and the mouth of a doll. He was clever, but shy, and loved rather to be with the ladies, than playing at soldiers with the little Lords. As those ladies were not remarkable for their refinement or morals, the training of the young Prince was in the highest degree pernicious. He lost his father in 1643, before he himself had attained his third year. From that time, there seems to have been a conspiracy to oppose his progress in all useful knowledge. When a boy, his tutors, appointed for form's sake, were ordered by Mazarin to keep him in ignorance, lest he should, by natural aptitude and their aid, become wiser than his brother, the King. The priestly teachers obeyed the commands of their ecclesiastical

superior, and even went a little beyond their commission. They not only made him the pupil of folly, but the slave of sin. His ignorance was deplorable. Even when he had grown to man's estate, he was often unable to read his own writing; and all that he cared for was riotous living, destructive gambling, painted courtizans, and gay costumes.

He was brave enough to excite the jealousy of the royal brother, who was the object of his contempt or fear, in whose presence he trembled with nervous excitement, and who refused him military employment, lest the reputation of Philip should throw a shade over his own. And yet his boldness in battle was marked by the effeminate anxiety which characterized Pompey's legion of blooming youths,—an anxiety to preserve the utmost beauty of dress and feature amid the turmoil of war, so destructive of both. He was most at home in a ball, where, after all, he looked ridiculous enough, dancing, like a lady, in high-heeled shoes, in order to remedy his want of stature. Though twice married, he never knew the gentle influences of honest affection. He never loved any one thing on earth,—save church-bells when they were ringing the vigil of the dead. He would then go miles to listen to the lugubrious chimes,—driven by the same impulse that made George Selwyn cross seas to be present at hangings and quarterings.

In 1661, the Duke married Henrietta, the last child of Charles I., on whom her sire's eyes never rested, and whose birthplace was in the mansion of the Russells at Exeter, on the site now occupied in that ancient city by "Bedford Row." The little Princess had been christened a Protestant; but soon after Lady Morton had dexterously smuggled her into France, she was, without asking her consent, affiliated to the Church of Rome. This qualified her to be the bride of Philip. The latter, having had conferred on him the fief of Orleans, held by his uncle Gaston, the late Duke, was no mean match for a disinherited and fugitive Princess. The nuptials were celebrated during the season of Lent, 1661; and as the season necessitated maimed rites and some privacy, all France augured that the wedded life which commenced without a ball, would infallibly end with a murder. And so it did.

Louis XIV. hated Henrietta until she became the wife of his brother, and *then* his affection was far warmer than was authorized by the respective positions of the two parties. Henrietta, too, had other lovers; and the intrigues which ensued, to keep the respective lovers ignorant of each other, and the ducal husband, who was himself a monster of infidelity, blind to the guilty conduct of his wife, are enough to convey despair into the soul of any one but a Spanish play-wright, who lives by inventing impossible plots. They who care to study this unclean, unprofitable, and highly-perplexing chapter, may find more to puzzle

than to edify them in the *Memoirs of Henrietta*, by the Countess de Lafayette.

The character of the individual, and of the times also, is, perhaps, best exemplified in the mission which was confided to Henrietta by her brother-in-law, Louis XIV. That King was desirous of securing the alliance of our Charles II., in his attempt to suppress civil and religious liberty in the Dutch dominions. Henrietta was sent over to England, to buy her brother with a double bribe,—a heavy purse and a lightly-principled lady. From the hands of his own sister, that “most religious and gracious King” accepted both; and, after all, defrauded his purchaser! Charles was so pleased with his painted sepulchre of a mistress, Mdlle. Kerouaille, that he created her Duchess of Portsmouth; and Louis XIV. was so delighted with her ready betrayal to him of Charles’s secrets, that he presented her with a title and estate in France. Such was the precious trio who thought to set up Absolutism and Popery on the pedestal from which they had been overthrown by the stern and earnest men of England, in days gone by.

When Henrietta rejoined her husband, she met with but a sorry reception. The Duke of Orleans had been opposed to the visit made by her to this country; and rumour was so busy with the name of the Duchess, as to her acts in her native country, that her husband had some reason to account her as being almost as worthless a personage as himself. Shortly after her return to France, she was effectually poisoned, but in the most bungling of methods. A drugged draught of succory water slew the daughter of our Charles I.; and before Bossuet had well-nigh muttered a hasty prayer over her, the Duke of Orleans was ransacking his wife’s writing-desk. She had died unblushingly, with an assertion of her fidelity to him. In proof that he believed it, the Duke sat down to read all his consort’s private correspondence; and if he found no proof therein of her guilt, it was simply for the reason that every letter was in a cypher that defied discovery. The foiled husband found a retributive pleasure in arranging the splendid funeral ceremony of his deceased consort, in which he displayed the most unimpeachable taste and the utmost amount of heartlessness. He was as pleasantly employed, at a subsequent period, in getting up the ceremonial of the marriage of his reluctant daughter to the King of Spain; and when the broken-hearted bride went forth to the splendid misery which awaited her, she found, in the Gentleman-Usher provided for her by her father’s care, the Chevalier de Lorraine, who was the murderer of her mother!

This poor Queen perished like that mother,—by poison. Her little sister married into the then ducal family of Savoy, from which the present royal family of Sardinia is descended. In that family are to be found the sole surviving representatives of

the Stuarts; and in that direction is allegiance ready to be offered by those English Ultramontanists who deem Victoria an usurper, because she inherits from Elizabeth, whom they impudently pronounce illegitimate.

Philip of Orleans remedied the imaginary sorrows of his widowhood, by espousing Charlotte Elizabeth of Bavaria. This Princess was a plain, swarthy, not over clean, but thoroughly honest, lady. She hated affectations of every kind, and invariably called every thing by its proper name. She was terribly coarse; but under the coarseness lay the jewel, virtue. Her appetite was rather that of a pioneer than a Princess; and she ate and drank more like a dragoon than a Duchess. She only confessed to one sort of delicacy,—a delicacy of stomach; for which her remedy was German sausage, and plenty of it! As for the delicacy which could be ruffled by the universal profligacy that reigned around her, it did not exist in her. She wrapped herself in the mantle of her own good intentions; chronicled (and how graphically!) the sayings and doings of all around her; and laughed loudest, and on best grounds, at those who pretended to laugh at her. She was terribly ugly every where, except in her heart; and people who were fine enough to faint almost on looking at her, were ready to kiss her for her honest wit and her charitable deeds. The least honest act of which she was guilty, was in abjuring Lutheranism, in order to marry a worthless Papist; but she intimates that she had been so badly taught, that she had nothing to abjure; and she was so ill instructed after her "conversion," that she found there was nothing to learn: so that she was in the actual position of "as you were!"

Of her intimate life with the Duke of Orleans, she says, "It was very unpleasant to sleep with MONSIEUR. He could not bear that any one should touch him during his slumbers; consequently, I had to sleep at the very edge of the bed, whence I often tumbled out on the ground like a sack. I was, therefore, enchanted, when MONSIEUR, in all friendship, and without a quarrel, proposed that we should have separate rooms."

The Duke, however, compelled his excellent wife to receive the "ladies" whom he most admired; but the rough courtesy of the Duchess was something like stripes and salt to her husband's mistresses. She loved to scarify these creatures, and then pour brine, instead of balm, into the quivering flesh. She did not spare Maintenon herself; and the widow of Scarron, and wife of Louis, stood in the utmost horror and dread of the terrible Duchess.

She was pre-eminently proud; and, perhaps, that pride was never so irremediably wounded, as when her son, the Duke de Chartres, was driven into a marriage with Mademoiselle de Blois, natural daughter of Louis XII. by Madame de Montespan. "If the shedding of my blood," she says, "could have prevented the

marriage of my son, I would have given it freely." Nothing could win her consent to the match. That of her husband and their son was gained by the godly persuasion of that apostolic man, the famous, or infamous, Dubois. Her behaviour on the evening of the marriage was that of a fury; but it had its comic side, too. "On leaving the table, at the close of the circle in the King's chamber, his Majesty made Madame a very marked and a very low bow, during which she wheeled round so nicely on her heel, that when the King raised his head, he saw nothing but her back, advanced one step towards the door." When her son came up to her, before the whole Court, to kiss her hand, she dealt him a slap in the face, which sounded like a pistol-shot, which caused a general consternation, and which cost the bestower of it the annuity which had been conferred on her by Louis XIV.

The marriage was an unhappy one. Louis bitterly reproached Orleans for the infidelity of his son to the young wife; and Orleans as coarsely reviled Louis for expecting the young husband to behave better to a royal bastard. The princely brothers became as blasphemingly vulgar as two grooms; and were only rendered calm by a hint *from* a Groom of the Chambers, that their august observations could be heard in half-a-dozen rooms of the palace. They parted in hot wrath. Philip, flurried and heated, sat down in fierce anger to dinner, ate voraciously, drank deeply, rode hard speedily thereupon, and then went to sup with the "ladies of St. Cloud." Flushed and fiery, he again indulged in excesses, against which he had long been warned by his physicians. He was in the act of raising a glass, when his speech became thick. The "ladies" thought he was talking Spanish, and laughed outrageously. Amid the shouts, the Duke rolled over on the ground insensible. Screaming then succeeded to laughter. The Duchesses and Countesses escaped from the terrible scene; and their place was soon after taken by a Confessor, Father Le Trevoux, who began cutting jokes to excite the attention of the unconscious Duke, asking him if he did not know his "dear, darling, little Father Le Trevoux?" Philip died June 9th, 1701. A few hours afterwards, the King was heard rehearsing part of an opera with Madame de Maintenon; and, on the same evening, observing that the grand-daughter of Philip, the Duchess of Burgundy, looked sorrowful, he wondered "what ailed the child!" and was probably surprised at hearing the Duke de Montfort remark, on being asked to play at cards, that he thought cards not exactly suitable, seeing that the Duke of Orleans was not yet quite cold. As for the widowed Duchess, she affected neither sorrow nor indecent joy. When she was informed that the Inevitable Angel and the Inexpressible Change had descended upon Philip of Orleans, "Well, then," was her comment, "let nobody think of compelling me to retire into a

convent ; for I won't go there !" She was bound, by her marriage contract, to retire either to a convent, or to the gloomy Castle of Montargis ; but she would do neither. She remained at Court, with the sanction of the King, where she spent her life in writing voluminous letters, in which she abused Madame de Maintenon, reviled the Pope, and made smart comments upon her son.

The son and successor of the last Duke, named, like his father, Philip, was born in 1672 ; and, at four years of age, the sins of the father were visited on the child, in the shape of a fit of apoplexy, so severe, that its effects were recognisable down to the period when another stroke smote him—when a man—dead, on the bosom of his mistress. One of its effects was an extreme weakness of vision, which did not, however, blind the Prince to the seductiveness of vice, in which, at sixteen, he had more experience than any of his contemporaries who had attained threescore. Many tutors were assigned to teach the boy, who had graduated under them in evil knowledge, until he was given to the fiendish instruction of Dubois. This notorious personage, of the rank of an Abbé, was the son of a provincial apothecary, and was privately married to a chambermaid. At the period of his appointment to the guardianship of Philip, he was sixteen years older than his ward. Accomplished as Dubois undoubtedly was, he could teach his pupil little ; for the latter, despite his profligacy, had found time to amass as much knowledge as the Abbé, who had no occasion even to teach him to be an atheist, although the tutor did his best to keep him so.

At seventeen the hopeful pupil was married, as we have said, to Mademoiselle de Blois, natural daughter of Louis XIV. The youthful profligate was, at the time, leading a more than usually dissolute life, and was addressing unholy aspirations to the Duchess de Bourbon, the married sister of the bride. He only consented to the marriage on the assurance of Dubois, that it should not act as an obstacle to his intercourse with his sister-in-law. We will not permit ourselves to dwell on the ostentation with which this young man paraded his unclean infamy. His becoming the father of legitimate children by no means tended, as it often does, and always should, to soften and purify the heart. Endowed with vast talents, he knew not how profitably to use any, except in the furtherance of vicious enjoyments. He carried coach-loads of his courtezans with him to battle, without hearing reproof from the King. The Monarch, however, was religiously particular touching the Duke's officers on the staff. He refused to consent to the appointment of one on the ground that he was a Jansenist, and that such a nomination would be a scandal to orthodox religion. "Your Majesty has been misinformed," said Orleans : "the gentleman is not a Jansenist ; he is an atheist, and believes in nothing." "In that

case," remarked His Most Christian Majesty, "I consent to his appointment; there is nothing to be said against it!" The field to which such appointment had reference was in Spain, where the Duke acted with courage and skill, but with a view of securing the Spanish Crown to himself. Louis, in a fit of angry jealousy, recalled him; and the hero forgot his disappointment in the strange pastime which he enjoyed with his by far too well-beloved daughter, who had married the Duke de Berri. The last-named Prince was a man of some principle; and, to outrage it, Orleans and his daughter used to indulge, in his hearing, in filthiness of conversation, and break forth into inextinguishable laughter, on observing how much it shocked and disgusted him.

The King affected more anger than he felt at this conduct; and Orleans, in a sort of disgrace, shut himself up in the Palais Royal, where he surrendered himself to the studies of chemistry, astrology, alchemy, and poisons; and passed many hours in attempts to raise the devil, and in writing squibs against the legitimacy of Louis XIV. The Monarch was highly incensed at these attacks, which were first heard of in Holland, and which, combined with the fact, that his legitimate heirs were being fast swept away by the hand of Death, drove him to that unconstitutional act by which he decreed, that, in default of a lineal heir, his crown should descend to the eldest of his male illegitimate children, all of whom he legitimatized, and raised to an equality with Princes of the blood. Louis died soon after, in 1715; and the disregard for him into which he had fallen, is well exemplified by a double illustration. As he was dying, he gazed at Madame de Maintenon, and said, "Madame, my sole consolation is, that we shall soon meet again beyond the grave." "Umph!" muttered the lady, somewhat too audibly; "what a rendezvous he has chosen for me!" The second illustration is, that the breath of life had scarcely floated away, for the last time, from his nostrils, when the Parliament, under the influence of Philip of Orleans, now "Regent," annulled the King's will and decree respecting his illegitimate children, and recognised the Regent himself as next heir, after the young King, Louis XV.

This proximity to the person and inheritance of the boy Monarch terrified that half of France which looked upon the Regent as a poisoner, and accused him as the murderer of those royal Princes, who had hitherto stood, with the youthful Louis, between Orleans and the throne. He was now heir presumptive; but, wicked as he was, he was no slayer of his kind; and the boy King was as safe in his hands, as though that so-called sacred life had been in the keeping of an especial guardian angel. The Sovereign in his teens, too, loved his elder uncle, who wisely left him to the good, but fruitless, teaching of Fleury; while he himself devoted his days to the destruction of

the absolute system of Louis XIV., and his nights to such orgies, as had never before been known out of hell. At these orgies, principally suppers, to which, masked or unmasked, the right of admission could only be purchased by a profession of atheism, beastliness was enthroned and worshipped. The Parisians, however, smiled approvingly at them, while they flung their approbation in showers upon a Prince who was pulling down the Nobility, and promising an extension of popular liberty. He who was so acting had little leisure for sober thought. He had laughed aloud, at the funeral of Louis XIV., at the squabble for precedency between the Parliament and Peers, and he now laughed louder, as he played each against the other for his own purpose. It is astonishing that he was ever able to get through any business at all; for he was generally drunk from midnight till dawn, in company with his daughter, who died from such excess, and similar worthless companions. After uneasy sleep, he woke, depressed and stupid, about noon; was scarcely conscious of his own identity and whereabouts for an hour or two after, then devoted a brief time to the affairs of the nation and bodily exercise, and finally longed lazily for the coming of night, that he might again renew the round of his fiendish joys. There alone he felt himself a "King." His male confederates, in hideous wickedness, assumed the name of his "*roués*." They designed to intimate thereby, that they were ready to be *roué*, or "broke on the wheel," for *his* service; but *he* used to say, that it was because they really deserved to be so punished for their own sins.

In the mean time France was rapidly running down the descent which leads to ruin. Her expenditure was double her income. The annual deficit was annually becoming larger, and a national crash was on the point of occurring, when the gambler, John Law, with blood upon his hands, a refugee from England, appeared in Paris. He had an aptitude for financial scheming; but the Church and the people of France would not permit him to exercise his vocation until he had changed his religion. He was convinced of the errors of Protestantism by the arguments and glances of one of the prettiest and most unprincipled women in France, whose success procured episcopal preferment for her equally unprincipled brother. This being arranged, the great Mississippi scheme was set on foot. People bought visionary tracts of land and worthless scraps of paper, with gold which the Regent wantonly misapplied. Fortunes were made in an hour, and ruin as often effected with equal rapidity. The whole population were possessed by the two terrible devils of uncleanness and covetousness. John Law was, for a time, a deity before whom the noblest ladies in France sat as entirely devoted, as Egyptian ladies at the festival of Mithra. For the sake of money every thing was sold, and virtue was

cheaper than any other commodity. Of all that was holy, ready surrender was made, and Mammon was the only god. In the pursuit of riches, the pursuers flung off all good principles, as obstructions to success; and when at last the terrible catastrophe came, and universal bankruptcy enfolded France, the nation had not a God to turn to; for the people had practically disavowed Him who alone can help those who faint, and can give power to them that lack strength.

We do not pause on the details, so familiar to all, of the financial scheme of Law and the Regent. The consequent ruin was appalling, and was aggravated by famine and insurrection. There was an outbreak in Brittany, which was punished with such rigour, that the name of the Orleans family is hateful in Armorican ears, even unto this day. When famine, too, and pestilence were at their worst, especially in Marseilles, Dubois was guilty of an act of selfishness, that almost surpasses belief. Pope Clement XI. had loaded three vessels with corn, intended for the relief of the famishing populations of Languedoc. Dubois thought such a charitable deed a censure on his ministry, and he ordered the French Envoy at Rome to prevent the sailing of the ships. The barks, however, *did* put to sea, where they were captured by an Algerine corsair. But the pirate, more Christian in his practice than the Priest, on hearing for what purpose the grain had been originally designed, surrendered his rich booty, and helped the deeply-laden vessels on their way to the haven whither they had been bound.

Dubois hitherto, albeit an Abbé, was not in holy orders. This circumstance did not prevent him, when the wealthy Archbishopric of Cambray became vacant, from pressing the Regent to confer the high dignity upon *him*. The Regent stared at him with astonishment, and then burst into laughter. "You, Archbishop of Cambray!" exclaimed Philip, again and again. "Why not?" said the aspirant; "Alberoni became a Cardinal, and his origin was more lowly than my own." "Why!" remarked the Regent, "you are not even ordained; and I should like to see the Bishop, who would be bold enough to make even a Deacon of you." "Well," answered Dubois, taking him at his word, "that Bishop is not far off,—he is in the next room. I will bring him in to you. Ordain me! He desires no better fun!" Dubois found the Bishop of Nantes in the adjoining apartment, promised him the next vacant Archbishopric, conducted him in triumph to the Regent, to whom he undertook to ordain this singular candidate for admission into the ranks of the priesthood; and Philip, with a smile and a sigh, and a shake of his long periwig, placed the patent of office in the grasp of Dubois. The Archbishop of Rouen having applied for and received the usual dispensations from venal Rome, Dubois, within one hour, was admitted into the three orders of Sub-Deacon, Deacon,

and Priest. He repaired immediately afterwards to the Council of State, where his radiant humour was felt as an insult by the aristocratic members, who hated him with an unparalleled intensity of bitterness. The Prince of Conti was especially eloquent and angry against the triple ordination of the day; but Dubois answered him with the almost blasphemous remark, that, if the case had been irregular, there was precedent for it in the similar proceeding with respect to St. Ambrose.

And then came the ceremony of the consecration of this remarkably unclean Priest. It was celebrated with a splendour which had long been unknown in such matters. Cardinals, Prelates, and Priests, vied with each other in their ostentatious assistance at the solemn rite of recognising a link of the apostolic succession in this son of a country apothecary: and among them, most strange of all, was that Massillon, Bishop of Clermont, who so often dared to be honest, but who disgraced himself on this occasion, by preaching the consecration sermon.

Having become Archbishop, Dubois could not rest content therewith. The Cardinalate would place him above all the secular nobility in France, and to that he now aspired. The Regent lent his influence; but the Regent alone was of no avail. Dubois, accordingly, commenced by a promise to Rome, that he would suppress Jansenism, and bring the Gallican Church under Papal subjection. He then dexterously contrived to enlist on his side George I. of England, who influenced the Emperor of Germany, who, in his turn, interceded with the Pope, who was also warmly pressed by the Pretender. Clement was dying at the time, but he was fond of a joke; and he actually signed a document, in which he stated that he had named Dubois, Archbishop of Cambray, to the dignity of Cardinal, on the special application of James III., King of Great Britain. Dubois was furious, but the Pontiff died, and Dubois set himself vigorously to work, and bought up the entire Conclave of electing Cardinals by bribes. The purchased Conclave accordingly elected Cardinal Conti, (Benedict XIII.,) who had previously bound himself, by a written promise, to create Dubois a Cardinal. The Conclave declared that they had been moved to the election solely by the Holy Spirit. The Pope they had been paid to elect, endeavoured to escape from his promise; but at length the scarlet hat was given to Dubois in 1721. The Regent took him by the hand, and introduced the new Cardinal to the King, solemnly asserting the while, with a broad smile upon his face, that the Holy Father—having observed how zealously the Archbishop of Cambray had worked to secure tranquillity for the State, and peace for the Church in France, when threatened with schism—had been divinely moved, in consequence, to create him a Cardinal. The young King hid his face behind his plumed hat, in order that no one might see that he was laughing, as he expressed his gratification that the

Pontiff had selected a Prelate who had rendered such eminent services. The whole affair ended with a grand commemorative Palais-Royal supper,—the last of the orgies at which Dubois was present; for it is due to him to say that, from that day, he became a methodical man of business, “forsook sack, and lived cleanly.” As the Regent was exhausted by dissipation, the statesmanlike qualities of Dubois were the more important to France; but it must be understood that, in the exercise of them, he was never disturbed by any idea as to virtue and principle. As long as he gained his end, he was not at all particular as to the means.

We have always thought the election of Benedict XIII., who raised Dubois to the Cardinalate, one of the most iniquitously conducted of all the Papal elections. Recently-published State-Papers have, however, revealed a worse. When Wolsey was intriguing for the tiara, he not only bought the majority of Cardinals, but he bound them by an oath to vote for him, and no other. Having received his money, the pious men repaired together to the Sistine chapel, released each other from their oaths, made assurance doubly sure by administering mutual absolution for the sin of perjury, and then went and voted for Wolsey’s rival.

There is something awful in the bold wickedness of some of the members of this Church. As a modern instance, we need but to cite the case of that Dr. Cahill, whose name is indissoluble from the memory of his “glorious idea” of slaughtering English Protestants by a coalition of Continental “Catholic” armies. This champion of his Church, only a month ago, deliberately declared in the “Tablet,” that Roman Priests would infinitely prefer that their flocks should read obscene works, rather than the English Bible. To read *that*, he argued, was heresy, for which the Church has no pardon. But with respect to immorality, that same Church could be lenient. Besides, immorality “cools down with age,” says this so-called disciple of Christ. It may be indulged in, with injury to only one or two; and, above all, there is, according to Dr. Cahill, not a word in the Decrees of the Council of Trent condemnatory of immoral practices. Truly, men of the Dubois stamp are yet to be found within the Roman border; though the ingenuity which sees a permission for the exercise of immorality, on the ground that the Council of Trent said nothing to the contrary, very nearly resembles the argument of the Newgate Chaplain in Jonathan Wild’s time, who declared that he was the more emboldened to indulge largely in punch, because it was a liquor against which nothing was said in Scripture.

When Dubois died, the Duke of Orleans became Prime Minister to the King, then in the full enjoyment of his royal authority; but he was almost entirely unfit for business. He drank deeper

than ever, was far more licentious in his pleasures; and in the pursuit of these he dared to disregard even the claims and rights of nature. He sat daily, or nightly rather, surrounded by a seraglio of beautiful fiends. These ladies were "noble" by birth, bright, brilliant, and beaming as the sunniest of orient dawns, but as impure as any unclean thing that ever sprang from the pit of Acheron. It would not be edifying to rest on the revolting details; but no one who is condemned to study them, can be in the least degree surprised at the old hostility of the people of France to the nobility and the blood-royal. At length the Duke became totally unfit for any serious avocation of life. He was bloated, blotchy, feverishly excitable, and in a permanent state of stolidity, from criminal excesses of every sort. His doctor, Chirac, one day observing that he was more heated than usual, warned him, that without the immediate adoption of a system of moderation, apoplexy was inevitable. The Duke lethargically uttered some infidel witticism in return, and plunged deeper than ever into the most hideous excesses. He knew his peril, and yet despised it; and would not surrender any of his usual indulgences for the mere chance of living another day. "What *was* death? It was only a long sleep," said Philip of Orleans.

On the 2nd of December, 1723, he entered the dressing-room of the last of his "favourites." This was the young Duchess of Phalaris, who was scarcely nineteen, while her "protector" was in his fiftieth year. He found her preparing for a ball, her long hair floating over her shoulders, awaiting the nimble hands of the *coiffeur*, who was to give to it the beauty of order. He seated himself on a couch, and the fair and frail young Duchess flung herself at his feet, her head resting upon his knees. The Prince complained of weariness and head-ache, and begged her to tell him one of those pretty fairy stories, for the invention of which she had no little reputation. Looking up at him, she began smilingly with the words, "Once upon a time a King and Queen"—She had just uttered the last word, when the Duke's head bowed down upon his breast; and, as the Duchess gently moved to his side, he sank upon her shoulder. He had often slept briefly in the same position, and the mistress thought her guilty master was slumbering; but he was dead, and the stiffening of his limbs threw her into such terror, that her pealing screams re-echoed through the galleries of the palace. They were the only funeral knell that sounded his passage to the grave; for scant ceremony, and a formal phrase or two, without a word of eulogy, alone marked the obsequies of the ex-Regent Orleans.

He had not attained the French Crown, of which he once had some prospect, nor the Spanish Crown, of which, also, he once entertained some hopes; but he had married his fourth daughter

(Mdle. de Montpensier) to the King of Spain, who left her a childless widow, and by whose successor she was very unceremoniously sent back to France, where she died in 1742.

Louis Philippe, the son of the Regent, was born in the year 1708. He was deformed in body, and dull in mind; and his dissolute father used to laugh at the idea of changing the succession to the Crown of France, in favour of such an ape as his son, who, as he was accustomed to add, possessed all the defects of all the other Princes of the blood, without any of their virtues. It was the foolish remark of a foolish man, who had abandoned his child to the company of unprincipled women, and who further corrupted him, by holding such conversations in his presence as even a heathen poet, not distinguished for delicacy, has declared should never be held in the presence of an ingenuous boy. On the other hand, he had for a tutor the Abbé Mauguin, who, a sceptic himself, so impressed his pupil's mind with the eternity and severity of future punishments, that he drove the poor, dull lad nearly insane. He was shy, reserved, and most offensively and ignorantly proud. He became devout upon principle; but he so far yielded to fashion, that he took under his protection a young opera nymph, with whom he conversed on religious and metaphysical subjects: and if his weakness in bowing to the wicked *mode* of the time condemn him, his simplicity and good principle may win for him but a slight degree of censure. Indeed, there was ever in him a singular mixture of gallantry and devotion. He had once been attached to the pious Marie Leczinska, who afterwards became the consort of Louis XV. The attachment was mutual; but policy, stronger than love, gave the Duke to a Princess of Baden, and the daughter of the ex-King of Poland to the Sovereign of France. The separated lovers, wedded to objects not of their especial love, had little subsequent familiar intercourse. On one occasion, however, the Duke had an audience of the Queen, and he was enraptured with the transitory delight of being in her society. In the very midst of their happy conversation, he astonished poor Marie by falling on his knees, and in a loud voice beseeching God to pardon him for the guilty thoughts touching the Queen, with which the Devil had just inspired him! The lady herself laughed, but the Duke did not merit to be laughed at. Marie often said that they would have been admirably matched; for that, while she was at prayers in some convent, her husband would have been with his favourite Fathers of St. Geneviève; and that their hearth would have been an altar of domestic propriety.

Quiet and unobtrusive as this Duke was, he claimed the Prime Ministership; and, on its being refused him, he withdrew into private life. His pride was still more hurt when, by the birth of a son to Louis XV., he ceased to be next heir to the

Crown. He thenceforward devoted himself to the study of theology, of ancient oriental languages, and of controversial divinity. He thought that Heaven had confided to him the mission of converting all the heretics on earth to Christianity. He addressed himself, accordingly, to the composition of argumentative treatises. They were very full of words, but altogether deficient in reasoning; and, as they could not have convinced the author, neither did they carry conviction to the bosom of the few patient readers who waded through them. He passed whole days and nights in disputes with Priests and pedants upon Hebrew points and perplexing passages; and his Sunday afternoons were much more profitably employed in catechising the children on his estate, in the village church. His last days were altogether spent among Priests, in whose company he died in 1752. As he was a Jansenist, these orthodox gentlemen would not administer the sacrament to him,—though Massillon had disgraced himself by preaching the consecration sermon of the atheistical Dubois! His private almoner had no such scruple. The sacrament was administered by him; and this Duke of Orleans died, the only really respectable man of his race, after bequeathing funds to found a Biblical Professorship of Hebrew at the Sorbonne, “in order,” as he said, “that heretics might not be the only Christians who studied the Holy Scriptures in the original languages;”—a satire upon the Church, on whose bosom, however, he was content to die.

Another Louis Philippe succeeded to the title of Orleans. He was the son of the late Duke, and was twenty-seven years of age at his father's death. His childhood had been spent among frivolous women, or coarse grooms. At thirteen he was a full Colonel; and, young as he was, he bore himself, on the many stricken fields which France contested with her foes, with the gallantry of Bayard, the coolness of Duguesclin, and the invincibility of Dunois. His great martial reputation excited the fierce jealousy of Louis XV., who removed him from all active military employment. His domestic life was one of variety, if not of happiness. At eighteen he was married to Henrietta, Princess of Bourbon-Conti. At first, the conjugal love of this pair was so ostentatiously displayed, without respect to place or person, that the individuals who were made witnesses of it, were at once amused and embarrassed. But, as our poet says,—

“These violent delights have violent ends;
Like fire and powder, which, as they kiss, consume.”

So it was in the present instance; but the Duke was not to blame. The youthful Duchess became an unblushing monster of impurity. Compared with her, Messalina was, at least, a decent, if not a virtuous, woman; and strove to save her imperial dignity from stain by committing foul deeds under a feigned

name,—Lycisca, “the Daughter of Joy.” Henrietta of Orleans observed no such poor respect for appearances; and the mother of Philippe Egalité was worthy of her child.

The Duke of Orleans was, with all this, no anchorite. He was the bosom friend of Pompadour,—that shameless woman, whom Heaven had endowed with such ability to become a great artist in sculpture, and who abused that and every other gift of God. He was bad enough to be suspected of confederacy in the affair of the regicide Damien; but he was simply a debauchee, whose excesses plundered his family, but whose thoughts never turned to the slaying of his King.

His unbridled extravagance had so embarrassed his fortunes, that he was determined to repair them for the benefit of his son, the Duke de Chartres, by marrying him to an heiress. His eyes rested on the person of Mademoiselle de Penthièvre, daughter of the Duke of that name, who was the son of the Count of Toulouse,—illegitimate offspring of Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan. The pride of the Duke of Orleans made him, at first, recoil from an alliance for his son with the illegitimate line. But strong reasons reconciled him to it. The wealth of the other illegitimate branches was, by deaths, or in expectation, fast settling in the Penthièvre family, ultimately to centre on Mademoiselle de Penthièvre, whose only brother, the Prince de Lamballe, was being driven by profligacy into the grave. The Duke of Orleans, therefore, hoped to secure with this lady the whole of a fortune, which is said to have amounted to nearly a quarter of a million sterling annually. The preliminary arrangements had all been concluded, when the Prince rallied, and became convalescent. The Duke of Orleans at once broke off the engagement, seeing that the lady was likely to be only half as rich as he had expected. He had made an indignant enemy of the father by such a course, when suddenly the Prince de Lamballe died. Mademoiselle de Penthièvre became thereby the wealthiest of heiresses; and the Duke of Orleans had the effrontery, once more, to solicit her hand (and estates) for his son. The lady’s father refused; but the lady herself was passionately attached to the Duc de Chartres; and as she threatened death, or a convent, if she were not permitted to espouse the greatest *roué* of his day, the parental consent was reluctantly yielded; the illustrious couple were united; and Louis Philippe, who so recently died in exile in England, after running through every variety of fortune, was the first fruit of the union.

This marriage took place in 1768. Five years subsequently, the Duke of Orleans, then a widower living in strict retirement, alienated from the Court, at Villers-Cotterets, one morning, before mounting his horse, said to the gentlemen who formed a species of “Court” also in that rural palace, words somewhat like these: “My good friends, I depart alone; but this evening

I shall return in company with a lady, to whom I trust your homage and good-will will be as readily paid, as they have ever been to me." The Duke left a perplexed circle of household officers behind him; but their perplexity was ended when the evening arrived. With it came the Duke, leading by the hand Madame de Montesson, whom he had that day privately married with the contemptuous consent of the King, and on condition that the union should never be formally declared or recognised. The lady was of great beauty, grace, and intellect. She had been the young wife of an old Count, to whom she remained faithful, till his death left her free. The Duke showed his esteem for her by abandoning the Palais Royal, and selling St. Cloud to Marie Antoinette, because in neither of those ducal residences could his wife keep state as Duchess. He lived with her at the pretty mansion of St. Assize au Port,—that mansion which the famous Duchess of Kingston subsequently purchased, where she gave such magnificent breakfasts, dinners, and suppers, and from the woods round which she sold rabbits by thousands. Perhaps no Duke of Orleans ever experienced more happiness than was here the lot of the father of *Égalité*. From his retreat he looked at public events, and was content to obtain popularity by exhibiting much benevolence and general propriety, when at Versailles there was neither sympathy for the people nor self-respect. The Duke enjoyed this life during twelve years; and then (in 1785) died of gout, in the arms of Madame de Montesson, his excellent wife,—although she *was* the aunt of the Countess de Genlis!

The Orleans family could not respect the virtues of the Duke's widow. A mention made of her, in the Duke's funeral oration, by the Abbé de St. Maury, rendered the new Duke of Orleans perfectly furious. She was respected by all other men, of every shade of party. The Revolution did not smite her, and the Empire treated her with especial courtesy. Napoleon admired her noble bearing and her womanly qualities; and till the year of her death, in 1806, the imperial purse annually poured into her lap the generous tribute of thirty thousand francs. The non-recognition of her marriage, and the hatred of Philippe *Egalité*, procured for her oblivion from the Republic, and a pension from the Empire.

The Château of St. Cloud was the birth-place of Louis Philippe Joseph of Orleans, better known as Philippe *Egalité*. He was thirty-eight years of age when he succeeded his father in 1785. As Duke of Chartres, he had run a most profligate career; and, throughout its wretched course, he was weaker of principle and purpose, than any of the Dukes who have borne the fatal title of Orleans. He was employed both in the navy and army; but, though he was not ill-disposed to fulfil the duties of both professions, he never distinguished himself in either. He was more

at home in a race than in a battle; and the morals of the times may be judged of, when we state, that he once rode a match against time, from St. Cloud to Paris, *naked*! He pierced the clouds in a balloon, descended into the bowels of the earth to inspect mines, shook the powder from his hair, abolished breeches to introduce pantaloons; and had his children christened, not in palaces, as became young Christians born in the purple, but in the parish church, like common citizens: in short, he was looked upon as a man who treated both fashion and royalty with seditiousness of spirit. The only points in which he behaved as was common with French Princes, was in treating his wife with such faithlessness, that she ultimately parted from him in disgust; and in delivering his children to be educated by his mistress, the notorious Countess de Genlis; whose nonsensical books used to be so extensively read by multitudes of young ladies, who, now that they are grandmothers, blush to think of that misapplication of their time. To our thinking, the plays of Aphra Behn are not much worse than the *nouvelettes* of Sillery de Genlis.

While the Court at Versailles was merry with an annual deficit of £6,000,000 sterling, added to an established arrear of above ten times that sum, and while the people were enduring the utmost of misery and oppression, the Duke took the popular side. He was banished to his estate; and this increased his popularity. His recall, at the bidding of the people, who framed a "humble" petition with that end in view, was a defeat for the Court and a triumph for democracy. Of the latter the Duke became the recognised champion; and, being elected a member of the *Tiers Etat* at the States-General, he chose rather to take his place among the Commons, to which he had been elected, than by the side of the King, where he could seat himself when he would, by right of birth. It is not necessary to enter into the history of the French Revolution,—that great catastrophe which he aided to establish, and through which he perished. By the Revolutionists he was employed as a tool, until he was no longer needed; and then he was destroyed. The Republicans accepted the help of a Prince to overthrow royalty; but, when that was achieved, they slew the Prince, as a portion of what was necessarily devoted to destruction. Against the prayers of his family, and to the disgust of his own confederates, he voted for the death of his cousin, the King, into whose place he hoped to leap. But, when the place no longer existed, a candidate for its honours, or for any sovereignty over the people,—the only Sovereign of the hour,—was a traitor to the State; and Philippe Egalité miserably perished under the knife of the executioner, leaving behind him a trebly-accursed memory. His regicide vote against Louis XVI. has long been considered as the most damning spot upon his fame. It is, perhaps, not the worst.

Among the blackest, we are disposed to consider his unfilial treachery before the Commune, when he declared his belief that he was not the son of the last Duke, but of some plebeian paramour of his mother's. He gained nothing by striving to prove that he was sprung from a democratic paternity; for he was still the son of a Bourbon Princess. Evil, indeed, was her reputation; but, evil as it was, no duty called upon her son to heap fresh infamy upon it, still less to do so by the utterance of a lie.

He was succeeded in his title by Louis Philippe, the late ex-King of the French. Louis Philippe—first, Duke of Valois, then of Chartres, and then of Orleans—had seen Voltaire in his early youth, and had learned a motley sort of wisdom at the knees of Madame de Genlis. This lady taught her pupils sentiment, made them comedians, filled them to the brim with “gal-lons of facts,” had them taught various professions, as well as languages, and made them as conceited as little Cyrus himself. They accompanied her on instructive tours. On one of these occasions, they visited the prison at Mont St. Michel, where stood that famous wooden cage, not unlike the iron one in which Anne of Beaujeu had once imprisoned a former Duke of Orleans. Louis Philippe, then a boy, had the honour of destroying this relic of the despotism of the ancient monarchy; and he used to allude to the circumstance, with much emotion, after he had realized the dreams of so many Princes of his house, and was a King, albeit an uncrowned one. From the residence of Beaumarchais, Louis Philippe, with his brothers, sisters, and governess, witnessed the destruction of the Bastille; and he was so excited with wild delight at the spectacle, that even the Countess counselled him to moderate the public manifestation of his enjoyment.

He became as democratic as his sire. He surrendered his titles, took the post of door-keeper in the Jacobin Club, snubbed his mother, called Madame de Genlis “dear mamma,” and declared that there were but two things on earth which he loved, and those right dearly; namely, the new Constitution and herself. He fought for the Republic at Valmy and Jemappes, and fled from it as soon as he saw that the scaffold was likely to be his reward, if he tarried within the frontier. He would not serve under Austria against France; and so, penniless and disguised, he became a wanderer. He travelled on foot through Switzerland, under the name of Corby; rejoined his sister, Adelaide, for a brief interval; when, being discovered by the Government of the Republic, the fugitives were compelled to separate. The young Prince did not abandon Switzerland, but procured an engagement in an academy at Richerau, where, as M. Chabaud Latour, he taught the mathematics to very soft-looking boys, if they at all resembled those in the famous picture in the Palais Royal, at £60 *per annum*. His whereabouts being again disco-

vered, he was forced to depart. He traversed the northern countries of Europe, and ultimately sailed from Hamburgh to the United States, where, in the same year, (1796,) he was joined by his young and princely-hearted brothers, Montpensier and Beaujolais. After a four years' sojourn beyond the Atlantic, the exiles landed at Falmouth. The Princes whom we have last named died early, their constitutions having been destroyed by the rigours of their captivity, under the Republic, at Marseilles, and by the sufferings endured by them in an attempt to escape. During the succeeding eight or nine years, the Duke of Orleans was chiefly in England, and never idle. He proposed to Canning to take the command of an expedition to prevent the French from getting possession of the Ionian Islands; and he was sorely tempted into taking an active part against Napoleon in Spain. Luckily for him, he did not assume arms against his country; and, as he could not attain greatness in the field, he resolved to help himself thereto by marriage. In 1809 he espoused the Princess Maria Amelia of Naples, whose mother was the sister of Marie Antoinette. A son was born of this marriage, in Sicily, in 1810; and this occurrence afforded him as much enjoyment as an exile could sustain, until the year 1814 brought with it the downfall of the Empire. On a May morning of that year he left Palermo; and, not many days afterwards, the porter of the Palais Royal was surprised at seeing a goodly-looking man pass the portals, advance to the staircase, and, falling upon his knees, kiss the ground, while he sobbed with hysterical excitement. The strange comer was the Duke of Orleans. His first personal visit in Paris was paid to Madame de Genlis, who received him like a school-dame, and hoped that he "had given up all idea of becoming King." He also called upon the leading liberals of the day; and, even then, Lafayette said of him, that he was "the only Bourbon compatible with a free constitution." These words were the seeds whence sprang "the best of Republics" in 1830.

Then came the "Hundred Days," the issue of which Louis Philippe tranquilly awaited at Twickenham. After the crowning day at Waterloo, he repaired again to Paris; and, in the House of Peers there, he took so decided an opposition standing against the Court, that the King withdrew from the Princes of the blood the courtesy privilege of sitting in the Senate.

The Duke had his revenge when the little Duc de Bordeaux was born,—the son of an already slain sire. There appeared at the time, in the "Morning Chronicle," a strongly-worded protest against the legitimacy of the little Duke. The King charged Louis Philippe with being the author of the protest. The latter vehemently denied the charge; but he re-published the protest itself in 1830, when his partisans were placarding the streets with the assurance that he had not in him the blood of Bourbon,

but that of Valois. Long before the death of Louis XVIII., he appears to have discussed, with the coterie at Lafitte's, the advantages of a monarchical change in France; and these discussions never failed to be marked by his assurances, that if he could ever wish to become King, the general good, and not self-interest, would be the parent of such wish! In the mean time, he good-humouredly abided his hour. His household was the only "decent" one, in the proper sense of the word, that had ever been held by a Duke of Orleans. He himself was much given, indeed, to "nearness;" and he regulated the expenses of his children's table with a saving minuteness, which shows how admirably nature had qualified him to be the head of a cheap boarding-school. He knew, if not every thing, at least a little of every thing; and he loved to teach others, in order that he might exhibit his own knowledge. We have already alluded to the pride with which he used to speak of his "august ancestor, Louis XIV." "Yes, Dumas!" said he, one day, to the Secretary, who has since turned historian, "to be descended from Louis XIV., even only through his bastards, is, in my eyes at least, an honour sufficiently great to be worth boasting of!" He was charitable upon impulse, rather than principle; but his promised liberality often became "fine by degrees, and beautifully less," when its hour of expected realization approached.

It was only a few days previous to the outbreak in 1830, that he was playing with the youthful Duke de Bordeaux in the gardens at St. Cloud. His affection had never been so expansive. Not many months before he had refused to accept the office of a Twelfth-Night King, at Court, because it savoured, as he pleasantly said, of treason. He ever professed too much, just as his wretched father conspired too much; and he was most affectionate to the son of the Duke de Berri, at the moment that he was about to rob him of his birth-right. He, too, had infirmity of purpose. He was concealed when his sister Adelaide accepted the office of "Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom," preparatory to a further step. His own hesitation was remarkably unheroic. When the Duke de Mortemart repaired to him in Paris, he found the Prince stretched on a mattress on the ground, reeking with perspiration and anxiety. No human power, he told the envoy of Charles X., should induce him to accept a throne to which he had no right. A few days after, he had shipped the elder Bourbon branch in two vessels, bound for England. A third accompanied the exiles; and when the latter inquired the object of this third, they were told that the ship of war had orders to fire upon the vessels which bore the fugitives and their scattered fortunes, if a landing were attempted on the coast of France. Such was the last "Good night!" of the courteous Orleans to the ancient monarchy.

By the elevation of Louis Philippe to the uneasy dignity of

King of the French, the title of Duke of Orleans fell to that young Prince, whose birth we recorded as having taken place in Sicily in 1810. He was brought up, not among Princes, but among the people. We have a lively remembrance of his appearance among his fellow-pupils in one of the public colleges, and of the popularity with which the fact itself was hailed. He was the last of the Dukes of Orleans, and, perhaps, the most amiable. The Church, indeed, hated him, because he had married a German Lutheran Princess, and would insist upon her religious feelings being respected. He had been to pay a visit of duty to his royal parents, when, on his return, the horses of his carriage took fright, and, in leaping out, he was killed. He left heirs who, now in exile, are unwisely taught to consider themselves the heirs of their grandsire's greatness, and their father's prospects. They could not well hope for a greater heritage of woe, seeing that, since the days of Louis XV., no French Monarch, save Louis XVIII., has died upon the throne. The Sixteenth Louis perished on the scaffold; the Seventeenth in the Temple; the leaders of the Republic were murdered by their rivals; the Emperor died upon a distant rock; Charles X. breathed his last sigh at Goritz; and Louis Philippe expired in 1850, also in exile, at Claremont. What a warning to those who, since the death of the last-named King, have been eager to reign! What a warning even to him who, most daring, has been most successful!

Eighteen Princes have borne the title of Dukes of Orleans. Four were of the elder branch of Valois. Five were of the Angoulême branch of Valois; the other half of the eighteen Princes were members of the House of Bourbon. Of all these, who had grown up to manhood, two alone may be said to have been distinguished for eminent respectability of character,—the son of the Regent, and the son of Louis Philippe, King of the French: but even the reputation of these was not unsullied. The greater number perished miserably. The first Philip was killed by excess, Louis was murdered, Charles slowly killed by his quarter of a century's captivity, and Louis (the first Duke who reached the throne) perished through profligacy. Of the second Valois branch, the first who had worn the ducal title was killed, the second and third died prematurely, the fourth perished a moody maniac, and the fifth was assassinated; and of the last five, three were Kings. Again, of the Bourbon Dukes of Orleans, the first died ere he left the nursery; the next, Gaston, if public contempt could have killed him, would so have ended his career; the father of the Regent, and the Regent himself, were "suicides," slaying themselves by practices of vice; the fifth of the house died with decency; the sixth was the slave of excess, like so many of his predecessors, and he suffered accordingly; Philippe Egalité was the only one of the ducal line who suffered death at the hands of the executioner; his son, Louis

Philippe, the only one who encountered the Inevitable in banishment; the last Duke perished ignobly on the pavement of Paris. Not one fell in the field, or died of the effects of over-zeal in the service of his country. Should the line of Dukes ever be renewed, let us hope that it may not be said of these, as was said of the Bourbons after the Restoration, that during the days of their adversity, they had neither learned nor forgotten any thing. But well may we say, *should* the ducal line ever be restored:—

“*Ubi cras istud aut unde petendum?*”

- ART. IV. 1.—*The Works of William Harvey, M.D., Physician to the King, Professor of Anatomy and Surgery to the College of Physicians.* Translated from the Latin, with a Life of the Author, by ROBERT WILLIS, M.D. London: Printed for the Sydenham Society. 1847.
2. *The Genuine Works of Hippocrates.* Translated from the Greek, with a Preliminary Discourse and Annotations, by FRANCIS ADAMS, LL.D., Surgeon. London: Printed for the Sydenham Society. 1849.
3. *Memorials of John Ray: (consisting of his Life, by DR. DERHAM; Biographical and Critical Notices by SIR J. E. SMITH, CUVIER, and DUPETIT THOUARS;) with his Itineraries, &c.* Edited by EDWIN LANKESTER, M.D., F.R.S., &c. London: Printed for the Ray Society. 1846.
4. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology. (Medical Biographies, contributed by WILLIAM ALEXANDER GREENHILL, M.D., Trinity College, Oxford.)* Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D. Three Vols. London: Taylor, Walton, and Maberly; and John Murray. 1843.

WE sometimes hear the inquiry, “Have not the discoveries made in science nearly exhausted the subject? Will not philosophers soon be left without objects on which to exercise their skill?” Conclusions in the affirmative are naturally arrived at by those who take cognizance of the vast field through which human intellect has ranged, without realizing how the area becomes enlarged, rather than diminished, in the progress of inquiry. Each discovery leads to the knowledge of new relations; whilst the investigation of these, in turn, brings to light new facts. The unsophisticated dweller in the recesses of some deep valley is apt to limit his ideas of the world to what is bounded by his narrow horizon; but, when he leaves his secluded home, and scales the mountain heights, that horizon expands. Each upward step widens the prospect, and brings new objects within the range of his vision; and, when he has surmounted

every obstacle, and stands upon the loftiest peak, hills and valleys, oceans and plains, appear in that glorious profusion which distinguishes the natural world, when seen from the right elevation.

This was clearly apprehended by Seneca. "Truly," says the illustrious Stoic, "they who preceded us have done much; but they have not done all. Much work yet remains, and will remain; nor, after a thousand ages have passed away, will any one be precluded from adding something." The observation of the Roman sage applies to every branch of science; but, when uttered by him, it was especially pertinent to the subject of the works at the head of this article, since it is one with which the ancients had but little acquaintance. Though a few bright luminaries shone the more vividly from the depth of the surrounding darkness, their light was dimmed in struggling through the dense atmosphere of hypothesis: it shone with a pale and feeble ray.

It might have been anticipated, that the pressing wants of humanity would, from the earliest ages, have induced men to give their chief attention to the discovery of the means best calculated for their relief. Since disease and death sooner or later assailed all men, we should have anticipated, that those investigations would have made the greatest progress, which tended to neutralize the power of man's universal foe. But how far was this from being the case! The rhapsodies of the poet have ever had more charms for man, in his archaic state, than the investigations of the philosopher. The taste which first manifested itself in eulogistic songs, recording the traditional glories of ancestors, the achievements of warriors, and the greatness of nations, every where gave a bias to the national mind. The Homeric poems and the dramas of Æschylus, the lyrics of Terpander and Alcæus, of Sappho, Pindar, and Anacreon, had taken their places in the national literature of Greece, long before the father of medicine had completed his illustrious career.

Of the state of anatomical science, prior to the time of Hippocrates, we know but little; but he was obviously not its founder. Democritus, his tutor in literature and philosophy, had devoted attention both to Anatomy and Medicine. At a still earlier period, some knowledge of it was obtained by Pythagoras. How far Æsculapius and his sons, Machaon and Podalirius, were concrete existences, or mythic personages, we have no means of ascertaining; but it has been supposed that the former of these Homeric heroes left a race of representatives in the Priest-Physicians, who ministered at the *Asclepia*, or "Temples of Health," scattered through Greece. These institutions, to which the people flocked for the relief of their physical ills, were often located in the vicinity of mineral springs.

What was the amount of anatomical knowledge possessed by the men who presided over them, we have no means of ascertaining; but, since the office was hereditary in particular families, some amount of such lore must have been possessed by them, and transmitted from father to son, though its quantity was, doubtless, small.

Our actual information respecting the state of this science commences with the age of Hippocrates, with whose celebrated aphorism, "Life is short, and art is long," many are familiar, though few are aware that its author was contemporaneous with the Prophet Malachi. His father was a Priest-Physician in one of the *Asclepia*, where the son doubtless learnt the elements of the science to which he devoted his prolonged life. In estimating the value and amount of his anatomical knowledge, we must remember to how limited an extent human dissection was practised, both in his age and for centuries afterwards. The reasons for this do not appear very obvious. Care for the dead seems to result from an emotional instinct common to humanity. Civilized or savage, with few exceptions, man respects the remains of departed friends; and, from this innate disposition, doubtless, originated a strong popular prejudice, which, in some measure, remains operative even in our own day. In ancient times it appears to have been still more intense; and, except for a brief period in the Alexandrian school of medicine, we have few indications that anthropotomy was generally employed. Galen, in one of his works, refers to the very great advantages possessed by the physicians who accompanied Aurelian in his German wars, since they had the opportunity of dissecting the bodies of their slain enemies; evidently implying that, even in his day, no such opportunities were available at Rome. The dissection of the inferior animals was more usually resorted to; consequently, in its early dawn, the study of Anatomy tended in the direction of what we now designate *Comparative*. There is extant a tradition that Hippocrates possessed a skeleton, which, at his death, he left to the Temple of Apollo at Delphi; but this is scarcely compatible with the recorded imperfections of his own knowledge.

With the great leading outlines of Human Anatomy he was, of course, familiar. With the two plates of the bones of the cranium and their intervening cancellous structure, the *dura mater*, or protecting membrane of the brain, and its prolongation downward, dividing the brain into two hemispheres, as well as the vascular canals permeating ordinary bones, were all known to him. Of the sutures of the skull, or lines separating the bones, he had but a very imperfect knowledge. Respecting the distribution of the blood-vessels, his information was still more scanty, as shown in the following description, which we quote, because, though the ludicrous admixture of truth and error

which it contains can scarcely be appreciated by the general reader, the notions involved in it lay at the foundation of fallacies which maintained their ground up to the time of Harvey :—

“ Veins run towards it (the brain) from all parts of the body, many of which are small, but two are thick,—one from the liver, and the other from the spleen. And it is thus with regard to the one from the liver : a portion of it runs downwards through the parts on the right side, near the kidney, and the *psoas* muscle, to the inner part of the thigh, and extends to the foot. It is called the *vena cava*. The other runs upwards by the right veins and the lungs, and divides into branches for the heart and the right arm. The remaining part of it rises upwards across the *clavicle*, to the right side of the neck, and is superficial, so as to be seen. Near the ear it is concealed, and there it divides. Its thickest, largest, and most hollowed part ends in the brain ; another small vein goes to the right ear, another to the right eye, and another to the nostril. Such are the distributions of the hepatic vein ; and a vein from the spleen is distributed on the left side, upwards and downwards, like that from the liver, but more slender and feeble.”—*Works of Hippocrates, Dr. Adams's Translation*, vol. ii., p. 848.

It appears to us, that this absurd jumble can only be accounted for, on the supposition that Hippocrates had never seen these vessels displayed in a dissection. It is more probable that his knowledge was obtained piecemeal, as such a distinguished operative surgeon would have many opportunities of doing ; and that, guided by the dissection of the lower brutes, he framed an hypothetical combination of these vessels and their assumed distribution. How inferior this knowledge of the fundamentals of *his* art, to that which must have been possessed by other men of the same age, in *their* respective departments !—

“ He had for his contemporaries Pericles, the famous statesman ; the poets *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, and *Pindar* ; the philosophic *Socrates*, with his disciples, *Plato* and *Xenophon* ; the venerable father of history, *Herodotus*, and his young rival, *Thucydides* ; the unrivalled sculptor, *Phidias*, with his illustrious pupils ; and many other distinguished names that have conferred immortal honour on the age in which they lived, and exalted the dignity of human nature.”—*Preliminary Discourse by Dr. Adams*, p. 10.

A fit companion to the above illustration of the anatomical knowledge of Hippocrates, is the following specimen of his physiology :—

“ When a person draws in air by the mouth and nostrils, the breath (*πνεῦμα*) goes first to the brain, then the greater part of it to the internal cavity, and part to the lungs, and part to the veins, and from thence it is distributed to the other parts of the body along the veins ; and whatever passes to the stomach cools, and does nothing more. And so also with regard to the lungs. But the air which enters the veins is of use (to the body), by entering the brain and its ventricles ;

and thus it imparts sensibility and motion to all the members ; so that, when the veins are excluded from the air by the phlegm, and do not receive it, the man loses his speech and intellect, and the hands become powerless, and are contracted, the blood stopping, and not being diffused as it was wont."—*Dr. Adams's Translation*, vol. ii., p. 849.

Hippocrates drew no distinction between the arteries, or vessels which convey the blood from the heart, and the veins which bring it back again ; and, in common with most of the ancients, appears to have considered that some of the veins—that is, the arteries—received *air* from the lungs, and distributed it through the system,—an error into which they were doubtless led by the circumstance, that after death these vessels are rarely found to contain any of the blood which in life pulsed through them with an unceasing flow. The importance which he attached to the relation between the liver and the veins, long continued to receive the sanction of anatomical schools. On the other hand, it appears clear that he connected psychological phenomena with the brain. Thus, when writing on the subject of epilepsy, or "the sacred disease," which he declares to be no more a special infliction from the gods than are other diseases, but traceable to natural causes, he says,—

"And men ought to know that from nothing else but thence (the brain) come joys, delights, laughter, and sports, and sorrows, griefs, despondencies, and lamentations. And by this, in an especial manner, we acquire wisdom and knowledge, and see, and hear, and know what are foul and what are fair, what are bad and what are good, what are sweet and what are unsavoury. Some we discriminate by habit, and some we perceive by their utility. By this we distinguish objects of relish and disrelish, according to the seasons ; and the same things do not always please us. And by the same organ we become mad and delirious, and fears and terrors assail us, some by night and some by day, and dreams, and untimely wanderings, and cares that are not suitable, and ignorance of present circumstances, desuetude, and unskilfulness. All these things we endure from the brain when it is not healthy, but is more hot, more cold, more moist, or more dry than natural, or when it suffers any other preternatural or unusual affection. And we become mad from humidity (of the brain). As long as the brain is at rest, the man enjoys his reason."—*Idem, ibid.*, p. 865.

After enumerating a number of other phenomena connected with nervous diseases, he adds,—

"This is the interpretation of those things which emanate from the air, when it (the brain) happens to be in a sound state. But the air supplies sense to it ; and the eyes, the ears, the tongue, and the feet administer such things as the brain cogitates."—*Idem, ibid.*, p. 865.

The amount of sound observation indicated in these extracts, is most remarkable. To arrive at such broad generalizations

respecting the physiology of any portion of the nervous system, is in itself a striking illustration of the writer's vigorous understanding, and his worthiness of the high intellectual position which has been assigned to him in every age. At the same time, the above conclusions were such as a mind like his could arrive at independently of dissection; though his connexion of the organs of sense with the great centre of the nervous system, indicates a knowledge of the nerves through which that connexion was established.

We do not dwell upon the well-merited fame enjoyed by Hippocrates as a practical surgeon; though this is a subject on which we might speak in terms of unmeasured eulogy. It is solely as an Anatomist that our theme requires a glance at his attainments as evidenced in his works, and in illustration of the progress of Anatomical Science.

There is extant an ancient production "On the Heart," supposed by some commentators to be a genuine work of Hippocrates, but rejected by most others as spurious. Whoever was its author, its high antiquity is undoubted. On many points the writer had made a great advance upon his predecessors. He was familiar with the muscular structure of the heart; with its division into four cavities; with its pericardium, or investing sac, and its contained fluid; with its connexion with the veins, and its function as the central organ whence flowed the nutritive fluid. All these important truths indicate the practical knowledge of an anatomist who had dissected what he described. But how little his labours were known or appreciated, is seen in the wild and fanciful speculations in which subsequent writers continued to indulge.

Contemporaneous with Hippocrates was Euryphon, a physician of Cnidos, who appears to have been the first to distinguish the arteries from the veins, and to have been aware that, in the living being, the former vessels contained blood, and not air.

We should not expect much anatomical information from Plato. Nevertheless, in his *Timæus*, we find him describing the veins springing from the heart, and receiving blood from thence. But whilst, like Hippocrates, he drew no distinction between the arteries and the veins, he also concluded, that some of these vessels took their rise from the liver. It will appear strange to non-professional readers, that the liver should be so conspicuously introduced by most of the ancients amongst the number of circulating organs. But this was not an improbable error for them to fall into. After the blood has passed through the various parts of the body, the greater portion of it returns by the veins *direct* to the heart, which then propels it into the lungs to undergo purification from the superfluous carbon. But the veins which arise from the stomach, spleen, intestinal canals, and gall-bladder, unite to form one large detached trunk, called

the "portal vein," which proceeds, not towards the heart, but to the liver, dividing into two large branches, which plunge into the substance of the gland, to every part of which its further subdivisions are distributed. From the blood which this vessel conveys to the liver, the bile is separated; and, having fulfilled this special mission, the residue returns, by two additional veins, into one of the great venous trunks, to be conveyed to the heart. Seeing a large vessel, turgid with blood, apparently issuing *from* the liver, and distributing its only visible branches, resembling those of the other veins, to the organs just enumerated, nothing was more natural than for the ancients, ignorant of the Harveyan circulation, to regard the large vein as receiving its blood *from*, rather than distributing it *to*, the liver. This vein really resembles a rooted and branched plant torn up from the soil; the roots and rootlets representing the veins arising from the alimentary canal and spleen; the stem, or trunk, the large single portal vein; and the branches corresponding with the ramifications of the vein, diffusing themselves through the liver. But the idea of a vein branching at both ends, never suggested itself to the earlier anatomists. They regarded the *visible* branches of the portal vein as the only ones it possessed; and hence their perplexity, and consequent confusion of the liver with the organs of circulation.

Plato regarded the blood-vessels as messengers, transmitting to the body the orders of the soul; assigning to them functions, which, as we are now aware, belong solely to the nervous system. He also considered the mind to present three distinct faculties, which employed different organs as their seats and instruments: firstly, the concupiscent, located in the liver; secondly, the irascible, in the heart; and, thirdly, the rational, in the brain:—a division which probably laid the foundation of the puerile doctrines of three animal spirits, taught in the Schools through twenty succeeding centuries.

There have been a few critical periods in the history of every science, when the advent of individual men revolutionized the entire subject. Such periods became, like the Hegira of Mahomet, new starting-points. Thus it was that Newton, Linnæus, John Hunter, Dalton, William Smith, and Cuvier, stirred up the dry bones of their respective subjects, and gave them life. One of these advents marked an era in Grecian history in the person of Aristotle. The son of a Court-Physician who in his day enjoyed some distinction as a writer on natural science, Aristotle obtained an excellent preliminary education, fitting him for his future labours: at the same time, he doubtless acquired from his father those tastes, which led him to court philosophy, and make her the mistress of his affections. In the second year of the 103rd Olympiad, (s.c. 367,) having lost his father, he came to Athens, where he remained twenty years. When he reached

the Attic metropolis, he was a youth of seventeen. Plato was then absent on his prolonged tour; but, on the return of the latter soon afterwards, when he taught in the gymnasium of the Academy, and in the shades of his own garden, Aristotle became one of his pupils, and soon attracted the eye of his teacher by his diligent zeal; needing a curb, according to Diogenes Laërtius. At a still later period, we find the rising philosopher surrounded by a circle of scholars, to whom he appears to have lectured on rhetoric and politics. His early association with the Court at Pella enabled him to establish a youthful friendship with Philip, the future Monarch of Macedon, important in its results to science. Eventually he left Athens to return to his native town, where, in the retirement of a pleasant grove, containing a gymnasium erected for him by his illustrious patron and friend, he educated Alexander, the future conqueror, along with other youths who rose to distinction and fame.

In B.C. 336, Alexander ascended the throne of his murdered father, and, during the subsequent year, Aristotle again removed to Athens, where the Lyceum was assigned to him, by the State, as a gymnasium. Thirteen years he spent in this peaceful retreat, lecturing to his pupils whilst wandering in the shady groves, and writing most of the works which have given his name its immortality. Both Philip and Alexander afforded him such an amount of aid in his zoological investigations as no other naturalist has ever enjoyed. They caused collections of natural objects to be made for him through their subordinate officers in every part of their vast dominions; and not only were the materials for research thus provided for him on an enormous scale, but Alexander aided him with a sum of 800 talents,*—an instance of princely zeal for science which is without a parallel.

Most of the works on Natural History written by the Stagyrite remain, and are marvellous monuments of his intellectual acuteness and persevering industry. Several important books on Anatomy are unfortunately lost; some of which appear to have even been illustrated by drawings. This loss is to be regretted, since not only has Aristotle laid great stress on the importance of anatomical investigations to the Zoologist, but the accuracy of his remaining descriptions attests that he practised what he taught.

He divided the animal kingdom into two great sections; namely, those possessing blood, (that is, *red* blood,) and those possessing a colourless fluid, or *sanies*, instead of blood. The former of these divisions corresponds with that of the *Vertebrata* of modern naturalists, and the latter with that of the Invertebrate animals; thus not merely foreshadowing, but distinctly establishing, the great primary groups recognised by all modern

* One of the smallest values assigned to the Attic talent is about £180 of our money, but it is generally regarded as equal to £243. 15s.

Zoologists. This circumstance alone demonstrates his possession of that power of generalization, which is the stamp and seal of genius. A similar evidence is afforded by his separation of the mammalian *Vertebrata* (that is, those which suckle their young) from the other four-footed tribes. These he denominated ζωονόκα, or "viviparous" animals. The establishment of this class was in itself an evidence of his discernment; but that he should also include in it the anomalous *Cheiroptera*, or "bats," and the *Cetacea*, or "whales," and "porpoises," whose marine habits and fish-like forms bear so little resemblance to the ordinary mammalian quadrupeds, is one of those marvellous evidences of his discriminating power, which give him a place amongst the greatest philosophers the world has ever known.

But besides the proofs which these generalizations afford of the profoundly philosophic character of his mind, we have similar demonstrations that he possessed the opposite power of accurately noting minute details. We cannot illustrate this portion of his mental constitution better, than by quoting the language of Professor Owen :—

"In these several parts of his extraordinary work, Aristotle indicates nine different species of *Cephalopods*, (marine animals allied to the nautilus, or cuttle-fish,) with so much precision, and with so happy a selection of their distinctive characters, that modern naturalists have been enabled to identify almost all the species that were studied by the Stagyrte two thousand years ago.

"Of these we may first mention the *nautilus which adheres to its shell*, and which, we conceive, may have been the *Nautilus Pompilius*; second, the *nautilus which does not adhere to its shell*, universally allowed to be the *Argonauta*, or paper nautilus of the moderns; third, the cuttle-fish (*Sepia officinalis*); fourth and fifth, the great and small *Calamaries* (*Loligo vulgaris* and *Loligo media*); sixth and seventh, the great and small *Polyps*. The former is regarded by Belon and Rondeletius to have been the *Sepia Octopodia* of Linnæus; but the small species, which Aristotle states to have been variegated, has not yet been satisfactorily determined. Eighth, the *Bolita*, a genus of octopods, which Aristotle characterized by its peculiar odour. This is the *Eledona moschata* of Leach. Ninth, the *Eledone*, characterized by the single series of suckers, and to which the *Eledona cirrosa* of Leach corresponds. Respecting the living habits of the Cephalopoda, Aristotle is more rich in details than any other zoological author; and Cuvier has observed that his knowledge of this class, both zoological and anatomical, is truly astonishing."—*Encyclop. Anat. and Physiol.*, Art. *Cephalopoda*.

A similar illustration is afforded by his description of the τεθων, a simple Ascidian mollusk, of anomalous character, and of which he has defined the anatomical and zoological peculiarities with remarkable accuracy.

On turning from Aristotle's knowledge of Comparative Anatomy, to the evidences afforded in his writings of his acquaint-

ance with the human frame, we find that, on some points, he is actually behind Hippocrates, and, on others, he has made no advance upon the knowledge of his illustrious predecessor. He did not distinguish between the veins: the name *ἀρτηρία* he gave to the windpipe, as Hippocrates had previously done; whilst that of *ἀορτή*, which the latter author has applied to the *bronchi*, or larger subdivisions of the windpipe, he assigned to the great trunk of the arterial system, which appellation the *aorta* has retained to the present day. Though, of course, ignorant of the circulation of the blood, he not only recognised that the pulsating power of the heart was inherent in the organ itself,—rather than dependent upon the respiratory act, as others had supposed,—but he discovered a fact with which modern anatomists are familiar,—that this pulsation is visible in the egg of the fowl, whilst the embryo is in an early stage of development. Indeed, Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation, appeals to the testimony of Aristotle on this point, in confirmation of his own more recent observations. He appears to have been acquainted with muscular action, though both he and Plato thought that the muscles, like fat or clothing, served to regulate the temperature, keeping out the heat in summer, and the cold in winter.

We cannot better convey to our readers an idea of Aristotle's crude and fanciful notions respecting the nervous system, than by quoting the following paragraph from Prochaska:—

"It is remarkable how widely Aristotle, with many others of the philosophers and Stoics, has erred in assigning a use for the brain, having described it as an inert *viscus*, cold and bloodless, an organ *sui generis*, not to be enumerated amongst the other organs of the body, seeing that it is of no use except to cool the heart. He then explained how the brain might be the refrigerator of the heart; inasmuch as vapours arise from the waters and earth, and, when they reach the cold middle region of the air, are condensed into water, which, falling upon the earth, cools it; so, also, the hot spirits carried from the heart to the brain, with the blood, and there being cooled, are condensed into water, which descends again to the heart for the purpose of cooling it. (*De Animal. Partib.*, lib. ii. cap. vii.) He placed the seat of the rational soul in the heart, where it can exercise all its functions; and he therefore made the nerves (of the use of which in sensation and motion he was not ignorant) to arise from the heart. This opinion of Aristotle, as to the heart being the seat of the soul, appears to be preserved even to our own days, in the popular modes of expression, as when a man of good disposition is said to have a good heart, and the writers on moral science speak of the cultivation of the heart."—*Dr. Laycock's Translation*, p. 365.

The inferiority of Aristotle's physiology, on this point, to that of Hippocrates, and even of Plato, is obvious, since they both connected the brain with the rational faculties as their instrument. He also denied what Hippocrates had affirmed,—that all the organs of sense centred in the brain. At the same time, he

separated the *νοῦς*, or reasoning faculty, from the remainder of the *ψυχή*, or common animating principle, which embodied the vital principle, the sensorial and intellectual faculties of modern writers.

Aristotle was succeeded at the Lyceum by the Eresian philosopher, Theophrastus, who supplemented the zoological labours of the Stagyrice, apparently standing in the same relation to him that Playfair did to Hutton, in more recent times. Most of his writings on Zoology are lost; but his zeal left a memorial behind, in the tastes and pursuits of the physician Erasistratus, who appears, from a remark in the writings of Galen, to have received a part of his education under the great Eresian.

Erasistratus lived during the third century before Christ. Were there nothing else to render him famous, he would be remembered as the luckiest physician on record, having received a hundred talents, or more than £24,000, in one fee, for curing Antiochus, the eldest son of Seleucus Nicator, King of Syria, of a fit of love-sickness, after a fashion that was as original as it was effective. He appears to have paid greater attention than most other ancient writers to anatomical studies. His works are chiefly lost, being only known from short extracts preserved in the writings of Galen, Cœlius Aurelianus, and others; but these extracts demonstrate how much more accurate was his knowledge of human Anatomy, especially on some points, than that of his predecessors. He appears to have distinguished veins from arteries; and to have been the first who ceased to speak of the windpipe as an *ἀπρηλα*, and assigned to it its present name of *τραχέια*. At the same time, by recognising the common origin of the veins and arteries in the heart, instead of tracing them to the liver, he did something towards diminishing the confusion existing in the minds of the ancients on this subject. But, unfortunately, he conceived that the arteries contained air, and not blood. He appears, at an early date, to have concluded, that there existed two classes of nerves,—one for sensation, and the other for motion; the former being, in his opinion, hollow, and springing from the investing membranes of the brain; and the other, from the brain itself: but he ultimately satisfied himself, that they all sprang from the substance of the brain, and not from its membranes. We owe to him the employment of the term "*parenchyma*," as applied to the substance of a gland, being used by him in connexion with the liver. Respiration he regarded as designed to fill the arteries with air, through the *tracheia*, or "windpipe;" whence he supposed it to enter the vessels, and to be distributed throughout the body, the veins alone containing the blood. Here, again, the non-professional reader requires a word of explanation, to prevent him from accusing these ancients of stupid folly, which the exhibition of notions like the one just enunciated may tempt him to do.

The walls of the arteries are highly elastic, owing to which property they retain their cylindrical form after death. But they are very rarely found, on dissection, to contain blood, that element having chiefly passed through the minute capillaries, and accumulated in the non-elastic veins. When the ancients examined the dead body, and found these arterial tubes to contain nothing but air, they not unnaturally concluded that this *πνεῦμα*, or spiritual essence, was the element they were destined to diffuse through the body. Hence the way in which various "spirits" became mixed up with their physiological speculations. Erasistratus thought that an animal spirit emanated from the head, and a vital one from the heart.

Apparently contemporary with Erasistratus was Herophilus, a native of Chalcodon, but who afterwards became one of the founders of the Alexandrian School of Medicine; and also Philotinus, his fellow-pupil. Herophilus seems to have distinguished between nerves of sensation and those of motion, and introduced into anatomical technology several terms, such as *Torcular Herophili*, *Calamus scriptorius*, and *Duodenum*; names still retained in modern anatomical works. Philotinus, according to Galen, declared that the brain was only an excessive excrescence from the spinal marrow, which, as well as the heart, was of no use!

From the time of Erasistratus, a long interval occurred, in which no new discoveries were made, and no anatomists of distinction appeared. Various medical schools were in existence, that of Alexandria being the most celebrated; but they only taught the doctrines of those whom they recognised as their masters, and whose ideas they appear to have adopted in a way unfavourable to the progress of truth. More attention also was probably paid to the study of Medicine than of Anatomy, either human or comparative. One name alone stands out in strong relief during the long interval of more than three centuries, which intervened between the age of Erasistratus and the birth of Galen. It is that of the Elder Pliny, who was born A.D. 22.

His large work on Natural History, which still remains, exhibits this celebrated writer as a most diligent, yet credulous, collector of zoological facts. But of the philosophic spirit which breathes through the writings of Aristotle, no traces are to be found. Hence he entertained no just idea of the importance of anatomical inquiries, as the only sound basis for his studies. Marvellous and incredible tales had more charms for him than dissections: hence his works exhibit a wonderful sprinkling of winged horses, live tritons, animals without joints in their legs; others compounded of the stag, boar, horse, and elephant, reminding us of the fossil *Macrauchenia* and *Toxodons* of America, which might have been created to perplex comparative

anatomists as to the zoological shelf they ought to occupy. A part of the eleventh book of his work is devoted to anatomical considerations; but it contains little that is either creditable to Pliny, or useful to science. He makes some notable generalizations; such as, that all living creatures whatsoever, having blood, have heads,—that man is the only animal that cannot wag his ears,—and that birds have neither veins nor arteries. He considers the heart as “the very seat of the mind and soul;” he speaks of the arteries as “the passages of the spirit and life,” whilst the veins are “the very conduits that carry the blood.” He tells us that “the arteries want sense; and no marvel, because they are without blood;” but of the brain he observes, “It is the fort and castle of all the senses; unto it all the veins from the heart do tend; in it they all do likewise end; it is the very highest keep, watch-tower, and sentinel of the mind; it is the helm and rudder of intelligence and good understanding,”—a statement difficult to reconcile with his previous declaration respecting the heart, and its spiritual tenant. He cannot be regarded as a philosophic naturalist; but as a diligent collector of facts and fictions, who was not over nice as to their value or probability.

The birth of Galen, A.D. 130, constitutes another of those critical periods in the history of science, to which reference has already been made. A native of Pergamos, he studied in the Schools of Smyrna, Corinth, and Alexandria. In his twenty-ninth year, he returned to Pergamos, where he practised as a physician until his thirty-fourth year, when political disturbances led him to leave his native place, and visit Rome. Here, with occasional interruptions, a considerable portion of his subsequent life was spent in teaching, and practising medicine; attending, amongst others, the Emperors M. Aurelius, Commodus, and S. Severus.

It is evident that Galen was a diligent dissector; but, owing to the prejudices still prevalent, it was the lower animals, rather than the human subject, upon which he principally employed his scalpel. Some of his descriptions have obviously been drawn from apes, especially those of the skeleton. We have already referred to one passage in his writings, in which he speaks of the great advantages enjoyed, in this matter, by his professional brethren who accompanied the imperial troops in their German campaigns; nevertheless he made great advances in anatomical knowledge. That he did not progress still further, becomes only intelligible when we duly estimate the power of educational prejudices in biassing the judgment, and blinding the eyes. The old spiritual philosophy had taken deep root in his mind, and the incubus was never cast off.

In his study of general physiology, Galen appears to have obtained a glimpse of distinctions which are now generally

recognised. The vital functions are capable of being divided into those of vegetative, or organic, life, and those of animal life; comprehending, under the former term, such as are concerned in the construction and nutrition of the individual, and the perpetuation of the species; and under the latter, the higher functions connected with consciousness, the operations of the senses, and the exercise of the will. May there not be the germ of something approaching to this idea, in Galen's supposition,—so long afterwards the favourite doctrine of the Schools,—that there are three kinds of immaterial existence in man's bodily frame; namely, the nutritive, of which the liver is the source; the vital, of which the heart is the source; and the rational, which emanates from the brain? But he has buried this approximation to modern philosophy—if such it can be regarded—under so heavy a load of hypothetical powers and humours, in accordance with the prevalent opinions of his predecessors, that the truth bears about the same proportion to the error, that Falstaff's pennyworth of bread did to the gallon of sack.

He enunciates a still more important principle, when he affirms that all the solid elements which enter into the composition of the body, are directly derived from the blood, thus recognising the protoplasmic character of the circulating fluid now universally admitted to be its essential feature.

Like his predecessors, Galen regarded the liver as the great organ of sanguinification. He thoroughly understood the distribution of the portal vein, with its two sets of branches. He also observed the *lacteals*, or "absorbent vessels," specially designed to take up the nutrient portion of the food, and convey it into the general circulation; but he did not distinguish them from the veins, of which he thought them to be a peculiar group, destined to nourish the intestines themselves. Having overlooked the fundamental distinction between these two sets of vessels, all the rest of his physiology became erroneous. He thought that the visceral branches of the portal vein, now known as the *mesenteric* veins, took up the nutriment from the digested food, and conveyed it to the liver; in flowing through which it was converted into blood. Here he supposed it to be taken up by a second set of veins, (the true *hepatic* veins,) which separated into two main trunks; one of which ascended to the upper part of the body, and the other descended towards the lower extremity; the two combined, diffusing the blood through the system. Even the non-professional reader can now detect the admixture of truth and error in this hypothesis. The impure venous blood, returning from the alimentary canal, pursues a course towards and through the liver, very similar to that described by Galen; whilst in the liver it is transferred, through a network of minute vessels, into the *hepatic*, or true vein of the liver, which re-conducts it out of that organ into the great venous trunk of

the body, which it enters near its junction with the heart. Here Galen's radical error commenced. He reversed the true motion of the blood; and, instead of recognising its course as flowing into the heart, he supposed that it passed by that centre of the vascular system, and was dispersed through the body by the veins, one branch of which alone entered the heart.

He concluded that in all air-breathing animals the heart contained the same number of cavities, which he supposed to be two. The importance of the auricles, which constitute the two additional cavities of the quadripartite heart, was not recognised by him, since he merely regarded them as appendages to the organ. He had evidently not seen the reptilian heart, in which there is but one ventricular cavity. All the valves of the heart, and several of the large vessels proceeding from it, are described with great accuracy. He also observed the strength and sinuous arrangement of the fibres of the heart, but denied their muscularity. He distinguished between the arteries and the veins; and whilst he admitted that the former contained *some* air, he demonstrated that they contained blood in large quantities; recognising also the pulsation of the heart as the cause of that in the arteries, and the existence of the minute capillary vessels, forming the *anastomoses*, or terminal communications between the arteries and the veins. The general conclusion which he deduced from all this was, that there are two kinds of blood in the body,—the one thick and heavy, transmitted through *thin* veins, adapted to allow organs needing thick blood to attract it; and the other thin and spirituous, flowing through *thick* arteries, through the walls of which, owing to its spirituous nature, the arterial fluid could transude. The heart was compared by him to a stove, which eliminated heat to warm the body; and the object of respiration was the moderation of this heat. The respiratory process he considered to be of a two-fold character. In the one, air was admitted to the arteries through the lungs, and, in the other, through the skin; the diaphragm, or transverse muscle separating the thoracic from the abdominal cavity, being regarded as the principal instrument in effecting the pulmonary respiration. He regarded as distinct the special respiration involved in the act of speaking, which he believed to be regulated by the two sets of small oblique muscles connecting contiguous ribs, of the importance of which muscles, with their action in contracting the chest, he appears to have been the first observer.

He possessed an accurate idea of the action of the muscles upon the bones and joints, as in locomotion; whilst, as was remarked by the late Dr. Kidd, "to give a detailed account of Galen's osteology, would be almost the same as repeating the treatise of any modern writer on that subject."

In his views respecting the nervous system, we have an admix-

ture of truth and error, similar to those already recorded; but here the true predominates over the false. The brain is identified by him as the organ of the reasoning power; and he appears to have been somewhat of a phrenologist, since he recognises the connexion between a very small head and a deficiency of wits, though he does not allow that the opposite condition always obtains. His account of the origin and distribution of the nerves of the brain and spinal marrow displays an extraordinary amount of exact knowledge, extending even to an acquaintance with the phrenic, pneumogastric, and glosso-pharyngeal nerves; and, what is still more remarkable, he was familiar with their respective influences on respiration and speech. He supposed that, whatever power the nerves possessed, they derived from the brain, conveying sensation and the power of motion to all parts of the body. He conceived the existence of three classes of nerves: first, those presiding over sensation; second, those which regulate motion; and, third, a group distributed to several of the abdominal viscera, endowing those organs with the discriminative power of selecting or rejecting whatever might be beneficial or hurtful to the system.

Without entering further into a detailed account of the views of this remarkable man, we may observe, that the writings of no other ancient anatomist display such an amount of exact information, or indicate such a persevering use of the dissecting knife, at least amongst the lower vertebrate animals. But, with the exception of his description of the human skeleton, with which he would become familiar at the Alexandrian School, where it was habitually employed in the instruction of the students, the greater part of his knowledge belongs to the domain of Comparative, rather than Human, Anatomy.

Neither Galen, nor any of his predecessors, appears to have had a conception of those grand generalizations, as to the relations of organs and organisms to one another, the recent discoveries of which, in the hands of Oken and Vicq d'Azyr, Cuvier and Owen, have raised anatomical investigations to a high position in the scale of physical sciences. Their knowledge was detailed; but the details were insulated. Centuries had to roll away before the veil that obscured their vision was lifted up, and the anatomist became a philosopher.

A long and dreary void now occurs in the history of Anatomy, as well as of every other department of literature and science. The decay of the Roman Empire, and the succession of the Dark Ages, destroyed the spirit of inquiry which had produced such progressive results in the hands of Hippocrates and his successors. The times were not favourable to the consideration of such subjects. Men are esteemed great, in proportion to the degree in which they reflect the wants and tastes of an age; and the subjects of their investigations are appreciated in like man-

ner. Ordinary minds are content to sail with the stream, and to be merely the blind followers of accepted authorities. The genius and moral courage of a Harvey and a Hunter enabled them to burst through fetters that would have bound inferior men; but, in so doing, these heroes had to encounter a storm of obloquy and opposition, compared with which, showers of grape and exploding shrapnells are mere playthings. The contagious excitement afforded by companionship will sometimes enable a coward to charge a battery, and rush cheering up to the muzzles of its guns; but the man who would question, much more destroy, the fallacies which centuries have rendered sacred, who dares to tell a generation of sophists that both they and their ancestors have trod in a wrong path, that he alone has the internal light which will prove a truer guide, must prepare for a conflict of a different kind. The history of Harvey is a commentary on this subject,—envied, feared, ridiculed. Unlike most discoverers, he had the good fortune to see his philosophy established during his own life. But such men rarely enjoy this felicity. Their reputations must generally be left to receive justice from a more enlightened posterity.

Long after the death of Galen, the scientific world failed to exhibit men of this metal. Even that great anatomist was not free, according to Harvey, from some of the weakness just referred to. Harvey speaks of him as “not yielding implicitly to the truth, which it appears he could not help seeing, but rather being guided by caution lest he should offend the ancient physic.” Subsequently to his time, the genius of the age delighted in logomachies and puerile subtleties. The man who could display the greatest skill in splitting hairs, carried off the honours of the day. Amidst this senseless war of words, a Harvey or a Hunter, a Cuvier or a Bell, would have failed to obtain a hearing. The intangible dogma of “animal spirits” better accorded with the tastes of the age, than the exact demonstrations of modern science would have done. Through the dismal interval of twelve centuries, the gloom of night rested upon the anatomical world; and though, here and there, a momentary gleam flashed across the sky, it was the coruscation of an aurora, and not the light of a planet. The professional intelligence of the age was subject to the authority of Galen and Aristotle; and men satisfied themselves, like the Chinese successors of Confucius, with expository illustrations and commentaries on the works of their illustrious masters.

The physical sky is said to be the darkest just before the dawn; but it is otherwise in the intellectual atmosphere. A twilight of inquiry gradually prepares the way for great changes. Luther was anticipated by the Bohemian martyrs, and Newton pioneered by the founders of the Royal Society. In like manner, when the sun of Harvey rose above the horizon, it found a

few planets in the darkened heavens,—attracting the gaze of men, but affording little light.

From the eighth to the twelfth centuries, anatomical science was chiefly cultivated by the Arabs, who, after the excitement of a career of military conquest, settled down to pursue the arts of civilization and peace. Such names as Rhazes and Avicenna, Avenzoar and Averroes, then stood high, as the Coopers, the Brodies, and the Clarkes of their day. But the Saracen Physicians paid little attention to Anatomy. The new science of Chemistry was springing into existence, and received much of their care, as evidenced by the numerous technical terms, *Alcohol*, *Al-kali*, &c., which indicate an Arab origin. *Materia Medica*, and descriptions of disease, bore a close relation to chemical science, and were equally favourite objects of study; but all these Saracen writers adopted the medical philosophy prevalent in the countries which their arms had subjugated, and became the devoted followers of Aristotle and Galen, whose doctrines were alike taught in the schools of Bagdad and of Spain.

The twelfth century, which witnessed the decline of the Arabic medical schools in the Peninsula, was succeeded by another dark period of three hundred years, in which anatomical science made little progress. The interval was not without great men in other departments of literature and science. Painting was reviving under Giotto and Giovanni Cimabue; Dante and Petrarch, Boccaccio and Chaucer, were adorning the realms of poetry; Benjamin of Tudela and Marco Polo were pioneering future travellers through distant regions. Piers Langtoft, Froissart, and Matthew of Westminster, became the progenitors of an illustrious race of historians. Robert de Sorbonne, and Walter de Merton, were bestirring themselves in the cause of education in Paris and Oxford. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus were shaking the theological Schools to their centre; and even Natural Philosophy, though largely mingled with displays of the credulity of the age, was progressing in the hands of Raymond Lully, Flavio Giola, and Roger Bacon.

The thirteenth century witnessed the rise of the Universities of Bologna and Paris, followed, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by medical schools in Vienna and most of the large Italian cities. To these schools the spirit of anatomical investigation was now transferred; and, in the sixteenth and subsequent centuries, they did vast service in producing a slow, but progressive, improvement in the character of the anatomical knowledge possessed by the members of the medical profession. One distinguished name alone occurs during the thirteenth century,—that of Moudini, who broke down the barrier of a deeply-rooted popular prejudice, by publicly dissecting two female sub-

jects at Bologna; and who published a very accurate description of the anatomy of the body, illustrated with anatomical plates. This striking work became the text-book of the Italian schools for three hundred years.

In the sixteenth century the slavish submission to the authority of Galen, which had so long held the anatomists in bondage, was thrown off by Vesalius. Of the extent of that submission some opinion may be formed from the conduct of Sylvius, who was the tutor of Vesalius at Paris. Sylvius, following the example of Bérenger of Carpi, substituted human bodies for pigs, on which the demonstrations of the lecture-room had been previously made, and, being a diligent student, he soon detected the inapplicability of Galen's descriptions to the demonstrations before his eyes; but, rather than admit that the descriptions were faulty, he preferred to conclude, that the examples before him were abnormal and accidental variations from the proper condition of the body; and when this did not suffice to explain the anomalies, he had recourse to the supposition, that, since the time when Galen wrote, the human frame had degenerated, and hence the discrepancies which he could not overlook! Strong, indeed, must have been the prejudices which could so distort the self-evident truth.

Vesalius was not the man to be held down by such narrow notions. He studied at Louvain and Paris, and afterwards lectured on Anatomy at Padua. The result of his investigations was the production of his celebrated work on the structure of the human body, which contained many truths diametrically opposed to the statements of Galen. He was familiar with the valves of the veins, several of which he discovered, the connexion of the *venæ cavæ* with the heart, the difference between veins and arteries, and the dependence of the circulation and the arterial pulse on the action of the heart, though mistaking the exact mode of its contraction. The blood he believed to advance and recede in the veins, according as it met with obstacles to its progress. He contended for the solidity of the partition separating the two ventricles of the heart, which Galen and his followers believed to be porous, transmitting blood from one side to the other. He recognised the inherent contractility of the muscular fibre, and the resemblance of the muscular tendons to ligaments; and rectified innumerable errors respecting the structure and position of the bones, brain, eye, *pleura*, and various *viscera* of the body. To attempt to enumerate all his discoveries in this department would require us to devote pages to the task. But not having recognised the course of the blood, he was still in bondage to Galen's hypothesis of the existence of "spirits," of which he believed the "animal" to be secreted in the ventricles of the brain, and the "vital" in the heart; the

latter being conducted with some blood through the arteries to the various parts of the body.*

This assault by Vesalius on the canonized authority of Galen was only equalled in its effects by that made at a later date on the Philosophy of Aristotle, and the Theology of St. Thomas Aquinas. A host of opponents sprang up to rescue Galen from such unhallowed hands, amongst whom was Sylvius, the venerable preceptor of Vesalius. But it was all in vain; the spell of authority and *prestige* was broken; a free spirit of inquiry once more prevailed, and, notwithstanding his manifold errors and imperfections, Vesalius was triumphant.

Amongst those who contended for the doctrines of Galen, were Fallopius, the distinguished pupil of his opponent, and Eustachius, to whom belongs the merit of having united the study of Comparative Anatomy with that of the human frame,—a union which, as the discoveries of the nineteenth century have demonstrated, is essential to the elevation of Anatomy to the rank of a science. Fallopius gives us a hint in one of his works, as we are reminded by Sprengel, respecting the way in which they managed matters in those days, when Anatomy Bills had no existence, and “subjects” were scarce:—“*Lorsque les Anatomes manquaient des cadavres, ils priaient les Princes de leur accorder un criminel, qu'ils faisaient périr à leur manière, comme dit Fallope, c'est-à-dire, avec l'opium, et qu'ils disséquaient ensuite!*” †

There is yet one more illustrious name belonging to the sixteenth century, rarely identified with the progress of Anatomy, but whose writings display great knowledge of this science. It is that of Michael Servetus, the victim of Genevan intolerance. Servetus, like Vesalius, was satisfied that the blood could not pass from one side of the heart to the other through the septum; hence he concluded that it must proceed through the lungs, where it became charged with the vital spirit obtained from the atmospheric air. He also deduced, from the large size of the artery and veins going to the lungs, the philosophical conclusion, that these vessels must have some other function than that of merely nourishing those organs. He determined, besides, that the course of the blood just described was first pursued on the birth of the individual.

From the preceding observations it will be seen, that the sixteenth century presented the dawn of a brighter day for anatomical science. It is the glory of English anatomists, that the

* Vesalius received assistance, in the production of his anatomical plates, from the pencil of Titian,—who thus familiarized himself with the human frame, as Leonardo da Vinci had previously done for Della Torre, the Professor at Padua and Pavia,—and Michel Angelo, who also devoted his attention to engraving anatomical plates; affording admirable lessons to modern artists respecting the foundation that must be laid, if they would win abiding fame as delineators of the human figure.

† Sprengel, *Hist. de Médecine*, tome iv., p. 15.

noon-day brightness of the subsequent age emanated from one of themselves. The small town of Folkestone, in Kent, is chiefly celebrated as a locality rich in the beautiful fossils with which its soft blue clay abounds; but in the medical world its claim to distinction rests on the fact, that it was the birth-place of the immortal Harvey.

The son of a gentleman in easy circumstances, and a mother who, according to an epitaph in Folkestone church, appears to have been a superior woman, Harvey obtained, in early life, the educational advantages which laid the foundation of his future greatness. After studying at Canterbury and Cambridge, he followed the custom of his age, and proceeded to the Continent to complete his medical studies, selecting the University of Padua as his *Alma Mater*. At that time, Jerome Fabricius, of Aquapendente, pupil and successor of Fallopius, held the Anatomical Chair; and, like his great teacher, drew largely from the resources afforded by Comparative Anatomy, in explaining and illustrating the functions of the human body. From Fabricius Harvey learnt the structure of the valves of the veins. On his return to England, where he became an eminently successful and flourishing practitioner, he devoted himself to the investigation of their uses; and in 1619 he first publicly enunciated his theory of the double circulation of the blood. Up to this time, the English Physicians were the unwavering followers of Galen, as the Italians had been prior to the rebellion of Vesalius. Conscious, doubtless, of the opposition which his new views would have to encounter, Harvey waited nine years after the true idea of the circulation suggested itself to his own mind, before promulgating it to the world; experimenting, meanwhile, so satisfactorily, as to place his theory in a position to defy dispute. But, notwithstanding the clearness of his proofs, on the first announcement of the doctrine, it was universally rejected by those who held the highest rank as anatomical teachers. Even those who were disposed to admit the fallacy of the hypotheses of Galen, could not but believe that there were two kinds of blood in the body,—the one, dark-coloured and thick, flowing in the veins; and the other, bright and red, contained in the arteries. One of Harvey's fundamental propositions was the unity of the blood. His opponents, obliged to admit some movement in the fluid, supposed, as their predecessors had done, that the two fluids commingled through imaginary apertures in the septum of the heart, as Galen had suggested. Harvey demonstrated, in the most conclusive manner, that no such orifices existed; and that the connexion between the contents of the arteries and the veins must be through minute terminal vessels which united the two. These vessels were never seen by Harvey, but he inferred their presence; the correctness of the inference being demonstrated by

Malpighi a few years later. That such a communication existed, was a part of the philosophy of Galen and his school, though they were ignorant of its significance and purport.

The universal opposition which the Harveyan doctrine at first encountered, gradually died away, as advocates for its truth sprang up, chiefly from amongst the younger members of the profession. But this was no sudden result. The progress of truth was slow, but sure. Meanwhile, Harvey was paying the penalty of an innovator. Like John Hunter at a later date, he was howled at by a pack of self-sufficient sciolists, who, unhappily, had it in their power to make the immortal discoverer feel their influence. The story is one alike humiliating to the profession and to our common humanity. On the appearance of his book, Aubrey tells us that "he fell mightily in his practice; it was believed by the vulgar that he was crack-brained; and all the Physitians were against him." Dr. Willis observes, on this subject,—

"So it has mostly been with those who have added to the sum of human knowledge! The empiric, under the title of the 'practical man,' in his unsuspecting ignorance, sets himself up, and is admitted as an arbiter wherever there is difficulty: blind himself, he leads the blinded multitude the way he lists. He who laid the foundation of modern medical science, lost his practice for his pains; and the routinier, with an appropriate salve for every sore, a pill and potion for each particular ache and ail, would not give threepence for one of his prescriptions! * did not admire his therapeutique way!! and could not tell what he did aim at!!! Ignorance and presumption have never hesitated to rend the veil that science and modesty, all in supplying the means, have still owned their inability to raise. If Harvey faltered, who of his contemporaries could rightly presume to walk secure? And yet did each and all of them, unconscious of the darkness, tread their twilight paths assuredly; whilst he, the divinity among them, with his eyes unsealed, felt little certain of his way. So it has still been with medicine; and the world must make many a lusty onward stride in knowledge before it can be otherwise."—*Life of Harvey, (Sydenham Society's Edition of Harvey's Works,)* p. xxiv.

Whilst Harvey was maturing his theory of the circulation, other observers were investigating the vessels known as "lac-teals" and "absorbents." The former of these take up the nutritious elements of the food from the intestines, whilst the latter take up in succession all the atoms of the body, playing their part in that incessantly active process of absorption and deposition, which, in a few years, leaves to a man nothing of his former self. The numerous small branches of these vessels,

* "Aubrey had recorded, 'Though all his profession would allow him to be an excellent anatomist, I never heard any that admired his therapeutique way. I knew several practitioners in this town that would not have given threepence for one of his bills (prescriptions), and (who said) that a man could hardly tell by his bills what he did aim at.'"—*Lives of Eminent Persons,* 8vo. London, 1818.

which spring from the abdominal *viscera* and from the lower extremities, unite to form the *thoracic duct*, or main trunk which conveys the absorbed elements in a fluid state to the point where the veins of the left arm and side of the neck meet, and where this fluid enters the general circulation. This duct was first discovered by Eustachius, a Professor at Rome, and Physician to Cardinal d'Urbino; but he was ignorant of its functions. In 1622, Asselli, a Professor at Pavia, discovered the lacteals which absorb the chyle, or nutritious product of digestion, from the intestines. His attention was drawn to them, whilst dissecting a dog, by the white colour of their contents. He erred as to their destination, tracing them, as he thought, first to the pancreas, and afterwards to the liver, being biassed by the old notion that the liver was the great organ of sanguinification. In 1641, Hoffman of Brandenburg, and Wirsung, a Bavarian, found the true excretory duct of the pancreas opening into the bowel; and Bartholin, of Copenhagen, at the same time recognised its function; thus removing one cause of obscurity respecting the nature of the lacteal vessels. In 1647, Jean Pecquet, of Dieppe, but residing at Montpellier, re-discovered in a dog the *thoracic duct*, previously seen, but not comprehended, by Eustachius; and, what was important, he traced its connexion at its lower extremity with the lacteals of Asselli; whilst, at its upper end, he observed its junction with the veins of the left arm and left side of the neck, where they unite to form a common trunk, conveying the blood back to the heart. This most important discovery was followed, in 1651, by that of the lymphatic or absorbent vessels, which are distributed, not merely to the intestines, but throughout the body, where they take up the effete matter, but which chiefly empty themselves, as do the lacteals, into the *thoracic duct*. The distinction between these two sets of vessels was first made by Olaus Rudbeck, a youth of twenty-one, who subsequently became a Professor at Upsala. It is somewhat painful to find the enlightened discoverer of the circulation of the blood rejecting these brilliant discoveries of Rudbeck, Pecquet, and Asselli, in a spirit more worthy of his own unreasonable opponents than of himself.

Equally important discoveries were now made respecting the structure and functions of the lungs. At this early period the results of the examination of atmospheric air by Lavoisier and Priestley were, of course, unknown; but though the actual characters and properties of oxygen were not understood, Bathurst, Henshaw, and Mayow had ascertained some of its properties. Mayow, especially, concluded that one of the elements composing the atmosphere acted upon the blood in the lungs, and that the gas which did so was the one that supported ordinary combustion. He also pointed out the great probability that this unknown element had been in some degree comprehended by some of the ancient physiologists, and indicated by them under

the vague, but common, designation of "vital spirit." Prior to this period, the followers of Galen supposed that the air-tubes of the lungs were continuous with the arteries, and that the air was thus transmitted through the respiratory organs to these latter vessels. But Malpighi, a Professor of Medicine at Bologna and Messina, Hooke, the Secretary to the rising Royal Society of London, and several other anatomists, ascertained, with substantial accuracy, the relation between the air-tubes and the pulmonary blood-vessels, demonstrating the absence of all continuity between them.

It is remarkable how lively an interest in anatomical investigations was excited in the minds of our countrymen during this fertile period. Much of this was unquestionably due to the active efforts of the Royal Society of London. Its Fellows obtained from Charles II. a grant of the bodies of all criminals executed at Tyburn, and claimed the rights thus delegated to them. Whenever a dissection was about to take place, the announcement was made to all the Fellows. The advantages which the members of the Society enjoyed through these public dissections, were not confined to them, but indirectly benefited others less favourably situated, and stimulated them to the pursuit of similar inquiries,—not the least of the many benefits which we owe to that venerable, but still vigorous, institution.

Willis—also a F.R.S., and Professor at Oxford—now contributed largely to the stock of knowledge respecting the structure and functions of the nervous system, and at the same time made a most important contribution to Comparative Anatomy, by devoting a chapter in one of his works to the structure and zoology of the lower animals. The instinctive powers of animals he attributed to an *anima*, or "corporeal soul," seated in the *cerebellum*, distinguishing this from the *animus*, or "intellectual soul," situated in the *cerebrum* or "true brain,"—an opinion which modern science has not confirmed. But in demonstrating the existence of psychological distinctions, and in the assignment of particular functions to special parts of the brain, he opened out a new field for investigation, and established his reputation as the first anatomist of his day.

During the seventeenth century, the organs of sense attracted much attention, especially the eye. Kepler, the astronomer, studied the crystalline lens, and demonstrated that it was merely an instrument for refracting the rays of light, and not, as previously thought, the true organ of vision. This important demonstration was further illustrated by the Jesuit Scheiner, a resident at the Court of the German Emperor Matthias. He not only established the different refracting powers of the various humours, &c., in the eye, but also the motion of the pupil, the

dependence of the visual power on the retina as its true organ, and the approximation or recession of the crystalline lens to and from the retina, accommodating the eye to the differing distances of the objects looked at. Descartes contributed something to the elucidation of the same subject, whilst Fabricius de Peyresc, of Aix in Provence, devoted most of his time to the study of the comparative anatomy of this organ, in which study he was followed by Dr. Briggs, one of the Physicians to St. Thomas's Hospital, London, who discovered the sphericity of the crystalline lens in the fish, and the relation of its form and consequent high refracting power, to the dense watery medium in which these animals live. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the anatomy of the ear attracted the attention of Jules Casserius, a Professor at Padua, who made Comparative Anatomy subservient to his investigations on that organ in man, many portions of which he described with considerable accuracy. He was followed by several others, especially Cecile Folius, Manfrede of Rome, Perrault, who, like Casserius, availed himself of his knowledge of Comparative Anatomy, even to a greater extent than the Paduan *savant*; and especially Joseph Guischart Duverney, Professor of Anatomy at the *Jardin des Plantes*, in Paris, who contributed more than any of his predecessors to an exact knowledge of this intricate organ. He especially discovered that the function of the Eustachian tube was to convey air from the pharynx to the interior of the organ, causing it to act on the principle of a drum. Raymond Vieussens, a Professor at Montpellier, and Amboine Valsalva, still further perfected the history of the ear.

Towards the end of the century, one of the greatest naturalists that ever lived, was working, in comparative obscurity, at Delft, and laying the foundation of a revolution destined to place all the natural sciences, but especially Anatomy, in an entirely new position. On April 29th, 1673, we find Regnier de Graaf, a distinguished Physician and anatomist of Delft, writing to Oldenberg, one of the Secretaries to the Royal Society, and first editor of the "Philosophical Transactions," that "one Mr. Leuwenhoeck hath lately contrived microscopes excelling those that have hitherto been made;" and along with this letter was sent the first communication from Leuwenhoeck to the Royal Society, describing the structure of a bee and a louse. This was followed by a series of additional communications, three hundred and seventy-four in number, of which no less than one hundred and twenty-five Memoirs were printed in the "Philosophical Transactions." The reputation which he enjoyed may be estimated by the high compliment addressed to him by a classic of his day, the justice of which was recognised by the entire scientific world:—

*"Rursus apud Batavos fundunt oracula Delphi;
 Hic habitat Phæbus, Græcia muta jacet.
 Hic habitat Phæbus; non iste per ora Sibyllæ
 Doctus apud vanos non nisi vana loqui:
 Clarior et melior; solidas qui condidit artes,
 Delphos ingenii fertilitate beat."*

Leuwenhoeck seems to have been the first who appreciated the significance of the blood-globules. These were primarily seen by Malpighi; but the Bolognese Professor does not appear to have rightly estimated the importance of his own discovery. The Dutch philosopher, who also detected them by an independent observation, gave them the prominence they deserved. At a later period, (1690,) he made the still more brilliant discovery that, by means of his wondrous instrument, he could demonstrate the truth of the Harveyan theory of the circulation of the blood, by revealing its actual course and motion in the foot of the frog, and in the fins of fishes. He examined the structure of muscle, recognising its elementary fibres, as well as the ultimate *fibrillæ* into which each fibre can be resolved. He observed that the fibres of some muscles—which we now know to be those termed "*voluntary*," or subject to the control of the will, in contradistinction to those which, like the heart, are incapable of being so influenced—were marked by numerous transverse *striæ*. Hooke had previously obtained a glimpse of this structure; but the observations of both these *savans* were overlooked until 1741 and 1781, when Muys and Fontana again detected them, and even pointed out their value in distinguishing between voluntary and involuntary muscular fibre: but, by a strange fatality, these results were again lost sight of, until the facts were re-discovered by Dr. Hodgkin and Mr. Lister, in 1832. Like Dr. Martin Barry at the present day, Leuwenhoeck thought that these *striæ* were due to a spiral thread wound round the fibre, and to which he supposed the contractile power of the muscle was due; an hypothesis which has now few advocates. The numerous animalcules abounding in water attracted the attention of Leuwenhoeck at an early period; and he noted the peculiar *ciliæ*, or delicate filaments, with which various parts of their bodies are covered, and which constitute their locomotive organs,—his being; apparently, the first observations made on this important subject. In addition to these researches, the structure of teeth, bone, hairs, nervous substance, *epithelium*, as well as the phenomena of animal generation, were made matters of inquiry, along with a variety of less important topics; and, though his communications are replete with errors,—such, for example, as concluding hair, grey nervous matter, and other cellular tissues to be mere aggregations of the globules which he had found in the blood,—he must still be regarded as the great founder of histological science. Strange it is that a century and

a half had to elapse before an isolated professorship could be established for the teaching of the revelations of the microscope, notwithstanding the magnificent demonstrations of its value afforded thus early by the labours of one persevering man.

It is impossible to glance at the early volumes of the "Philosophical Transactions," and not to be struck with the importance which Comparative Anatomy was rapidly acquiring towards the close of the seventeenth century. Prior to this period, with the exception of the Works of Aristotle, its study had only borne the same relation to that of Human Anatomy which landscape-painting did to the delineation of the human form. It was accessory and illustrative, rather than the primary object of inquiry. The case was now altered. Martin Lister, a Physician of York, afterwards medical attendant upon Queen Anne, was investigating the structure of shells and insects; Ray, the son of a blacksmith,—who raised himself, not only to a fellowship, but to a succession of varied lectureships in Trinity College, and who nobly sacrificed all his collegiate privileges, rather than sign a Declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant,—was ranging through every department of animate nature; Willoughby, his pupil, though cut off at the early age of thirty-seven, lived long enough to become a leading ornithologist and the father of ichthyological science; Swammerdam, of Amsterdam, a distinguished *alumnus* of Leyden, the discoverer of the art of injecting blood-vessels with wax, was elucidating the anatomy of insects; Edward Tyson, one of the Lecturers to the Gresham College, was studying the *mammalia* and worms: whilst a host of such men as Peyer, of Schaffhausen; Plot, the historian of Oxfordshire, and first Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum; Bartholin of Copenhagen, the discoverer, along with Rudbeck, of the lymphatic vessels; Malpighi, the author of a laborious work on the Silkworm,—a masterly specimen of an anatomical monograph; and Aldrovandus, of Bologna, whose zeal for his pursuits led to the ruin of his ample fortunes, and his melancholy death in a hospital; were engaged on important inquiries into the structure of the animal kingdom, and rapidly extending the boundaries of Comparative Anatomy. To dwell upon the special results obtained by these distinguished men would require volumes to be written; consequently, the limits of this article only admit of a general indication of the fields in which they respectively laboured.

We have now brought our anatomical sketch to the close of one of the most remarkable centuries in the history of the world; remarkable alike for its material additions to the domain of knowledge, and for the introduction of improved instruments adapted to the further extension of scientific inquiry. Its opening year found Bacon in the maturity of manhood; and the subsequent appearance of the *Novum Organum*, and of the "Advancement of Learning," constituted the birth of true philosophy. Napier,

Gassendi, and Boyle, contributed their respective portions towards the foundation of a glorious superstructure. Huygens, Galileo, and Kepler, by their success in improving the telescope and its applications, raised astronomical science to a position which prepared the way for the subsequent labours of Newton. Shakspeare and Ben Jonson placed the drama on the loftiest pinnacle which it was ever destined to occupy. Milton and Dryden, Corneille, Molière, and Racine, shone like a galaxy of stars in the realms of poetry. Purcell in music, Inigo Jones and Christopher Wren in architecture, and Locke in the philosophy of human thought, alike occupied the positions of masters in their respective departments. In the studios of painters, when was such an assemblage of names witnessed in close conjunction, as Rubens and Guido Rheni, Vandyke and Claude Lorraine, Rembrandt and Murillo, Carlo Dolce and Salvator Rosa? At the same time, deep social problems were being solved, and the troubled sea of human passion was disturbed by the most exciting themes. The Church of Christ was still the scene of conflicts only equalled by those which ushered in the Lutheran Reformation. The rich eloquence of Butler and Jeremy Taylor, of Baxter, Barrow, and Stillingfleet, was developing, in the minds of the people, that appreciation of true religion which soon bore such saving fruit. The pilgrim-fathers, and their immortal companions, demonstrated to spiritual despots, how much privation sanctified hearts would encounter, rather than sacrifice their religious liberties; whilst Russell, Sidney, and Hampden gave us civil freedom, receiving, as their reward, the martyr's grave. With all its imperfections, it was a glorious century; an age of genius and human greatness, in which the difficulties that arrested the onward course of men, only called forth resources which, in more peaceful times, would have been buried under the incubus of social ease. True it is, that gentle meandering rills are richer instruments of fertilization than the impetuous mountain torrent, which can only nourish through its chance-directed spray. Where obstacles have to be overcome, and barriers broken down, those divided rills are powerless; to accomplish their purpose, they must unite their streams in a wide-spread lake, whose glassy surface indicates tranquillity and peace. But within the bosom of those gathering waters, there slumbers a mighty force, which, when the set time arrives, will be roused into terrible action, sweeping before it every impediment that nature or art has put in its way. So it was in the seventeenth century. Every branch of scientific inquiry, and every social and political problem, approached their solution with a rapidity which presented a mighty contrast to the comparative quietude of preceding centuries. The western world emerged from the torpidity of a chrysalis state to the restless and active condition of the perfected insect. But, instead of the ephemeral existence of the fluttering butterfly, that condi-

tion has proved to be one of perennial life, in which each year has developed new powers and new resources.

We cannot now even glance at the rich intellectual harvests that have been reaped in this department of science during the last hundred and fifty years. We must reserve this task to some future occasion. But in no branch of inquiry have more beautiful revelations of order and law been demonstrated than in the regions of Comparative Anatomy. Unfortunately, the love of exciting the wondering stare has led men to overstep the boundaries of truth on this subject, and to announce that such was the perfection to which this science had attained, that from the merest fragment of a bone men could re-construct the entire animal to which it had belonged. That this is arrant nonsense, as false as it is mischievous, the long catalogue of gross errors, that have been committed by the most distinguished men, will amply testify. Reptiles have been mistaken for birds and for mammalia; fishes have been confounded with reptiles; and fragments of crabs have been mistaken for fishes. The science needs no such meretricious statements as have been made from public platforms to gaping audiences: isolated phenomena are now taking their places, and a knowledge of their mutual relationships is in process of rapid attainment. Enough has already been done to show that the orbs of heaven are not more under the dominion of law, or their motions more conformable to a common order, than are the diversified organizations of the animal kingdom to elementary types. The early anatomists knew nothing of these truths; their discovery is one of the glories of the present day.

- ART. V.—1. *The Poetical Works of James Russell Lowell.* Edited by ANDREW R. SCOBLE. London: George Routledge and Co. 1852.
2. *The Golden Legend.* By H. W. LONGFELLOW. Second Edition. London: David Bogue. 1852.
3. *The Poetical Works of Edgar Allan Poe.* London: Addey and Co. 1853.
4. *Poe's Tales of Mystery and Imagination; and Poems.* First and Second Series. London: Clarke, Beeton, and Co. 1852.

HOWEVER opinion may vary as to the comparative merits of our present poets and those of other times, it will on all sides be admitted that the æsthetic principles, upon which poetry itself is based, are now much more generally understood than at any former period. It is a mistake to define poetry merely as an art. It is such only in the endless instances of its application to practice. But in its dependence upon principles of human

nature, rather than upon rules,—in its existence antecedent to, not springing from, experience,—it partakes of the nature of a science. While, therefore, as an art, it may multiply its productions to infinity, it is yet confined within certain canons, never to be transgressed with impunity. It is of late years only that these have been investigated with any degree of precision,—that criticism, the philosophy of aesthetics, has been properly cultivated. What a difference is there between the frigid analysis of Addison, and the genial penetration of Coleridge or Hazlitt! And, as Hallam says, the papers on “Paradise Lost,” in the “Spectator,” were an immense advance on every thing that had preceded them.

But we are far from agreeing with the superficial doctrine, that, in the more cultivated ages, in which philosophy is studied, great poets must necessarily disappear; that is to say, that the scientific apprehension of the laws of poetry interferes with the *abandon* of the genuine artist,—an assertion contrary both to analogy and experience. Modern ingenuity, for instance, has discovered that the sculptors of ancient Greece were in possession of a harmonic ratio of form, analogous to the diatonic scale in music. But is the majesty of a Greek statue diminished by this? or was the soul of the sculptor cramped? No: a conscious adherence to this general law, not less than individual genius, has produced that exquisite proportion and grace, after which later imitation has laboured in vain; and has moreover developed a universal of beauty, which, despite the bias of race or clime, is acknowledged by all. We do not, of course, claim for critical laws and principles the power of creating the poet. They are drawn from previously-existing art; and their evolution has been simultaneous with the discovery that to apply them belongs to genius alone. But their influence in the guidance of genius is incalculable. It is both the defect and the praise of poetry to become the “mirror of the age.” How many instances are there upon record of men, richly endowed with “the faculty divine,” whose writings are faulty, obscure, and nearly worthless, through their too great subservience to the fashions of the time! A constant remembrance of the high requisitions of poetry, an assurance that its eternal principles are swaying the public mind, is likely to save the poet from a vast amount of aberration, and is doubtless the cause of the almost perfect taste which distinguishes much of the genuine poetry of this age. The influence of a defective criticism—that is, of a low-toned reading public—was well evidenced in the feebleness of the “Muses” of the latter half of the eighteenth century. It is precisely where criticism ceases to be a science, ceases to take cognizance of definite principles, and becomes referable only to individual taste, that poetry loses its verisimilitude, becomes frigid,—a mere illustration of empiric rules.

There is a somewhat similar sense in which criticism—the appreciation of things—affects poetry. We constantly observe in poetry, as in other things, men of very different powers united in the contemplation of a set of truths or opinions. The change which began at the commencement of the current century in the character of English poetry, and the struggle between the antiquated school and the promulgators of a new order of things, have of late been made the subject of frequent disquisition. But we have never yet seen any thing connecting, by a law of causation, the phases through which poetry, since her emancipation from the old *régime*, has successively passed. We think that a clue may be found in the contemporary history of mental philosophy. It is a patent fact, that the French Revolution owed its origin, in great measure, to the rationalistic theories of the day; and the revival of poetry was coincident with that event. What have been the subsequent stages of the progress of mental philosophy? Speaking generally, they are two,—the French and the German. The one, starting with the rejection of reason, and setting up sensation alone as the criterion of truth, returned eventually to reason, and denied the super-sensual, thus tending to atheism. The other, with the same premiss,—the incompetence of reason to attain a knowledge of the super-sensual,—arrived at the opposite conclusion; and, instead of denying the existence of the latter, argued for it from the subjective consciousness of faith. This is the Pantheistic phase. Seldom, in Germany at least, has the chain of argument been completed,—the inference drawn, of the necessity of a revelation to meet the vague cravings of faith, or the adaptation of the Christian scheme to all these wants acknowledged. All creeds have been regarded as alike,—mere symbols and effects of a mental phenomenon; and often an absolute deification of nature, as being herself the great corresponding object of human ideas, has been the result. How do the developments of English poetry answer to these phases? The latter of them, from the very nature of poetry, has been productive of the greater effect; indeed, Byron is the only instance of a great poet of thoroughly atheistic tendency. He is one of the very few who have remained poets in spite of their wit. There are not many instances of aberration on the opposite score. Germanism in Germany is a very different thing from Germanism in England; many causes, such as the spirit and training of the people, combine to check and temper its influence. Its most noticeable effect on poetry has been the large infusion of the subjective element. This has placed poetry upon its proper footing, and created between our poets and those of the best ages a marked generic resemblance. Nothing is more certain than that poetry, in the highest sense, is the expression of the eternal union and reciprocity existing between the soul and external beauty. Nature, in

this view, appears in her proper sphere, as the creatrix of sensation, and the ultimate suggester of thought: nor should she ever have usurped any other place; she is but the robe, which, however gorgeous, is yet ennobled by the form about which it is cast. It has, then, been perceived that, as the beauty of form and colour exist only in and through human intuition, the analysis of the latter should always be understood and implied in every delineation of the former. This analysis is effected by thought, which is defined to be "the representative of past emotion." So that poetry, to borrow the language of metaphysics, deals not with presentative, but with representative, faculties; not with intuition, but imagination. It is like the mirror of the Egyptian necromancer, which showed only phantoms.

This is the great lesson which poetry has received from the deep thinkers of Germany, and from the German-like thinkers of this country. Its own nature, demanding a due admixture of objectivity, a recognition of matter as well as of mind, has generally preserved it from the excesses of absolutism: it is nearer to perfection, as the alternation between "the outward and the inward" is better observed. So long as this principle is recognised, our poets are safe from the errors of their predecessors. There will be no danger of a poem being either an allegory, or a treatise on landscape gardening. No man will dream of writing either a "Polyolbion," or a "Purple Island." Hither is to be referred the resemblance, often remarked, between the real poetry of our own day, and the tempestuous lift and versi-coloured emotion of the living drama. Poetry, when properly understood, has ever the same nature. It is an appeal to the common consciousness of man. It has to do with the vague and subtle feelings of the human breast. Its temperament is the clear chastity of past emotion. It is a common remark, that the poet expresses what others can only feel; he is that man, whose conceptions are most conscious. And in this lies the great benefit of poetry to the world. Although subjective, it can never descend to represent the mere notions or prejudices of one single mind. No phase or shade of emotion can be portrayed by it, which is not sanctioned by the mental experience of mankind. Plato himself, notwithstanding his proverbial contempt for poets, might have recognised here his own dialectician.

The two men to whom, in our opinion, the poetry of the last twenty years stands indebted for its proximate type, were of very opposed character. They are Wordsworth and Keats. The former said, nobly, that "of genius in the fine arts the only infallible sign is the widening the sphere of human sensibility, for the delight, honour, and benefit of human nature." This truth, uttered as a "consolation of philosophy," during the prevalence of garish popularists, did not find its complete fulfilment

in its enunciator. The unbending spirit of Wordsworth, which enabled him to endure with calmness the depreciation of his contemporaries, reposing himself on his own exalted ideal of a writer and a reader, refused to condescend at all to popular taste. His philosophic frigidity, the unnatural classification of many of his poems, and the prolixity of his great one, render him a sealed book to the majority even of *readers*. Consequently, with world-wide views and sympathies, his name is the text-word of a sect. Keats is equally ill-adapted for general popularity, but from opposite causes. His distinguishing trait is fancy,—fancy, rich, luxurious, and tender as moonlight. He plays like a child around the awful shrine of poesy, and, like a child, gets further in than most. Instead of the terse and severe eloquence of Wordsworth, he has carved out for himself a diction unequalled for gorgeousness and amplitude. This quality of fancy is the only one to which the brief career of the boy-poet allowed full development. In his latest fragment, the “Hyperion,” he evidenced a might of imagination, which has left his name second to very few on our literary annals. Wordsworth was a poet from principle, Keats from instinct. From the confluence of these two streams, springs the latest development of poetry. It combines the philosophic depth of the one, and the fancy of the other, with the attractions of compactness and condensation; and the result has been the production of writing, among the most perfect that the world has seen. Indeed, the fallacy, that, in order to be a great poet, it is necessary to write a long poem, seems to be virtually abandoned. Few poems are now written that cannot be read at a sitting: and those that are otherwise,—such as the poems of the “Festus” and “Life Drama” school,—are evidently to be read piece-meal, have no completeness as a whole, depend for their effect on detached passages, and are even full of separate lyrical pieces. A long poem, as has been truly remarked by one who understood æsthetics better than any one else, is, in reality, nothing more than a succession of short ones, disconnected by intervals of prose; for the reason, that no mind can long sustain the extreme tension of poetical excitement, any more than a long chain of mountains can be of equal height throughout its extent. It is in the close-packed thought, the diamond hardness and polish, the unmixed purpose, of the “fragments” of Tennyson and others,—true and aphoristic as philosophy,—that we are to expect the high and real delighting of the world by poetry.

American poetry must be sought from the last few years. Here, as in other respects, she is the heiress of England. She has received poetry in a certain state of development, and it is her part to advance it; but several circumstances have prevented her from entering so fully on this part of her inheritance as on

others. Many of our readers will recollect the periodical castigations which, some time ago, it was the wont of the Tory journals to administer to the "institutions" and literature of the "model republic." Political animosity and authorial jealousy, aggravated by the unsettled state of the question of international copyright, insured for every thing American a reception, on this side the water, as unfavourable as lay within the resources of a criticism the keenest and most unsparing. A reviewer or magazinist, who might be desirous of imparting a relish to his forthcoming Number, could do nothing better than give some poor young New-Englander a toss. Here, as elsewhere, poetry offered the fairest mark; and most truly did the first of the occidental bards pass through the ordeal by fire. Want of originality, of vigour, of purpose, were the charges iterated against them by critics whose taste had been daintified during the mighty revel of genius which transfigured Europe throughout the past generation. A degree of schoolboy correctness of imitation was the utmost merit usually conceded. Passages, in this respect, unexceptionable, were half quoted, and abandoned with an *ennuyé* &c. Let the Americans, it was said, relinquish the common walks of poetry. We already possess descriptions of nature in her more usual moods, and of the soul in its more acknowledged phases. Let us not be bored with mere tame reprints of English poetry. To recruit the exhausted imagery and decayed fancy of the old world, by an infusion of novel forms of beauty from their own land, should be the object of the Americans, if they are to effect any thing at all; in a word, let them aim at some nationality in their effusions. This rebuke, albeit administered in wrath, and in bitterness received, was, in some measure, just; and the advice, though founded on false premises, good. Thirty years ago, America did not possess a national poetry,—a poetry whose patriotism is universally philanthropic. The genius of the people had been turned upon the nearer necessities of life; and, while the literature of reason was not without cultivation, that of taste remained comparatively uncultivated. "Our business," says a distinguished American writer, "has been to hew down the forest, to make paths and sawmills, railroads and steamboats; to lay the foundation of a great people; to provide for the emergencies of the day. As yet, there is no American literature which corresponds to the first principles of our institutions, as the English and French literatures correspond to theirs." The system of education, moreover, adopted in America, is better calculated for the wide diffusion of knowledge, than for the formation of a class of *litterati*; it produces vast numbers of sciolist citizens, but not an aristocracy of learning. But our periodical censors did not reflect that, in a country so peculiarly situated, a certain degree of imitation was at first inevitable; nay, was the earnest of future excellence. America did nationally what has been often

done individually ; she began with imitation, in order to reach originality, consenting to receive the principles of art from its most practised cultivators, in order to re-produce them wedded to a living spirit. The process was natural and hopeful. In her the world had no need of a fresh exemplification of the progress of poetry, from the early lyric and epic upwards, any more than of a gradual national advance from a state of original savagery. The poetry of America, sudden as her civilization, was to be an off-shoot from the latest poetry of England. We purpose to show that this is the case ; that the cutting from " the great vine of fable," which has been planted in Transatlantic soil, is already putting forth a separate, though kindred, vitality ; and, in so doing, we hope to illustrate the workings, as well in perfection, as in excess and defect, of the great poetical principle which we have indicated. For this purpose, we have chosen three representatives,—Lowell, Longfellow, and Poe.

The name of RUSSELL LOWELL might have been replaced by several others, about equally known on this side of the Atlantic. He is selected as a good representative both of the excellencies and the defects which characterize a poetry trained in the rough school of utilitarianism. The errors of the age arise rather from a distorted perception, than from absolute ignorance of æsthetic truth. At present there seems great danger, in the home-bred American bards,—those who have never *seen* Europe,—of acting on a very partial apprehension of the true nature of poetry. They endeavour too openly to utilize her, forgetting that exalted beauty which is at once her essence and her highest object. From analyzing the soul, they make their art the index of society. Thus the modern science of sociology becomes a great part of their province. They set forth the laws of human intercourse and relation, those actions and reactions, in which cause becomes effect, and effect relapses into cause, with an unceasing advance towards that mighty destiny which looms nearer and more near ; just as, at flow of tide, each broken column of wave, in its very subsidence, adds to the volume of its loftier and stronger successor. Such themes are very enticing : in the hands of those who know how to wield them, they have inspired some of the noblest lyrics of modern times ; but, especially in an artistic point of view, and in America, they are liable to some very serious drawbacks. They make poetry reflect too much the notions and topics of the day, to the neglect of its own proper graces. They often lead into a wild extravagance, both of thought and expression, which has not failed to shock and alarm that numerous class of well-meaning persons, who, unable to separate the use of a thing from its abuse, deny the former *in toto* ; and they thus retard the present working of many great and glorious truths. And they

introduce an indiscriminate use of that stereotyped phraseology, which marks a poetic era, no less surely than a peculiar terminology marks a philosophical sect; thus cramping the efforts of genius, and giving rise to a great deal of spurious imitation. Nothing is more remarkable in the aspect of literature, than the prodigious number of middling versicles, which, both here and in America, continually issue from the press. Our un-original poets—to use a paradoxical expression—have been unable to avoid a hackneyed mannerism, in consequence of their very appreciation of true poetry. Getting hold of some phrase, appropriate and happy enough, when used by the right owner and in its right collocation,—which they can perceive, but not apply,—they seek to work out an effect by a perversion, and fondly imagine, that, by linking their own immitigable crudities to the recognised diction, they have succeeded in producing the indefinable impression of the poet. Their bungling attempts at liberality and philosophy of sentiment remind us of the violent innocence and spontaneity of the Sylvias and Rosalinds of the comedy of last century; who came upon the stage with a skipping-rope, and drawled out artlessness in a sub-rustic vernacular. This class of writers chiefly haunts the “poetical department” of journalism; a cursory glance may detect them by the presence of such “*voces decomplexæ*” as may be formed by the most unlimited application of the doctrine of *hyphen*. They are usually perfect masters of the whole language of indefiniteness, by which means it is possible to give to the poorest and tritest observation an appearance of very great profundity indeed. How much of modern sentiment depends upon the skilful employment of plural for singular, and *vice-versâ*; upon the omission or insertion of an article, definite or indefinite!

Much of this is attributable to the advanced state of literature. Language, we are told, becomes more subtle and analytic as refinement advances. “With increasing cultivation finer distinctions are seen between the relations of objects, and corresponding expressions sought for to denote them.” Language, indeed, is become almost identical with thought; words, in poetry especially, are less symbols than ideas. At an earlier period in our history, before the various dialects introduced into the island were fully blended, the case was different. Thought was then, in a manner, independent of expression, and moved in it with a degree of stiffness and difficulty. The ponderous sentences of our ancestors anterior to Elizabeth, wending their way through a maze of curiously involved parentheses, and groaning beneath the weight of a sense they were scarcely able to manage, bear about the same resemblance to the piquancies wherewith the dainty modern reader is regaled, that the ribbed folio of a thousand pages bears to the trim octavo. There is in scarcely any of them an idiosyncrasy of style. Whole passages of Cranmer, for

example, might be re-modelled without hazard of impairing any well-nigh impalpable grace, any delicate shade of meaning. But alter or displace a sentence in Macaulay or Hallam, and the charm is gone; you have marred utterly the perspicacious *naïveté* of the one, the poised *hauteur* of the other. Hence it is, that authors of an earlier date in a literature bear translation so much better than later ones. How difficult, then, must it be, so to adapt the mechanism of language as to prevent a legitimate stage-effect from degenerating into a mere clap-trap; and, amid complexities of meaning so multitudinous and infinitely subtle, to avoid the appearance of affectation, and secure a real living style! Here is the test which distinguishes the genuine poet from the imitator.

But the same reason that renders this the true test, renders it also exceedingly difficult of application. It requires a poetical education to understand Tennyson. We never met with a taste which could at once enter into the beauty of that style which owns no law but truthfulness. So certain it is that man looks through an inverted telescope, that "those things which are first to nature are not first to man." The unfettered boldness, which delights the trained critic, perplexes and confounds the unreflective timidity which has been accustomed to gauge every thing by previous rules. A judgment of this sort would hardly be able to discern between poet and imitator; and, as is usually the case, would shrink from, and reject, both alike. These things, however, are only accidents: it need be no cause for wonder, that so mighty a whirlwind as poetry should catch up some rubbish in its career.

The above-mentioned blemishes have been shared by some of acknowledged genius: there is another equally important, which is not unfrequently a consequence of them,—we mean negligence and roughness of versification. A remark on this is particularly applicable here. We would strongly counsel the Americans to avoid roughness. At this date there can be no such thing as rude vigour. Much may be forgiven to youth and inexperience, as well national as individual; but the Americans have received a language ready-formed to their hands, and more capable than any other of delicate and harmonious treatment; and they must learn to manage it skilfully, before they can hope for much favour from the public of this country. We are aware that, both in England and America, there exists a class of writers amongst whom the notion prevails, that force and power of expression are to be cultivated at the expense of versification; who imagine that, to be Titanic, it is necessary to be clumsy;—an idea of composition which the curious may see carried *ad absurdum* in the poetical replies of the spirit-rapping manifestations. In poetry, all appearance of strength arising from ruggedness must be fallacious. If versification be a necessary part

of the expression of poetic thought, then, to fail in this is to confess inability to adapt thought to adequate expression. We can assure the class of writers referred to, unhappily already too numerous, that their invention is by no means new. "To wear a rough garment to deceive," was old in the days of Zechariah.

We have been led into these remarks without any direct reference to Mr. Lowell; although he is not free from an imitative mannerism and quaintness, although he does not always submit vigour of conception and moral purpose to the standard of that which is pleasing, and although most of his pieces are disfigured by a rough and inharmonious versification. But, for much the same reason that Aristotle speaks of injustice and vice, when desirous of conveying an idea of justice and virtue,—because it is easiest to treat of some things through their opposites,—we have attempted, by describing a false *meteorosophism*, to indicate still further our conception of the true nature of poetry. Mr. Lowell is, notwithstanding these faults, a fine specimen of the American man and poet. There is about him an uncommon buoyancy and freshness, and a salience of thought and language, which could only spring from a soul intensely earnest and alive to all that concerns humanity. He is fully imbued with the enthusiasm of the age, a respecter of his vocation, and a firm believer in the mighty destiny of mankind and of poetry. His lays are a foreshadow of the "good time coming;" they are hopeful as a voice from Pisgah. Even as an artist of his own school, his merits are great. There is nothing uncertain in his touch; his thoughts are often singularly bold and striking; he has an intimate acquaintance with nature, and a fearless appreciation of her minutest sights and sounds.

The longest of the poems, and that which most strongly displays the peculiar genius of the author, is the "Fable for the Critics." This is a remarkably clever satire, full of keen criticism, and showing a very extensive and appreciative knowledge of men and manners. It possesses considerable wit as well as comic force, but is chiefly marked by humour. This, the result only of a most kindly nature and unflagging vigour, embraces, in an atmosphere of homogeneousness, all other qualities. Its command of phrase and rhyme is absolutely unlimited. In these respects it is as wonderful as *Hudibras*.

As a sample of the exuberant fancy and vivid word-painting of Mr. Lowell, we cite the following description, taken from the "Vision of Sir Launfal," of the approach of winter, and the triumph of "King Frost:"—

"Down swept the chill wind from the mountain peak,
From the snow five thousand summers old;
On open wold and hill-top bleak
It had gathered all the cold,

And whirl'd it like sleet on the wanderer's cheek ;
 It carried a shiver every where,
 From the unleaved boughs and the pastures bare.
 The little brook heard it, and built a roof,
 'Neath which he could house him, winter-proof ;
 All night by the white stars' frosty gleams
 He groin'd his arches and match'd his beams ;
 Slender and clear were his crystal spars,
 As the lashes of light that trim the stars ;
 He sculptured every summer delight
 In his halls and chambers out of sight ;
 Sometimes his tinkling waters slipt
 Down through a frost-leaved forest crypt ;
 Long sparkling aisles of steel-stemm'd trees,
 Bending to counterfeit a breeze ;
 Sometimes the roof no fretwork knew,
 But silvery masses that downward grew ;
 Sometimes it was carved in sharp relief,
 With quaint arabesques of ice fern-leaf ;
 Sometimes it was simply smooth and clear,
 For the gladness of heaven to shine through, and here
 He had caught the nodding bulrush-tops,
 And hung them thickly with diamond drops,
 Which crystall'd the beams of moon and sun,
 And made a star of every one.
 No mortal builder's most rare device
 Could match this winter-palace of ice ;
 'T was as if every image that mirror'd lay
 In his depths serene through the summer day,
 Each flitting shadow of earth and sky,
 Lest the happy model should be lost,
 Had been mimick'd in fairy masonry,
 By the elfin builders of the frost."

It is now about three years since the "Golden Legend," the latest production of PROFESSOR LONGFELLOW, was first submitted to British readers ; and it may seem strange that the work of one, who is among the closest bonds of union between the literature of this country and that of his own, should have hitherto excited, comparatively, but a small share of attention. The general opinion seems to be, that Longfellow has added little to his poetic renown by its publication. Nevertheless, it is instinct with the same exquisite sympathies, the same placid thinking melancholy, that dictated "Hyperion," that true "life-drama" of a soul made up of the fineness of the passions, whose very strength is its weakness, tremulous through excess of emotive power. It is another tale, by the bard of "Evangeline," of the "strength of woman's devotion," of that passive heroism—

" Whose very gentleness and weakness
 Are like the yielding but irresistible air."

Its scene is in the heart of old Germany,—the land of Richter, the land of the poet's education,—whence he has imbibed the true spirit of the philosophical romance. To read it gives one a vision of dim, niched, grotesquely furnished rooms, groined roofs, and pointed windows; of portly Barons, stout Burghers, travelling Students, and visionary Monks. Like "Hyperion," it is the history of a noble soul, capable of the mightiest energies, yet possessed by a spirit of inglorious melancholy, and falling "from swoon to swoon" of sick and inert brooding, but which is led, through weakness and anguish, to freedom, to duty, and to God. We are reminded by this simple and affecting *dénouement*,—the recovery of such a spirit from the enthrallments of selfishness after many an effort and false remedy,—of some vast cathedral in that same German land, when the summer day-break is pouring through its windows, and flooding with rich light the solemn haunts consecrated to God and man, which but now were the abode of spectral darkness, or flashed only with the mimic torch. How is it, then, that such a production should have met with but partial success? The fact is, that it is both false in its professedly dramatic form, and is by no means a perfect specimen even of a modern *amateur* drama. We scarcely need observe that the drama, that bright foam-wreath cast up by the encountering waters of civilization and barbarism, is, as a vital organ of the spirit of poetry, irrecoverably extinct; and the themes with which Longfellow deals,—the vaguer and more indefinable emotions,—are not well adapted for it. They require the more deliberate and accurate analysis of the modern substitute for the drama,—the philosophizing novel,—in which form of writing the Professor has been most successful. Accordingly, in this view, the "Golden Legend" is a failure. "Elsie," as a heroine, lacks interest; her devotion arises from pietistic instinct, not from passion; she appears too slight to experience or excite much emotion. The supernatural machinery, too, is rather childishly managed; perhaps in imitation of the monkish "Miracle Play," which is actually introduced; at all events, "Lucifer" is little better than the devil of a piece of Popish mummery. This, though it may tend to give an antiquarian reality to the poem, is a desertion of the true poetic stand-point,—that stand-point, whence nothing seems incongruous that can aid an effect, whence the universe is seen as a unit undivided by time and space, and which has given us Shakspeare's anachronisms and Spenser's physically impossible grove, wherein appeared—

"The sailing pine, the cedar proud and tall,
The vine-propt elm, the poplar never dry,
The builder oak, sole king of forests all,
The aspen good for staves, the cypress funeral."

with the "thirteen more in the next stanza," when, as Mr. Hallam complains, "every one knows that a natural forest never

contains such a variety of species." Not only was Spenser on enchanted ground, but so is every poet.

Such seems to be the defect of a poem, of which the beauty and delicacy of sentiment are the Professor's own, which threads with a light and gentle step the maze of youthful agonies, at that time when "the soul is in a ferment, the character undecided, the way of life uncertain, the ambition thick-sighted." This is the peculiar, the pious aim of Longfellow's writings: he stands as interpreter between genius and itself; he is at home with the quietest, and therefore the strongest and most intimate, feelings of the breast,—those feelings which underlie the whole nature, prompters to its more active parts, but which it belongs to the temperament of genius, in its ceaseless self-inspection, to stir into consciousness, and which, so stirred, occasion endless disquietude and misery, like the beating of the heart or the action of the nerves, which, habitually unfelt, are the source of health and life; but, when they occupy the attention, of intolerable uneasiness and agony. In this sense it is true, that the man of genius "learns by suffering;" he enters upon an education which requires the neglect of some parts of his nature, and the unhealthily development of others; he must be regarded as having sacrificed to the benefit of mankind that due balance and harmony of the faculties, which is essential to happiness. Hence proceed misanthropy, sickly sensibility, complaining weakness, and "all the thousand bitters" which too often disfigure poetry,—that of the young especially. Professor Longfellow's poetic ideal is not a spirit of peevish and querulous contradiction to the divine order of things,—a spirit which "tears at all the creeds," and which, in reality, notwithstanding its defiant attitude and indignant eloquence, is the quintessence of weakness and selfishness. That mood he, indeed, depicts, as a process in the formation of the perfect poetic character;—as, who that thinks at all has not at some time held struggle with the hydra-crest of atheism in his own soul?—but he has searched his heart for something better than gall and wormwood: he does not live merely to pour into the world's ear the broken wailing music of complaint; his poet is not one who is yet struggling with deep waters, but one who has already gained firm footing, and who labours sympathizingly and cheerfully to impart to his fellow-men the joy and courage which he has gained from his own experience. It is in administering such consolation, and inspiring such hope, that the real use of poetry lies; and herein she vindicates her divine origin as descended from the same skies with religion, whose offices she is thus ennobled in sharing; and, whilst providing for these yearnings of the moral nature, she becomes a part of the true *γνώθι σεαυτὸν* philosophy, supplying many of the neglects of philosophy, properly so called.

Hitherto we have seen what may be called the conscious subjectivity of poetry carried to an extreme, becoming a mere reflex of the spirit of the age, and of the aspirations of enthusiasm, and hereby made to affect "a saucy roughness," strikingly at variance with the pleasure which it belongs to poetry to excite in the soul; and we have also beheld it embodying such an amount of human feeling as is consistent with poetic beauty and perfection. We are now to regard it in another extreme, not as swerving from the eternal principles of beauty through too great sympathy with the agitations of humanity, but as deprived of a legitimate interest, as losing a healthy and human tone, through want of this sympathy.

It may seem strange that utilitarian America should have been the birth-land of one who, perhaps of all poets, exhibits the most exquisite rhythmic treatment, and whose verse borrows least from without, is least dependent upon external aids and associations. Such, nevertheless, is the case: the man was EDGAR POE. This name is already known to many in this country; but it is rather regarded as the prefix to a life of moral turpitude and a premature death, than as the emblem of the rarest genius. Few there are who appreciate Poe; and, of them, some endeavour to separate the writer from the man; whilst others, unwilling to believe evil of one to whom they are compelled to do reverence, seek to palliate his conduct, believe accounts to be exaggerated, and that Poe was no worse than his neighbours, but that the brightness of his genius made any moral *peccadillo* he might commit more conspicuous. From each of these courses we are compelled to dissent. That brief and frightful history is far too well authenticated, and, we must add, in one of the peculiar temperament of Poe, far too *likely*, to be explained away or denied. And to separate from the productions of a writer that knowledge of his character which is to be gained from his career, is to abandon the key to the right understanding of the former. Poe belonged to a class. There are a few, appearing now and then upon the earth, whose life is one habitual tension of soul, a ceaseless watch maintained by the spirit over the perceptive nature, a self-concentration and collectedness, which draws and moulds into itself every thing around. These are the true "heritors of unfulfilled renown,"—the men who never sleep, who become the slaves of morbid habits, who die young. Possessed of splendid temper, often of extraordinary *physique*, in mental sensibility and energy the most perfect of the race, endowed, as if by instinct, with universal knowledge, they yet do little, are only passively affected by the movements of society, and seem to pass through life as through a vivid dream. It is seldom that circumstances induce them to clothe their own fine and infinitely subtle intuitions in the grosser garb of language. Then they let fall a few words as

a memory, which, like the dreamy mutterings of sleep, serve to show the whereabouts of the thoughts,—are half a concealment, half a revelation, of the mysteries of the inner spirit. Neither in their errors, nor in their perfections, are such men to be judged by any ordinary standard. Whatever they write, is a psychological memoir of themselves: they are absolutely the prey of their own minds; they never escape themselves; all their thoughts are interior sensations. And the very perfection of their faculties, the taste which lies at the centre of their being, insures that these sensations shall be purely æsthetic. A certain amount of moral insensibility, an isolation from the movements of the world, are the inevitable results of a mind so entirely æsthetic. “Would,” we involuntarily exclaim, “that this nature could be imbued with a feeling of philanthropy, that this mind were gifted with an active moral sense, that these fiery passions could be fashioned into use!” It has not been so yet; and that man, in his most perfect form, has not yet fully spoken to man, is a reflection full of hope to the world. Of this order was Poe a type. His ardent passions seem to have existed for nothing else than to be subjects for the experimenting of his intellect; and this has invested their wildest freaks with an indescribable *finesse* and grace. His career is a terrible instance of what one may become whose course is guided by such a principle as this. More reckless expenditure of energy, more utter disregard of the claims of others, of the world, it is impossible to imagine. Into the details of that life we need not enter: they have already often enough pointed the moral of critic and biographer. We have only to do with them so far as regards an estimate of the writings of Poe.

America had little share in the formation of his character. His education was European. When very young, he travelled all over England, and remained for five years at school near London. Thence returning home, he entered the University at Charlottesville, where, says his biographer, “the remarkable ease with which he mastered the most difficult studies kept him in the first rank for scholarship; and he would have graduated with the highest honours, had not his gambling, intemperance, and other vices induced his expulsion from the University.” This, and subsequent misconduct, occasioned a rupture with his friends, and he again repaired to Europe “on a Quixotic expedition to join the insurgent Greeks.” His Græcizing enthusiasm probably evaporated with the voyage; at all events, he never reached his destination. But at this time he traversed nearly the whole of Europe, visiting Russia, France, and Italy. Of such an education his genius was the counterpart: it was European; it was Italian. He belonged in spirit to that land in which nature—the art of God—is so blended with human works and associations, as to become almost the art of man,—a symbol of human

faculties, and no longer an appeal to human consciousness. So, the great characteristic of Poe's poetry is—we will not say, science, but—conscious art. Had he not been a poet, he would have been the most consummate critic that ever lived. Every piece that he ever wrote, with all its seeming spontaneity and living grace, is yet the product of the most inexorable taste, of the theoretic principles of poetry existing in his own mind; and every part, when examined, will assume an air of rigid and inviolable connexion. There is no ebullience in him; nothing foreign to his purpose occurs; a digression, however beautiful, he would have considered a blemish. Each of his little poems is a study, designed to illustrate some æsthetic principles upon which the ever-musing spirit was at the time engaged. "The Raven," his most known poem, the only one which he laboured to render universally appreciable, with all its mastery of passion, its weird and unearthly effect, is no more than this. In the paper entitled "The Philosophy of Composition," he has left us a minute account of the process of its formation,—consequently, a portraiture of himself. He gives a quiet, admirably perspicuous detail of each succeeding step: how he resolved to write a poem which should embody a certain effect, produce a certain impression; how he deliberately analyzed the various modes which might be employed for this purpose, selecting the best; how from these *data* he excogitated all the paraphernalia of his poem, and, with his thinking finished, his plan elaborated to the *dénouement*, first set pen to paper in the composition of the last stanza but two. There is one short sentence which reveals the whole man. After mentioning that he began with the stanza,—

" 'Prophet,' said I, 'thing of evil, prophet still, if bird or devil,
By the heavens that bend above us, by the God we both adore,
Tell this soul with sorrow laden, if within the distant Aidenn,
It shall clasp a sainted maiden, whom the angels name Lenore,
Clasp a rare and radiant maiden, whom the angels name Lenore?'
Quoth the Raven, 'Nevermore.'"

He adds, "Had I been able, in the subsequent composition, to construct more vigorous stanzas, I should have purposely enfeebled them, so as not to interfere with the climacteric effect." Could any one else have said that?

It is scarcely possible to over-estimate the artistic merits of Poe. Not only were such faculties as he had, possessed in an eminent degree,—but he possessed *all* the faculties of the artist. His numbers, moving to a purpose under the guidance of an unfailing taste, resemble the trained battalions of an Alva or a Cromwell; which, we are told, "marched to victory with the rigid precision of machines, whilst burning with the wildest enthusiasm of Crusaders." There is in them no stiffness, no appearance of elaboration; free scope is given to an invention, that is, an imagination, in the highest sense of the word, "*creative* ;"

and this is ever accompanied by a power of analysis the subtlest and most minute, by which every thing is reduced to congruity : no room is left for the improbable ; and we are enwrapped in a true dream-atmosphere, where, dream-like, nothing jars, every faculty is excited and gratified ; and the result is a delightful, unresisting abandonment of the whole soul to the guidance of the poet, whose amazing skill we only pause to examine at the end, when striving to ascertain what it is that has so spelled us. The joint operation of these two qualities has made Poe the most original of modern poets. He struck out for himself a path far divergent, and it has never since been followed. He has not even an imitator. His "Raven" is the completest example of conscious art that has ever been exhibited. We have already seen how every thing in it is toned down to suit a proposed climacteric effect ; and we must further refer those who wish to understand the genius of the author, to his own astonishing account of its elaboration. Another wonderful little poem is that entitled, "For Annie." This is a flight of thinking almost superhuman, yet how lightly and easily sustained ! A still life, haunting the body after "the fever called living" is past,—the apparently inanimate clay, yet instinct with a passive consciousness, like the awakening from a trance, and visited by slight things, half memories, half new and pleasant fancies, which never surprise : could such a conception have entered any other brain ? Who can read these exquisitely *naïve* lines, remembering that they are supposed as written by a dead man, without a start ?—

"And I lie so composedly
Now in my bed,
That any beholder
Might fancy me dead ;
Might start at beholding me,
Thinking me dead."

There are other pieces, such as "Dreamland," "The Haunted Palace," "The Sleeper," "Ulalume," which we should be disposed to dwell on, but can only name. These have afforded us infinite amazement at the inspired art of the poet, mingled with a regret and melancholy, springing from their very tone, and which have centred naturally upon his untimely fate.

A perception so refined of the essentials of art led Poe to pay particular attention to the graces both of rhythm and metre. In these respects he is unrivalled. It is no exaggeration to say, that the finest ear ever formed for rhythm was possessed by him. The full harmonious flowing, the light and exquisite poise, of his verses, are unequalled in the language. His very roughnesses have meaning ; they give relief, they delight, like the daring dissonances of a skilled musician. We may instance, in particular, "Annabel Lee," a lovely little lyric, which goes dancing

along, like a light boat on a summer sea. He is singular, again, for his mastery over metres. Every metre which he uses is modified by his peculiar touch, assumes an original appearance, and is enwoven with the very nature of his theme. In this last particular, we know of no modern poet to compare with him, except Tennyson. How admirably managed are the changes, the slightly varied repetitions *da capo*, by which this effect of originality is wrought! But some of the metres in which he writes are actually original; that of the "Raven," for instance, is an elaborate piece of invention. It is this, more than any thing else, that stamps Poe as a great poet. How little is ever done in the way of stanzical combination! what an event is a new metre! Poe himself seems to have been astonished at it. In the paper from which we have already quoted, he roundly affirms, that "no man for centuries has ever done, or seemed to dream of doing, an original thing in verse." We think there is no great cause of astonishment. It is not once in centuries that an entirely new phase of human consciousness is brought to light, and requires a sheerly novel form of expression. The majority even of those who are accounted great original poets, traverse again and again the same field, make their discoveries in an old region. However they may twist the kaleidoscope, they use the same colours still. Hence, they confine themselves to metres, already sanctioned by association to their own subjects. These they vary and modify to an accordance with their own state of feeling, just as they view the same sphere of thought from different points; but it is the exhibition of a totally new metre which alone signifies a caste of mind hitherto unexpressed.

The same dispassionate passionateness, the same ceaseless watch maintained by the subtle intellect over the sentient nature, the same marvellous power of analysis, cold, bright, cruel, as the Greek painter, who, in order to gain a grander ideal of agony for his Prometheus, tortured his prisoner to death,—pervade the "Tales." Poe's writings are like his life,—they are the result of a series of experiments upon his own nature. A continual self-production runs through them: he is a very Byron in this. Himself may be recognised in the Legrand and Dupin of his first series of tales. The singular faculty of solution possessed by them,—a faculty apparently intuitive, yet really "the very soul and essence of method,"—is a description of one of the main attributes of the author's own mind. He lets us still further into the mystery of that self-absorption, which was at once the bane and the perfection of his character, in his tale of "The Assigination." The hero of this tale,—that "ill-fated and mysterious man," who, "squandering away a life of magnificent meditation in that city of dim visions," Venice, lived apart in a "habit of intense and continual thought, pervading even his most trivial actions, intruding upon his moments of dalliance,

and interweaving itself with his very flashes of merriment, like adders which writhe from out the eyes of the grinning masks around the temple of Persepolis;" who enveloped himself in a boudoir of more than regal magnificence, the embodiment of his own fancy, where, in defiance of timid decorum, "the chastity of Ionia was offended by antediluvian devices, and the sphynxes of Egypt outstretched upon carpets of gold," where the senses were steeped in the tremblings of an unseen music, and the mingled perfumes of "strange convolute censers;" whose acquirements embraced the sum of human knowledge, but who took a singular pleasure in concealing them; *who to an English birth added an Italian life*; finally, who, his spirit "writhing in fire," departed so abruptly to the "land of real dreams,"—he, we say, is no other than the poet himself. Again: perchance, at a later, darker period, is Poe personified in the pitiable hypochondriac, "Usher:" certainly that air, rather than song, "The Haunted Palace," is the very strain of morbid consciousness. There is a strong significance in the invariable form of these narratives: they are related by a second person,—a type of that psychal duality to which we have already often alluded as the characteristic of Poe's temperament. The whole tone and manner of the tales give evidence of an unhealthily stimulated mind. We stand appalled at the preternatural acumen which could construct such an astounding succession and complication of incident, and draw a magnetic circle of such enthrallment. It is as though a madman should lay before us in logical outline the whole grotesquerie of delirium. In that peculiarly modern species of literature,—the literature of the horrible, which seems to be the offspring of the human craving after preternatural excitement, driven from the belief in ghoul and goblin, and discovering that the true horrors of man are in himself,—Poe stands almost alone. No one is more at home in the glooms and shadows of the inner world; no one is more skilful in the dissection of human agony, the sensations of nerve-haunted disease, the moods in which the mind is conquered by the fancies it has conjured up. There is in him, to use his own words, "a species of energetic concision," which unfalteringly traverses the whole range of the morbidly excited mind, from its most fairy phantasies to its most grewsome horrors.

This tendency, which renders his "Tales" the most perfect of their kind, exercises a fascinating, but deleterious, influence upon his poetry. It greatly narrows his sphere: to reverse a sentence of his editor, "his circle, though a magic, was a narrow, one." We have already remarked on the insensibility to human interests occasioned in Poe by an exclusively æsthetic bent. He fell into "that true hell of genius," where art is regarded not as a means, but as an end. His poetry derives nothing from the world of man, reflects in no degree the agitations

of society, is fraught with none of the enthusiastic philanthropy of the age, never even implies a moral; therefore it will never be popular. It is not meant for universal approbation; it is a sacrifice upon the altar of taste. Hence there is imparted to it a certain fantastic character, as to a musical performance confined to a few notes; and this sometimes betrays a touch of madness, a sort of mental *hysteria*. He has written madness,—deliberate, concinnate madness, but still madness; his guarded glance, ever retorted upon himself, is terrible, like the vivid, yet serpent, glance of the madman's eye. To read these poems is to be melancholy. They are the broken fragments of a being once of unmatched glory and beauty, the scant remains of, potentially, the greatest word-artist of modern times.

It is lamentable to think of the degraded and unhappy life of such a man; but it would be criminal to omit all references to its striking moral. The lesson so often repeated in literary history, but ignored, if not denied, in the present day, is here written as it were in blood and tears; to wit, the total insufficiency of art or mental culture, be they never so complete, to rescue man from the fatal proclivity of his nature. We commend to a certain class, "religious philosophers" of the day,—worshippers of genius and of science,—the study of Edgar Poe. From his life and writings they may gather some curious illustrations of "the intuitive religion of the heart."

ART. VI.—1. *The Church of Christ, in its Idea, Attributes, and Ministry; with a particular Reference to the Controversy on the Subject between Romanists and Protestants.* By EDWARD ARTHUR LITTON, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Stockton Heath, Cheshire, &c. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans. 1851.

2. *The Doctrine of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, in its Relation to Mankind and the Church.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Fourth Edition. London: John Murray. 1852.

3. *The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.* By ROBERT ISAAC WILBERFORCE, A.M., Archdeacon of the East Riding. Second Edition. London: John and Charles Mozley. 1853.

4. *The Sacramental and Priestly System examined; or, Strictures on Archdeacon Wilberforce's Works on the Incarnation and Eucharist.* By CHARLES SMITH BIRD, M.A., F.L.S., Canon of Lincoln, &c. London: Seeleys. 1854.

5. *The Principles of Church Government, and their Application to Wesleyan Methodism. With Appendices.* By GEORGE STEWARD. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1853.

6. *The Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church: viewed in their Scriptural and Theological Aspects; and in relation to Principles professed by the Wesleyan Methodists.* By THE REV. ALFRED BARRETT. London: John Mason. 1854.

By those who have written on the subject of the constitution of the Church of Christ, it has been generally deemed to be necessary, or convenient, first, to define the various senses in which the term "*Church*" is used in Scripture; secondly, to fix the sense, or senses, in which it so exists, as that the attributes of a *constitution* and *polity* may be properly attached to it; and, lastly, to determine the principles and model on which that constitution and polity ought to be established.

With reference to such definitions, it is almost universally agreed that, in its highest and primary scriptural import, the term "*Church*" is used to denote that one mystical body of which Christ is the sole Head, and in the unity of which all saints, whether in heaven, or on earth, or elsewhere, are necessarily included as constituent parts of the great whole. It is also agreed, except on the part of the Romanists, that so much of this body as is upon earth is, to the outward sense, utterly *invisible*. But at this point the agreement terminates, or, to speak more correctly, the differences of opinion have a wider divergence. In the first place, there is considerable difference on the question, *who* they are that constitute the Church *not* upon earth,—but in heaven or elsewhere. The general persuasion is, that they are "*the saved*" from among *men*, of all ages and peoples, from the beginning to the end of the world. But Augustin—with what seems to us an officious intent to add somewhat to the glory which belongs to the Church from its eternal union with its glorious Head—brings in the *blessed angels*, as constituting from the beginning an integral portion of that Church. "We are," says he, "in conjunction with them, one city of God, to which it is said in one of the Psalms, 'Glorious things are spoken of thee, O thou city of God!' whereof part is in a state of pilgrimage (or away from home) amongst us, and part assists with them."* And the "*city of God*" is, in his use of the term, synonymous with the "*Church*."† Nor can the statements so frequently occurring in his writings, to the same effect, be passed over as being simply specimens of the rhetorical extravagances, for which the very best of the "*Fathers*" are remarkable; because, in fact, the things asserted therein did not pass away with him, but still survive, as things to be received not merely on the ground of his assertion of them, but on the authority of "*infalli-*

* "*Cum ipsais angelis sumus una Civitas Dei, cui dicitur in Psalmo, 'Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, Civitas Dei;' cujus pars in nobis peregrinatur, pars in illis opitulatur.*"—*De Civitate Dei*, lib. x., cap. 7.

† *Ibid.*, lib. xviii., cap. 29; lib. xiii., cap. 16.

bility" itself. "The Church triumphant," says the Tridentine Catechism, "is that most noble, glorious, and happy assembly and multitude of the *blessed spirits*, and of those souls who have valiantly triumphed over this world, over the flesh, and over the most wicked devil; and, being free and safe from the troubles of this life, now enjoy eternal blessedness."* And, in the *Theologia* of P. Dens,—the authority of which will not be scrupled, either at the University of Louvain, or the College of Maynooth,—it is stated, that "the Church triumphant comprehends all the blessed in heaven, as well *angels* as men." For reasons which will be obvious as we proceed, though not for the same reasons in both cases, it was not convenient to the purpose of either the framers of the Catechism, or the author of the Theology, to distinguish the Church universal, in its widest meaning, into the two particular branches of the *visible* and the *invisible*; or, under the former of these divisions, the authority of Dens would have required us to add, as one of the parts of the Church not on earth, and therefore invisible, the "assemblage of the souls detained in purgatory." The Catechism makes an attempt to evade the felt awkwardness of the case, by saying, that "the *principal* parts of the Church are *two*, of which one is called 'triumphant,' the other 'militant;'" and so stealthily leaves the "suffering Church" (named in the enumeration of Dens) in the silence in which, for consistency's sake, the doctrine itself, of a purgatory after death, ought to have been left a few pages before.†

We have spoken of the term "Church" as comprehending, in its highest and primary sense, all the saved from amongst men throughout all time, they constituting the members of that mystical body, of which Christ is the sole and everlasting Head; and part of that body being already in heaven, and the residue, which shall make it complete, being in the course of following after. It is, next, a subject of interesting and grave inquiry, whether that term is ever used in any lower sense, either by Christ himself, or by any one of his Apostles. That it is so used by Christ, in any instance, will hardly be pretended, even by the Romanists themselves; inasmuch as the Church, on *their*

* "La (Chiesa) trionfante è quella nobilissima, gloriosissima e felicissima schiera e moltitudine degli spiriti beati, e delle anime di quelle, che di questo mondo, della carne, e del iniquissimo demonio hanno trionfato, e dalle molestie di questa vita liberi e securi ora si godono l'eterna beatitudine."—Catechism, p. 83, or "Instructions *ad Parochos*, according to the Decree of the Council of Trent, first published by Command of the Supreme Pontiff, Pius V., and afterwards translated, by Order of the same, into the vulgar Tongue, and now printed by Order of our Lord Clement XIII., at Rome, in the Printing-Office of the Apostolical Chamber, 1761."

† "Ecclesia (generatim sumpta) dividitur in tria membra, nimirum, in ecclesiam triumphantem, patientem et militantem. Ecclesia triumphans complectitur omnes in cælo beatos, tam angelos, quam homines; ecclesia patiens est cætus animarum in purgatorio detentarum; militans est cætus fidelium viatorum, seu in terrâ adhuc peregrinantium."—*Theologia Moralis et Dogmatica*, P. Dens, tom. ii., p. 113.

theory, includes none but those who are saved, or eventually will be so, either in this world or the next. Or, be that as it may, there are few that will deny that the Church of which our Saviour speaks as being that which he "will build," and against which "the gates of hell shall not prevail," consists only of those who are believers, in truth as well as in profession. And—to borrow the words of Mr. Litton—"we see no reason to believe that the Apostles, in calling a Church a 'community of saints or believers,' employed those expressions in any other than the highest sense."* The first recorded instance of their use of the term, after the ascension of their Master, is in proof of their understanding and using it in the sense in which we have reason for assuming that he always used it. "The Lord added to the *Church* daily such as were saved," or,—as Mr. Litton and others may have leave to understand it,—“such as were in the course of being saved,” τοὺς σωζομένους. (Acts ii. 47.) And the inscriptions of their pastoral Epistles to the Churches are to persons of this class only:—

"To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called (to be) saints:—" "Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called (to be) saints:—" "Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia:—" "Unto the saints which are at Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus:—" "To all the saints in Christ Jesus which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons:—" "To the saints and faithful brethren which are at Colosse:—" "To the Church of the Thessalonians, which is in God the Father and in the Lord Jesus Christ:—" "To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, elect according to the foreknowledge of God the Father, through sanctification of the Spirit, unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ:—" "To those who have obtained like precious faith with us, through the righteousness of God and our Saviour Jesus Christ:—" "To them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Christ Jesus, and called."

The only exceptions to this style of address are the inscriptions "to the Churches of Galatia," and "to the Twelve Tribes scattered abroad." With regard to the *first* of these exceptions, it is clear, partly from the peculiarity of the inscription itself, and still more from the tenor of the Epistle, that the Galatian Churches, though retaining the name, had forfeited the character, of Churches of God, and are therefore not addressed as such. They were "removed to another Gospel" than that of Christ and his Apostles, through the seduction of false teachers, who "had destroyed all that was vital in Christianity, and rejected all that was fundamental, and consequently overturned the Churches which the Apostles had planted."† In this respect,

* "Church of Christ," p. 306.

† Rev. R. Watson's Works, vol. iii., p. 56.

the case of the Church at Corinth, though bad enough in its own way, was yet widely different from that of the Galatian Churches. The Corinthians had not left "the foundation" which the Apostle had laid, but were simply building, or were in danger of building, upon it, "wood, hay, and stubble," along with, or in the place of, "gold, silver, and precious stones;" whereas the Galatians, in the very fact of being "removed to another Gospel," which utterly "perverted the Gospel of Christ," were laying a new and false foundation. The former might "be saved so as by fire;" but to the latter, persisting in the new course they had adopted, or were proceeding to adopt, salvation was utterly impossible. Their error was fundamental, and destructive in its very nature. The Apostle even "stood in doubt of them," whether they had been really "called into the grace of Christ," and whether he had not bestowed upon them "labour in vain." "He did not call them 'saints,' because they had departed from the faith, in the fundamental article of justification."*

The inscription of the Epistle of James, "To the Twelve Tribes which are scattered abroad," is rather an apparent, than a real, exception, as the expression may be fairly considered as referring "to the believing Jews, of whatever tribe, who were dispersed over the earth, to whom it is probable that James, still remaining at Jerusalem, sent this Epistle, by those who were used to meet at that city, from all nations, at the festivals."†

There thus appear to be two senses only in which the term "Church of God," or "Church of Christ," is used in Scripture. The first is that in which, being taken in its widest meaning, it denotes the *whole* mystical body of Christ in its perfect and glorified condition, or in its gradual progress to that consummation. The second is that in which, being understood in a more limited meaning, it denotes a plurality of persons, now or hereafter to be, on the earth, sustaining, or supposed to sustain, the character expressed, or of necessity implied, in the inscriptions of the pastoral Epistles, whether scattered abroad, or congregated in the form of separate societies: it being understood, however, first, that the persons so characterized are not presumed to be all thoroughly matured as members "of the family of God and of the household of faith," but to be "babes," or "little children," or "young men," or "fathers," according to their various grades of proficiency towards "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ;" and, secondly, that it is not the *Churches* which such societies constitute, but the *individuals* who compose the societies, that are (if they be in truth what they profess to be) the "members" of the mystical body of Christ. In other words, borrowed from Dr. John Owen,—

* Rev. T. Scott's Commentary, Gal. i. 2.

† Beza, *in loc.*

"The things ascribed unto those who are to be esteemed the proper subject-matter of a visible Church, are such as, in the judgment of charity, entitle them to all the appellations of 'saints,' 'called,' 'sanctified,'—that is, visibly and by profession—which are given unto the members of all the Churches in the New Testament; and which must be answered in those who are admitted into that privilege, if we do not wholly neglect our only patterns. There is nothing more certain, in matter of fact, than that evangelical Churches, in their first constitution, were made up and did consist of such members as we have described, and no others. Nor is there one word in the whole Scripture, intimating any concession or permission of Christ, to receive into his Church those who are not so qualified. No man, as I suppose, is come unto that profligate sense of spiritual things, as to deny that the members of the Church ought to be *visibly holy*. For, if so, they may affirm, that all the promises and privileges granted to the Church do belong to them who visibly live and die in their sins; which is to overthrow the Gospel. And if they ought so to be, and were so at first, when they are not so, *openly* and *visibly*, there is a declension from the original constitution of Churches, and a sinful deviation in them from the law of Christ." * .

The use of the term "Church," in any lower senses than those above specified, is purely arbitrary, or, at the best, conventional; and is of authority only so far as the senses adopted approximate to those which are strictly scriptural. "To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them."

We are thus furnished with a rule on which we may rely, and from which no appeal can be admitted, for testing whatever definitions of a Church may be proposed for our acceptance. And neither ecclesiastical authorities, nor authorities of any other description, can bar our right to determine for ourselves, to what extent they approach, or recede from, the original and divinely-settled standard. Thus, also, the controversy between Protestants and Romanists, on this particular point, is pressed into small compass, and brought by an easy process, or rather by simple inspection and comparison, to a short and safe issue. We have only to notice the bare fact that the Romanists comprehend, in their definition of the "*visible Church*," a *visible Head*, of whom the Scriptures know nothing, a host of sinners of the vilest description, (and who, by the scriptural rule, are totally excluded, as being "the children of the devil," and the subjects of "the power of darkness,") and a motley crowd of *merely nominal* professors, (under the plausible but ambiguous designation of "the faithful,") whom the scriptural standard utterly condemns, as persons having "their portion with hypocrites and unbelievers;" and, on their own showing of the facts of the case, we are shut up to the conclusion, that their Church is *Catholic*

* "True Nature of a Gospel Church," chap. i.

indeed, with a witness ; but that to call it "*Apostolical*," or to consider it as being a "Church of Christ" at all, is little better than a disgusting and impious burlesque upon the name.

In the application of the same easy and safe rule, there is as little difficulty in dealing with the definition or ideal of a Church, (as to the *persons* who compose it,) recently set forth by Archdeacon Wilberforce and others, as with that of the Romanists.

"The Church," says the Archdeacon, "is His (Christ's) body mystical. And by the mystical body of Christ is meant the whole family of those who, by the Holy Ghost, are united in Church ordinances to his *man's nature*. And our union with the manhood of Christ is brought about in our union with the Church. *It is not that one of these is the means or channel through which we approach the other*, but that, since the two processes are identical, it is impossible to divide them. For *that which joins men to Christ's mystical body, the Church, is their union with his man's nature*; and their means of union with his human nature is bestowed in his Church or body mystical. *The Sacraments, which are the means of binding us to the mystical body of Christ, derive their efficacy from the influence of his body.*"*—*Incarnation*, p. 255.

The definition contained in this extract, to say nothing of the obvious contradiction and confusion existing between the sentences which we have given in "*italics*," is rendered ambiguous by the Archdeacon's using the term "*ordinances*" in the commencement of the paragraph, and the term "*sacraments*" at its close, in such a manner as to leave it doubtful whether the two terms are to be taken as being equipollent and convertible, or not; and so, by the way, furnishes an instance in proof that, in their theological teaching, even more than in their ecclesiastical architecture,

* "Hence," says the Archdeacon, "the impossibility of answering a question which is sometimes asked, Whether men are joined to Christ by being joined to his Church, or joined to his Church by being joined to him? It would be a parallel question to ask, Whether we were sharers in Adam's nature because we were men, or men because we were sharers in Adam's nature? The two relations hang inseparably together." ("Incarnation."—*Ibid.*) So, undoubtedly, they do. But what then? The "question," in each of these two cases, may be thrown into the form of a *disjunctive* proposition, containing two members, or categorical propositions, of which, according to the law of propositions of that class, (where *sober reasoning* is intended,) only one can be true, and the other must be false. But, according to his teaching, as given above, the two members in each of the disjunctive propositions are *both* true. His putting, therefore, of the question, in each case, is purely nugatory and absurd; and the supposed "impossibility" of answering either of the questions amounts simply to this,—that no one can say *which* of the two categorical propositions, in either case, is *false*, because *both* are *true*.—With respect to the *second* of these questions, it is enough to say, that, by *logical inference*, we are sharers of Adam's nature *because* we are men; and, by *physical consequence*, we are men *because* we are sharers of Adam's nature. The *first* question is not, as the Archdeacon assumes, "parallel" to the second. In order to its being so, as well as for the farther purpose of its being consistent with his own teaching, that question should have been, "Whether men are joined to Christ *because* they are joined to the Church, or joined to the Church *because* they are joined to him?" And, thus made parallel, it would admit of an answer similar to that which has been given to the second question,—its first proposition being understood to declare a *logical*, and its second a *spiritual*, sequence; and the "impossibility," in both cases, "*tenues fugit, cœu fumus, in auras!*"

the School of which he must now be regarded as the type and representative, court the "*dim religious light.*" To use the very apt language of Mr. Bird, "Cloudiness and mistiness pervade the Archdeacon's book ; when we turn to it, we breathe heavily, and walk darkly." And, for the purpose of presenting the *whole* of his definition, it is necessary to bring out—we fear, at the expense of the reader's patience—other extracts, from another of his books :—

"The ordinance of Baptism," the Archdeacon says, (after an interval long enough to make his readers, and himself, too, forget what he had written more than a hundred pages before,) "wherein men are made members of the body of Christ, makes them partakers also of his life. Its purpose is, to establish a spiritual connexion between the soul and the humanity of the Second Adam, whereby we may be made members of his mystical body, and thus be engrafted into the Divine nature. But if we sin, as all men sin, after Baptism, this connexion is relaxed, if it is not broken. The effect of these (positive acts of transgression) is to break asunder"—just now, it might be simply to *relax*—"that connexion with Christ on which the life of the soul is dependent. And since these evils separate men from Christ, they put them out of a state of acceptance or justification. Now when the life of the soul has been forfeited through sin, it cannot be recovered by our own efforts, but only through His gift by whom it was originally bestowed. So that there would be no such cure for this evil as the analogy of the Christian covenant requires, unless God had 'left power to his Church to absolve sinners.' For by the Church's office, by the ministry of absolution, and the power of the keys, the relation of man to Christ is renewed, even as it was originally bestowed in holy Baptism."—*Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, pp. 358, 360, 361.

According to these extracts, the persons who compose the Church of Christ on earth, are those who have become one with Christ, as sharers of his humanity ; and their participation in that humanity is first attained through the sacrament of Baptism,—is recovered, when forfeited by sin, by the absolution of the Church through the medium of its Ministers,—and then sustained by the sacrament of the Eucharist. But the Archdeacon says elsewhere, that "*both Baptism and the Eucharist are the means through which men's nature is communicated to his brethren, or, by which union with the body of Christ is bestowed upon men.*"* "This divine nature distributes itself on the right hand and on the left ; the two sacraments go together ; their importance is equal, their effect alike."† The Holy Ghost is once mentioned, *by the way*, as accompanying the operation of the sacraments, when administered by those who are in the (so-called) "apostolical succession." But "the word of truth," or "the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever," of which James and Peter speak so expressly as being the instrument of our regeneration, (James i. 18 ; 1 Peter i. 23,) and "the Gospel,"

Incarnation," pp. 334, 335.

† *Ibid.*, p. 372.

through which Paul declares "the saints" at Corinth to have been "begotten in Christ Jesus," (1 Cor. iv. 15,) and the "faith" which "cometh by hearing," (Rom. x. 17,) and the "sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ," of which Peter speaks as being essential to the experience of God's "elect," (1 Peter i. 2,) and the *personal* intercession of Christ,—are either absolutely ignored, or so eclipsed and kept out of sight, that the prime and commanding characteristics of the true Church-system, as being primarily spiritual and evangelical, are, in the practical result, if not in the antecedent intention, covered and lost in the single notion of its being "sacramental." In such descriptions of the Church, or of the persons who compose it, we look in vain for the apostolic original exhibited in the New Testament. The true spiritual portrait no longer appears, the canvas being covered all over with the glossy, but clouded, colouring and varnish of a *sacerdotal externalism*.

On this subject Mr. Litton offers the following most appropriate remarks:—

"They who on the Day of Pentecost 'gladly received the word' of Peter, promising them, on repentance, remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Ghost,—that is, who repented and believed,—'were baptized.' This was the established order according to which 'the Lord added to the Church such as should be saved.' They were added thereto, not that they might be, but because they had been, previously, led to repent and believe; visible incorporation with the Church being the last, not the first, step in the order of salvation. The passage, indeed, teaches us that those whom the Lord designs to save, he will ordinarily add visibly to his Church; but not that salvation is the consequence of such union. Had the order of salvation been, in their (the Apostles') view, what the sacramentalist would have it to be, they would, in exhorting men to save themselves from the wrath to come, have directed them, in the first instance, and before any thing else, to the Church, as the divinely-appointed institution, through sacramental union, with which they were to be brought within the influence of Christ's saving power. But the course which they followed was altogether different. Christ himself—and not the Church of Christ—was the object which they placed in the foreground of their ministry, and to which the inquirer was, without the intervention of any thing else, directed. To the question, 'Sirs, what must I do to be saved?' the apostolic reply was not, 'Join thyself to the Church, through which thou shalt attain to Christ, and through Christ to God,' but, 'Believe upon the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.' Whatever else might be necessary to perfect the Christian's union with Christ, the first step towards salvation was ever, according to the apostolic teaching, a direct application, upon the sinner's part, not to Christ's diffused manhood, the visible Church, but to Christ himself at the right hand of God."—Pp. 220, 221.

We have been the rather drawn to dwell on the Romanist and the Tractarian theories, as to the elements of which the Church is

composed, and the process by which those elements are aggregated and combined, because those theories lie at the root of the doctrinal errors by which their systems are respectively characterized; and because, further, the place which is assigned to them by their advocates, in point of order and importance, serves to distinguish them from all genuine Protestants. In Romanism, "the article of a standing or falling Church" is the Papal Church theory. In Protestantism, as was well observed by Luther, it is the doctrine of justification by faith. Let the former make good its teaching on the nature and authority of the Church, and the acceptance of every thing else in its peculiar teaching must necessarily follow. Or let the latter establish its doctrine of justification by faith; and, whether it establish its other doctrines or not, it virtually puts an end to all controversy, as to the doctrines which are distinctive of Romanism. Similar statements—*mutatis mutandis*—will apply to the case, as between *genuine* Protestants on one hand, and *Romanizing* Protestants on the other, one of whom does not scruple to say, that "the Church was guided by Divine wisdom to make the article of our Lord's real nature the criterion of her belief, the '*articulus stantis vel cadentis Ecclesiæ*.'"*

The errors which have arisen, on the subject of the spiritual constitution of the Church of Christ on earth, will all be found to have originated in a one-sided, and in some cases almost exclusive, regard to one or more of the attributes or predicates, which make up the totality of its character. The Romanist, for instance, has selected, as the ruling object of his contemplation, the *unity* which is ascribed to it; and, at the same time, utterly mistaking the true nature of that unity as being "the unity of the *Spirit*,"—and looking at it through a coloured medium and in a detached form,—he has constructed for himself a definition of the Church, in which scarcely any thing but *his own* monstrous and rickety notion of unity is to be seen. "The Church," he says, "is the congregation of all persons professing the faith and doctrine of Christ, which is governed by *one*, (and next to Christ,) the supreme Head and Pastor upon earth."† "The first mark of the Church is unity;" and this is understood to mean,—"*It has but one visible governor on earth, him who, as legitimate successor to Peter, fills the apostolic chair.*"‡ The emphasis which is given to this visible and organic unity has rendered it, in fact, *the* point, and the only point, on which membership with the Church of Christ on earth has been made to depend. Hence, according to the authoritative teaching of the Tridentine Catechism, "there are but three classes of persons excluded from her pale,—infidels, heretics or schismatics, and

* "Incarnation," p. 175.

† Dens' "Theology," vol. ii., p. 112.

‡ *Catechismo, secondo il Decreto del Concilio di Trento*, pp. 85, 86.

excommunicated persons. With regard to the rest, however wicked and flagitious, it is certain that they still belong to the Church. And if, perchance, the life of any Prelate in the Church be vicious, let the faithful be assured that they are still, nevertheless, in the Church, nor is their power, on that account, at all diminished.”* And they are sins, or supposed sins, against *this unity*, that have ever been visited with the severest punishment. They have been the *only* things that, in Romanism, have lighted the fires of martyrdom, and created the dungeons and tortures of the Inquisition. At one period of its history since the Reformation, a similar error was committed, only with less fearful results, by the Church of England, in the vain and semi-Popish attempts which were made to establish Acts of Uniformity.

On another hand, such theologians as the “Archdeacon of the East Riding” look mainly at that aspect of the Church in which it wears a *sacramental* character. And on this aspect of it their gaze is so intent, that, judged from their writings, they would seem almost to have lost the power of seeing any thing but sacraments and the parties concerned, actively or passively, in their administration. The result is, that the two sacraments,—supposed, of course, to be in duly-authorized hands,—together with the occasional and most convenient intervention of priestly absolution, make up all that is required, on their principle, to a man’s being a member of the Church of Christ.

By another class of writers, such as Robert Barclay, the Church is regarded, somewhat exclusively, in its *spiritual* aspect. And so, in their view, “the several worships both of Protestants and Papists are merely carnal and outward ceremonies and observations, and not the true spiritual and new-covenant worship of Christ.”† “They are both begun, carried on, and concluded, in man’s own natural will and strength, without the motion or influence of God’s Spirit, and therefore may be truly performed, as to the matter and the manner, by the wickedest of men.”‡ The sacraments themselves are set aside, as outward ordinances;—Baptism, on the plea that “there is but one baptism,” and that “not a washing with or dipping in water, but a being baptized with the Spirit;”—and the Eucharist, upon the ground that “the contending for the use of bread and wine, as necessary parts of the Gospel-worship, destroys the nature of it, as if the Gospel were a dispensation of shadows, and not of the substance.”§ Others, again, are disposed to regard the Church chiefly in its aspect as “an *election* of grace.” And so, in their phraseology, “the whole Catholic Church is the whole mystical body of Christ, consisting of the elect which are purchased and redeemed by his blood;” and the fact, or the belief, or the hope of such election

* *Catechismo, secondo il Decreto del Concilio di Trento*, p. 85.

† Barclay’s “Apology for the True Christian Divinity,” Ninth Edition, p. 358.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

is the *central* point or *idea* in their system,—just as the “Incarnation,” on the supposition of its being the basis of Baptism and the Eucharist, and even of the Saviour’s intercession, is the “great objective fact” in the “sacramental system” of Arch-deacon Wilberforce. After the same fashion of partial and exclusive thinking, some look at the *duties*—the practical obedience and morality—of the Gospel, in such a manner as to lose sight of its *privileges* of “righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost,” and so turn out mere Pharisees. Others, in their admiration of its privileges, forget its duties, and so err in the opposite extreme of Antinomianism.

We like the two notions of a *central idea*, and a *great objective fact*, in the system of Christianity; not from any fancy of our own, nor from the general popularity of such expressions, but because they have countenance in the phraseology of Scripture, and are on that ground entitled to acceptance, in their meaning, if not in their form. By all means, let us have a *central idea* in connexion with that system. But where shall we look for it, with any reasonable prospect of so succeeding in our search, as to enlist the universal, or even the general, suffrage of our readers, in support of the conclusion at which we have arrived, as the result of our inquiry. The object of that inquiry, we humbly submit, is not to be found in any of the *attributes* which have been mentioned, or others which might have been mentioned, as belonging to the Christian system, and to the Church which constitutes its glorious embodiment,—not in its unity, or catholicity, or spirituality, or sanctity, or sacramentalism,—not in particular ordinances, or privileges, or duties,—but in SALVATION. That is the “*central idea*” of the Church,—the point from which every thing that is theoretical proceeds, and in which every thing that is experimental or practical ultimately terminates. A Saviour is its *author*, and *salvation* is its *end*. Let us also have a “*great objective fact*,” as well as a “central idea.” But let us not be misled in the selection of it; and, to avoid that failure, let us follow the guidance of Holy Scripture. In so doing, we shall very soon discover, that it is not the (supposed) fact of an *à priori* and unconditional *election*; not the *Incarnation*, or *Personal Life*, or *Resurrection*, or *Ascension*, or even the *Mediation* of Christ; but the ATONEMENT accomplished by his sufferings and death. This is the “*great objective fact*” of Christianity, to which all its other facts do homage. It was accordingly, in anticipation, the subject of our Saviour’s discourse, when Moses and Elias talked with him on the Mount of Transfiguration:—“He spake of his *decease*, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem.” It was the object of attraction which he foretold should be set up, as that which would gather around him the faith and homage of a sanctified Church, and of a rebellious and ruined world:—“I, if I be *lifted up*,” (said he,

signifying thereby what *death* he should die,) "will draw all men unto me." It was the burden of his thoughts, and the goal of his anticipations, when he "dwelt amongst us:"—"I have a baptism"—a baptism of agony and blood—"to be baptized with: and how am I straitened, until it be accomplished!" It was the consummation of that which he had thus longed for, when he cried, "It is finished! and *gave up the ghost.*" It was the predominant and absorbing theme of apostolical preaching:—"We preach *Christ crucified*, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God;"—"I am determined to know nothing amongst you, save Jesus Christ, and *him crucified*;" and "God forbid that I should glory, save in the *cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ." It is the ground of our redemption and justification; "for we have redemption through his *blood*, even the forgiveness of sins." It is the basal truth implied in the sacraments:—"As many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his *death*;" and, "as often as ye eat of this bread, and drink of this cup, ye do show the *Lord's death*, till he come." It is the foundation of our Saviour's mediatorial throne; for "he became obedient unto *death*, even the death of the cross; wherefore God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name;" and, "in the midst of the throne," stands "a Lamb, as it had been *slain*." It is connected with the condition and character of those who "are before the throne;" for they are noted as those who "have washed their robes, and made them white in the *blood* of the *Lamb*." And, finally, it is the theme of the "new song" in heaven:—"Worthy is the *Lamb* that was *slain* to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing for ever and ever."

The *external polity* of the Church is a subject on which there has prevailed a diversity of opinion, as great as that which has existed as to its spiritual constitution, or subject-matter. Not that there is any such diversity, as to the necessity of such a visible Church-order as is implied in the term "Church polity;" there being on this point hardly any difference at all between Papists and Protestants, any more than upon the Divine institution of the Sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist; and very little difference amongst Protestants themselves. The statement made by Mr. Litton, that "it is not antecedently probable, that so important a matter would be left absolutely to the discretion of Christians, or that Christ would send his Apostles forth to found Christian societies throughout the world, without affording them *sufficient* guidance as to the manner in which such societies were to be organized,"* may be readily accepted. But when it

* Litton, p. 248

is added, that "it is reasonable to suppose that in some way or other, by the previous dispensations of his providence as the Eternal Word, or by positive enactments, he would make it *clear*, according to what *outward form of polity* Christian societies were to be constituted," we gravely demur, upon religious principle, to all such merely presumptive suppositions. We may very properly speculate on antecedent probabilities in a variety of cases; but when the Divine procedure is in question, in the absence of positive and certain revelation, we have a strong "antecedent" objection to the gratuitous assumption of any antecedent probabilities at all. The rather, as not only can such anticipations, from the very nature of the case, have no adequate foundation; but they are generally the reverse of what actually happens, and they involve, as we think, an offence near akin, in spirit at least, to that of seeking to be "wise above that which is written." We have further learned to regard such suppositions as having, in most cases, no other purpose or use, than that of bespeaking an indulgence, felt to be needful, to feeble or doubtful proofs, which are afterwards to follow. In this way they may help a labouring case; for, as Quintilian says, "Probabilities, though they are not sufficient of themselves to clear away doubt, are yet, when added to other proofs, of considerable avail."* But it would have been more becoming the importance and sacredness of the point to be settled, if the argument from *probability* had been wholly omitted; especially as, in this instance, it has the fault of being an argument *ad verecundiam*.

Our business, in the absence of authentic revelation, is not to conjecture what God may be regarded as being *likely* to do in any given case, but to consider what he has *actually* done. That he would afford *sufficient* guidance, is absolutely certain; but what he deemed to be sufficient, must be gathered from the amount of guidance which he can be shown to have given. For positive information on this subject, we naturally look to his *practice* during the period of his being the visible Head and Ruler of his Church; and, in so doing, we find that he trained his Apostles and disciples to the use of the synagogue worship; and, excepting that he constituted the new and peculiar office of apostleship,—for a service extraneous to that of the synagogue, and, therefore, requiring a new and peculiar appointment,—there is no evidence at all, nor even a hint, of his having originated, by his direct appointment, any Church order or Church office whatever. Nor is it pretended that *their* appointment and office supply any model for the constitution of Churches, or even for the appointment of Ministers, after his death; their

* "*Alia sunt signa, quæ electi Græci vocant, quæ, etiamsi ad tollendam dubitationem sola non sufficiunt, adjuncta cæteris, plurimum valent.*"—QUINTIL. *De Orat. Institut.*, lib. v., cap. 9.

office not being necessarily of a *local* character, but having reference rather to the Church and to the world at large. And as his practice sheds no *new* light on the question of external order,—the order of the synagogue being, for the time, at least, sufficient for his purposes,—so, in his *teaching*, we look in vain for any *details* on the subject. That the question of the Church order, as to gradational rank, to be established after his decease, was, in the minds of his disciples, a subject of anxious curiosity and earnest discussion, appears upon the face of the evangelical record in the case of “Zebedee’s children,” (James and John,) who sought for themselves, through the medium of their “mother,” particular and prominent appointments in the new order of things, which they were led to suppose was about to be established. And it further appears in St. Mark’s account of the occasion on which the disciples, in the absence of their Master, yet not without his knowledge, “disputed among themselves which should be the greatest.” (Mark ix. 34.) These, surely, were occasions on which fair opportunity was given to him to enunciate his law, at least in that department of Church order which relates to a gradational scale of ministerial honour and service. But neither in these instances, nor in any other, did he judge it to be necessary, or at all to their advantage or that of the Church, to resolve their doubts, or to gratify their curiosity, on the particular points which had stirred up an interest so eager and ominous. With respect to the first of these cases, Mr. Barrett very justly observes:—

“The disciples had not understood our Lord to assert,” (in the discourse recorded Mark x. 35–45,) “that all his people hereafter in administrative acts were to be joined in a perfectly equal position. After referring to the baptism of sorrow and cup of trembling, which he and his followers must needs receive on founding that kingdom, Christ tells them thus with respect to the place of authority they aspired after, ‘It is not mine to give, but (except) for whom it is prepared of my Father,’—that is, There *shall* be persons holding a place to which deference is due; but the appointments shall take place under the joint administration of the Father and the Son, and in especial harmony with that of the Father. After asserting that there *should* be government in his Church, he proceeds to tell how the right to govern should arise, and how particular individuals should be invested with it. ‘Ye know that the *Princes* (ἄρχοντες) of the Gentiles exercise dominion over *them*, and the *great* (μεγάλοι) exercise authority upon them. But it shall not be so among you,’ &c. The overseers of his flock should gain their authority and position, not by hereditary prescription and military force, but by moral and spiritual character, formed in a course of disinterested labour. The contrast is not between the harsh and the mild, but between the *secular* and the *sacred*. And the whole lesson is here, as elsewhere, that the oversight of Christ’s Church is not conformed, in spirit, form, or end, to the civil establishments of the world.”—*Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church*, pp. 67–70.

And as our Lord does not appear to have given any specific directions, on the point, as to details, previously to his decease, so neither is there any tangible fact or positive statement serving to prove that, amongst "the things pertaining to the kingdom of God," of which he spoke to his Apostles after his Resurrection; any such directions were included.

But though it cannot be shown that our Saviour prescribed any particular form for the polity of the Christian Churches,—otherwise than as in his *practice* he adopted the type of the Jewish synagogue, as that in which it was sufficiently fitting and convenient that his Church, in its evangelical character, should have its *beginning*,—yet did he not fail to enunciate the *principles*, or primary grounds, on which distinct Churches should be afterwards in perpetuity established. One of these *principles*, namely, that of disinterested and unambitious *devotedness* to himself and to his Church, has already been mentioned. Other principles, which are obvious in his various discourses, are *purity*, *spirituality*, *fellowship*, *order*, *expansion*, and *peace*; the general "law of Christ," as given by himself, and interpreted by his Apostles, being understood to be the great master-principle which defines the meaning, and governs and directs the application, of them all.

Passing from our Lord to his Apostles, with a view to the discovery of any form of Church polity which *they* may have established under the guidance of the principles just mentioned, we look, first of all, at their *practice*, as we have already looked at the practice of their Master. On this subject, Mr. Barrett observes:—

"That there is the very highest probability that the organization of the Christian Church would be (was) formed on the model of the synagogue, is evident from the fact, (already stated,) that Christ trained his Apostles and disciples to the use of the synagogue worship; (Matt. xii. 9, *et alibi passim*;) that, after his death, they continued the practice, and defended themselves before that high court of appeal which all the synagogues acknowledged; (Acts iv. 7;) that, in large cities, they had not, for many years, any other accessible congregations than the Jews and devout Gentiles whom they might find in these places of worship; (Acts xvii. 2;) that these first converts were drawn from thence: (Acts viii. 8, &c.) and thus, as Archbishop Whately says,* 'it appears highly probable,—I might say, morally certain,—that the synagogue was brought—the whole or the chief part of it—to embrace the Gospel. The Apostles did not, then, so much form a Christian Church (or congregation, *ecclesia*) as make an existing congregation Christian by introducing the Christian sacraments and worship, and establishing whatever regulations were necessary for the newly adopted faith; leaving the machinery (if I may so

* "Kingdom of Christ Delineated," p. 88.

speak) of government unchanged; the Rulers of synagogues, Elders, and other officers, (whether spiritual or ecclesiastical, or both,) being already provided in the existing institutions.'"—P. 61.

It may not be convenient to Dr. Davidson to admit the correctness of this view, because, in the course of its practical application in detail, it interferes somewhat seriously with certain notions which he holds, as a Congregationalist, on the subject of Church discipline. But the objections which he urges are of little avail in answer to the host of opinions and arguments arrayed against him. We, therefore, agree with Mr. Litton, that the question has been "conclusively settled"—to the issue above stated—"by Vitringa, in his learned work (*De Synagoga Vetere*); and that, independently of the overwhelming amount of direct evidence to the effect that the synagogues constituted the pattern which the Apostles proposed to themselves, the simple facts, that the founders of the first Christian Societies were Jews, and that the first Christian Society came into existence at Jerusalem, seem of themselves decisive of the question."* The point is argued by Mr. Litton, at length, in several of his succeeding pages.

The office of the Apostles, as has already been stated, was altogether a peculiar one, having no analogy with any thing found in the Jewish synagogues;—an office vouchsafed to the Church by Christ, under peculiar circumstances, for the purpose of founding and organizing Christian Societies, but never intended to be a permanent part of ecclesiastical polity. In the course of time, however, cases arose, chiefly from the multiplication of local Churches, which rendered it impossible for them to exercise, in all places and at all times, an effective personal superintendence. Under these circumstances, it became necessary—so it was, at least, in the case of St. Paul—to employ *Delegates*, or *Commissioners*, selected from the general body of believers, as being eminent for their natural and spiritual endowments; some of them being generally attached to his person, and accompanying him in his journeys. And of these persons one or more were dispatched to different places, to check heretical tendencies, and to correct practical abuses, or to assist in organizing Christian Churches. It was thus that Timothy at Ephesus, and Titus in Crete, were empowered by him, in the capacity of Presbyters, "to ordain Elders (or Presbyters) in every city," and to exercise jurisdiction over officers of that class, as well as over those who held the lower office of "Deacons." But as to the notion entertained by ultra-advocates of Episcopacy, that there was a permanent appointment of a new class of officers analogous to that of the local Bishops of after-times, Mr. Litton observes:—

* Litton, p. 255.

"Not only is there no positive evidence in all this, that St. Paul intended to create, in the persons of Timothy and Titus, a new ecclesiastical office, but there appear to be, in the Epistles themselves, express intimations that their (*peculiar*) commission was but a temporary one; to terminate, either when St. Paul should rejoin them, or should direct them to go elsewhere. Such, at least, is the impression conveyed by such passages as the following: 'These things write I unto thee, hoping to *come unto thee shortly*; but if I *tarry*, that thou mightest know how to behave thyself in the house of God,' &c. '*Till I come*, give attendance to reading,' &c. (1 Tim. iii. 14, 15.) The Apostle, apparently, was not able to fulfil his intention of rejoining them; and, accordingly, he urges both Timothy (in the Second Epistle) and Titus to dispatch, as quickly as possible, what remained to be done, and to repair, the former to Rome, the latter to Nicopolis: 'Do thy diligence to come shortly unto me; for Demas..... is departed unto Thessalonica, Crescens to Galatia, Titus to Dalmatia. When I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus, be diligent to come unto me to Nicopolis.' (2 Tim. iv. 9, 10; Titus iii. 12.) From the former of these passages we incidentally gather, that Titus's stay in Crete was, in fact, but short; for the Second Epistle to Timothy having been written either a little after, or at the same time as that to Titus, it should seem that the latter had, according to the Apostle's direction, joined him where he was residing, and by him had been dispatched on another mission; namely, to Dalmatia. With respect to this Second Epistle to Timothy, written, according to the most probable hypothesis, about a year after the First, and in the immediate prospect of martyrdom, it is to be observed, that there is no mention whatever in it of Timothy's being permanent Bishop of Ephesus, or, indeed, of his being in any way connected with that Church. That he was at Ephesus when the Epistle was addressed to him, we gather only from the probabilities of the case, and from the mention of Hymenæus and Alexander, (ii. 17; iv. 14,) who seem to be the same persons against whom Timothy is warned in the First Epistle. (i. 20.)"—*Litton*, p. 419.

To the names of Timothy, Titus, Demas, Crescens, Tychicus, and Artemas, may probably be added, as officers of the same class, Lucius, Silvanus, Sosthenes, Aristarchus, Marcus, Lucas, and Epaphras, though not all equally distinguished.* The Scripture cases which are alleged in addition to those of Timothy and Titus, for the apostolical institution of the episcopal order, in the modern sense of that term,—such as the case of St. James at Jerusalem, and that of the "angels" of the Apocalyptic "Churches,"—yield nothing more than conjectural evidence. And so, on the whole,—

"Respecting the origin of the episcopal order, Scripture leaves us very much in the dark. No *order* of Ministers, other than these three,—Apostles, Presbyters, and Deacons,—are mentioned in the New Testament, as forming part of the then existing polity of the Church. For every attempt to establish a distinction between the

* *Litton*, p. 423.

Presbyter and the *Episcopus* of Scripture will prove fruitless ; so abundant is the evidence which proves that they were but different appellations of one and the same office.”—*Litton*, p. 412.

The Oxford Tractarians themselves admit, that it was not until “some period *after* John’s decease,” that the ministerial order was recognised under the three names of “Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.” At first, according to their showing, they were “Apostles, Elders, Deacons;” after the decease of some of the Apostles, but while John, at least, was yet living, they were “Angels, Bishops, Deacons,” the office, or name, of “Presbyters” being wholly omitted.*

The argument from *Scripture*, in direct *proof* of the apostolical origin of a formal episcopate, is thus, as it ought to be, fairly abandoned; and, so far, the question at issue between Episcopalians and their opponents may be regarded as being conclusively settled: or, if not, and any of Mr. Litton’s friends disagree with him, it may very safely be left to be determined amongst Episcopalians themselves. It is enough for *our* purpose that the apostolicity of the *order*, as a matter of *fact*, wholly depends for its proof, even with some of its warmest advocates, upon post-apostolical testimony, of which, as well as on the question of its perpetual obligation, as necessarily resulting from adequate proof of such fact, we shall perhaps have something to say. For the present, we are satisfied to have it acknowledged, that the Apostles themselves have not recorded, nor has any one recorded on their behalf, any evidence approaching to proof, or even to moderate probability, of their having originated any precise form of Church polity. We are thus left to conclude, as we do, that, after the example of their great Teacher, they deemed it expedient rather to enunciate and urge general *principles* of action, accordant with his law, and applicable to *all cases* and *all times*, than to prescribe any settled and permanent rules, as to the details of Church order, to be universally and permanently binding.

“The remarkable circumstance is to be borne in mind, that not one of the appointments of the Apostles, in matters of polity, have (has) been transmitted to us in Scripture in the form of *legislative enactments*, but simply as *recorded facts*. For example, the inspired history informs us that, as a matter of fact, the Apostles ordained Elders for every Church ; but no *law* upon the subject, purporting to emanate from the Apostles, can be found in Scripture. To their appointments the Apostles append no imperative declarations, making them immutably binding upon the Church. Let their mode of proceeding, in this respect, be compared with the mode in which the law was delivered, and the difference between the two cases will be apparent. The Mosaic appointments were not only recorded, but commanded ; the apostolic regulations are recorded, but not made matter of law :

* “Tracts for the Times,” vol. i., p. 12.

the Apostles do not absolutely bind the Church, of every age, to follow the precedents they set. When we consider the natural tendency in the promulgators of a new religion to pursue an opposite course, we can only account for the mode of proceeding adopted by the Apostles, by the supposition of their being under a Divine guidance, which withheld them from what might have given occasion to the notion, that the *essential being* of the Church lies in the *polity*, which, under apostolic guidance, she assumed."—*Litton*, p. 441.

Thus, as Hooker has remarked, "although there be no express word for every thing in *specialty*, yet there are *general* commandments for all things, to the end, that even such cases as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned might not be left to any to order at their pleasure, only with caution that nothing be done against the word of God; and that, for this cause, the Apostle hath set down in Scripture four general rules, requiring such things alone to be received in the Church as do best and nearest agree with the same rules; that so all things in the Church may be appointed, not only *not against*, but *by* and *according to*, the word of God. The rules are these: 'Nothing scandalous or offensive unto any, especially unto the Church of God;' (1 Cor. x. 32;) 'All things in order and with seemliness;' (1 Cor. xiv. 40;) 'All unto edification;' (1 Cor. xiv. 26;) Finally, 'All to the glory of God.' (1 Cor. x. 31.)" * In this respect, as in the other, it was "enough for the disciple to be as his Master, and the servant as his Lord."

Now, there is something so remarkable in this rigid abstinence, on the part of our Lord and the Apostles, from the authoritative deliverance of prescriptive rule or order in the external arrangement of ecclesiastical matters, especially when viewed in contrast with the scrupulous minuteness which characterized the arrangements of the preceding dispensation, that we are irresistibly impelled to the conclusion, that for a difference so striking there must have existed special and weighty reasons. Why so much exactness of detail in the latter case, and in the former scarcely any detail at all, but simply a system of general principles and maxims, left, as it were, to grow spontaneously into detail by the vigour of their own inherent life, as their own natural tendency and action, under the guidance of varying circumstances, might appear reasonably to require? In such a case, there appears to be no reason for a reserve so guarded, save on the supposition of some practical advantage, which, in their estimation, was thereby to be secured to the Christian Church, not only in their time, but throughout all ages. Nor does it seem difficult to arrive at something like the truth upon this subject. In the first place, as we have already had occasion to observe, to the Church in apostolic times, excepting the apostolical office, for which our Lord made adequate provision, so long

* Hooker's "Eccles. Pol.," book iii., chap. viii., 1.

as he considered the peculiar functions of that office to be requisite, no form of Church arrangement, beyond that which was made ready to their hand in the arrangements of the synagogue, was considered to be *necessary*. And, secondly, aware, as they must have been, of the natural tendency of the human mind, in matters of religion, to attach undue importance to mere forms,—and especially to those which purport to have been established expressly on divine authority,—to the neglect of the great spiritual objects which such forms may have been intended to subserve, it must needs have occurred to them, as a matter of importance, that, so far as their reserve on the subject of external arrangements could preclude so great a mischief, it should be rigorously exercised. Unhappily, their cautious sagacity on this point has not been sufficiently regarded. At an early period after their decease, a system of Church-officers, suited, perhaps, to the advancing circumstances of the Church, and not inconsistent with the *principles* laid down by our Lord and his Apostles, was first established, in the exercise of an allowable discretion, but was afterwards *insisted* on, as being virtually, if not expressly, of divine authority and universal obligation. And the result of this usurpation—as it might, without impropriety, be called—of the Divine prerogative was, the growth, first, of a blind attachment to, and next, of a vain confidence in, mere forms; which forthwith proceeded to multiply details almost without end; and, with a rapidity of progress which is generally characteristic of the progress of great mischiefs, overlaid the spiritual glory and true power of the Church with a prodigiously magnificent, but ruinous, ceremonialism. Unhappily, we must needs add, the lesson taught upon this point by the history of ancient Churches, and by that of the Romish Church in particular, appears to have been lost on certain theologians of modern times. Like those whom they have chosen as their models, they claim, as the exclusive endowments of the ecclesiastical polity with which they are connected, (saving always the anterior privileges of the “Church of Rome,”) *jure divino* prerogatives, *apostolical succession*, *sacerdotal office and authority*, and *sacramental grace*. And, to the extent to which they have been able to persuade themselves and others of the justice of these claims, there has been the growth of a system of externalism, vain in itself, but, in their eyes and those of their disciples, so beauteous and sacred, as to have drawn them into a close resemblance to, and many of them into actual communion with, *that system* in which such externalism naturally has its most perfect and attractive development. Nor is this merely an accidental result. The *theological affinity* subsisting between avowed Romanists and Romanizing Protestants, of the class of Archdeacon Wilberforce and others, if it be only allowed free scope for its natural and legitimate action, must, sooner or later, bring the two parties together, as has already

been seen in numerous instances. His idea, that the Sacraments are the first, or rather the only, instruments of our union with Christ and Christ's humanity, stripped of the ambiguous language with which his enunciation of it is connected, is precisely that which the Romanists intend, when they affirm that the Church is the perpetual Incarnation of Christ upon earth.

"To say that Christ is present with us in and through the visible Church, is obviously to make the Church, (virtually,) to individuals, the Vicar and representative of Christ upon earth; and it is but taking one step further, in the same direction, to make the Church Christ himself. Such, in fact, is, in Romanism, the aspect under which the Church presents itself to 'the faithful.' Instead of being present in his word and by his Spirit, and offering himself as the direct means of access, on the sinner's part, to God, Christ is held to have retired from the personal administration of the kingdom of God, and to have delegated his powers—royal, priestly, and prophetic—to the 'visible Church,' (that is, the Clergy,) commanding all men to regard *it*, as they would have regarded *him*, had he been still among them in his human nature. In this one dogma the whole of the Romish system, doctrinal and practical, is contained."—"The embarrassments are endless, in which those who adopt this (the Archdeacon's) view of the Church—and yet stop short of fully developed Romanism—are involved."—"None but a Romanist can plausibly (consistently) maintain, or carry out to its legitimate results, the dogma that the visible Church is the perpetual incarnation or manhood of Christ on earth."—*Litton*, pp. 217, 218.

Our bosom heaves with an involuntary sigh, on the view of a dogma so startling, under the sanction of the much-honoured *name* which the Archdeacon wears as his rich but "perilous inheritance;" and we can scarcely refrain from exclaiming, "*Quantum mutatus ab illo!*" Yes, how changed indeed! We can almost imagine the *sainted* one uttering his warning, if he might only be heard, to the whole school of those whose course is so plainly towards the extreme of *ecclesiastical* parricide,—

*"Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella,
Neu Matris validas in viscera vertite vires.
Tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo :
Projice tela manu, sanguis meus!"*—

We shall not farther notice the volumes which have drawn forth these observations, than to say that the errors they contain are very lucidly exposed in the *Strictures* of Mr. Bird:—which we earnestly commend to the attention of our readers, and especially to those who are Ministers, or otherwise members, of the "Church of England," as containing a fair statement of the substance and tendency of the "sacramental system."

The distinction, made by Calvin, and maintained by Presbyterians, between *ruling* and *teaching* Elders, as constituting two separate classes or orders in the apostolical Churches,

is not admitted by any of the writers with whom we are dealing. We, therefore, willingly abstain from entering into that question, any farther than to say, that, in our judgment, there is no adequate scriptural warrant for any such distinction, and that the balance of proof preponderates greatly in favour of the generally adopted conclusion, that ruling and teaching were simply different functions of one and the same office; namely, that of Presbyters,—except perhaps occasionally, and in extraordinary cases.

As to the *general administration of Church affairs*, and the proper adjustment of lay and clerical influence, Mr. Litton is of opinion that such adjustment “depends upon the maintenance of *three important rules*, commended to us by apostolic precedent.” And in this he is, generally, followed by Mr. Steward, who believes that “co-administration on the part of the Church,” particularly when “headed by Pastors uninspired, must be a cardinal point in its polity.” “There are clearly no apostolic precedents,” he says, “for a pastoral theocracy in the Church; and as clearly none for the opposite theory, democracy. Church rule is neither the one nor the other, but *both* in balancing conjunction.”*

The *first* of Mr. Litton’s “three rules” is “the free admission of the laity to the deliberative assemblies of the Church.” And his palmary argument in proof of it, as well as that of Mr. Steward, is drawn from “the precedent of the apostolic Council held at Jerusalem, which is assumed to be the model of such assemblies in after-ages. “In that Council,” says Mr. Litton, “‘the whole Church,’ consisting of Apostles, Elders, and brethren, came together for the purpose of deliberation; and the decree ran in the name of the whole community.”† Let us see what this precedent really amounts to, as it is given in the scriptural record.

“Certain men from Judea taught the brethren” (at Antioch), “and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.” Whereupon, “they determined that Paul and Barnabas, and certain others of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the *Apostles* and *Elders* about this question. And when they were come to Jerusalem, they were received,”—ἀνεδέχθησαν, *admodum humaniter excepti*,‡ “were very kindly received or entertained”—“of the Church, and of the Apostles and Elders, and they declared” (it is not said *where*, but assuredly not at any *public assembly*; for that supposition converts the twelfth verse into a useless tautology) “all things that God had done with them. But there rose up” (it is not said *where*) “certain of the sect of the Pharisees which believed, saying, That it was needful to circumcise them, and to

* Steward, p. 190.

† Litton, p. 588.

‡ Schleusner *in voc.*

command them to keep the law of Moses.* And the *Apostles* and *Elders*† came together (*συνήχθησαν*) to consider of this matter. And when there had been much disputing (amongst those who had come together), Peter rose up, and said unto them," &c. "Then all the *πλήθος*"—"not *multitude*, but *assembly*—of Apostles and Elders, convened for the special purpose of considering this question"‡—"kept silence, and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul. And after they had held their peace, James answered, saying, Men and brethren, hearken unto me: my sentence (*κρίμα*) is, that we trouble not them, which from among the Gentiles are turned to God: but that we write unto them," &c. And as his "sentence" was, so the whole question was definitively settled,—and settled, so far as the *scriptural record* of this Council gives us any light upon the subject,—we would not say, *without the approval* of others, but—*by the authority* of the Apostles and Elders alone. So, we read in the next chapter, with reference to the conclusions adopted at this Council, that Paul and Timotheus, "as they went through the cities" almost immediately afterwards, "delivered them the decrees for to keep, that were ordained of the *Apostles and Elders* which were at Jerusalem." The "decrees" having been ordained, as just stated, it only remained to determine the best mode of transmitting them to Antioch and elsewhere. And, with reference to this supplementary proceeding, "it pleased the Apostles and Elders, (in conjunction) with (*σὺν*) the whole Church, to choose men from amongst themselves, and to send them (*ἐκλεξαμένους ἀνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι*) to Antioch with Paul and Barnabas; namely, Judas surnamed Barsabas, and Silas, chief men (*ἡγούμενους*) among the brethren." (Acts xv.) The term *ἡγούμενοι*, applied to these two men, is generally agreed to be applicable to Presbyters or Elders only, there being no passage, so far as we know, in which it is applied to those who were Church-members only. In the thirty-second verse of the same chapter, Barsabas and Silas are expressly called "Pro-

* "This opinion, it is plain, was given, not at a *public assembly*," (as Mr. Steward supposes,) "called for the purpose of considering the matter in question, but probably at a private meeting. The assembly denoted by *συνήχθησαν* was plainly *another*, called for the purpose of *deciding* on the question after due deliberation."—Bloomfield's "Greek Testament," note in loc.

† On this part of the narrative Calvin remarks, "*Non dicit Lucas totam Ecclesiam congregatam, sed eos qui doctrinā et iudicio pollebant, et qui, ex ratione officii, huius causae legitimi erant iudices. Fieri quidem potest, ut coram plebe habita fuerit disputatio; sed ne ad tractandam causam vulgus promiscuē fuisse admissum quispiam putaret, Lucas disertē Apostolos et Presbyteros nominat.*"

"Luke does not say that *the whole Church* came together, but those who excelled in knowledge and judgment, and who, in *virtue of office*, were the legitimate judges of this matter. *It is possible*, indeed, that the discussion may have taken place in the presence of the *plebs*; but, lest any one should suppose that the multitude, promiscuously, were allowed to handle the matter, Luke names expressly the *Apostles and Elders*."—Vide Comment. in loc.

‡ Bloomfield's "Greek Testament," Comment on Acts xv. 12. See also p. 485, *infra*.

phets." And, from that circumstance, they would appear to have belonged to the class, before-mentioned, of apostolical Commissioners or Delegates. As such, to say nothing of their qualifications in other respects, they would, *in virtue of their office*, be entitled to attend and assist in the Council at Jerusalem; for, according to Neander, the appellation of ἡγούμενοι, as well as those of προεστώτες and ἐπίσκοποι, was often given to Presbyters.*

To revert to the course which was taken for sending "the decrees" of the Council to Antioch, we incline to the opinion that the words, "in conjunction with the whole Church," may more properly be taken in connexion with the words, "to choose and send," than with the antecedent clause, "it pleased the Apostles and Elders." And in this we are glad to find ourselves supported by the judgment of a writer so candid and respectable as Mr. Barrett:—

"It is in the work of appointing chosen men," he says, "to be messengers, that the Church are joined with their Ministers; and it is when '*letters*' are written and transmitted, that 'the brethren' send their greeting, together with that of the Apostles and Elders, 'unto the brethren which are of the Gentiles in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia.' When the decrees themselves and their authority are alone regarded, it is the work of the ministerial college: when these decrees have to be attested to others, then the whole Church, or the brethren, are added.

"An exactly parallel case occurs in the superscription and sending of several of St. Paul's inspired Epistles. 'Paul, called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God, with *Sosthenes* our brother, unto the Church of God which is at Corinth,' &c.; (1 Cor. ;) 'Paul, an Apostle, and *all the brethren which are with me*, unto the Churches of Galatia;' 'Paul, and *Silvanus*, and *Timotheus*, unto the Church of the Thessalonians.' Now, it will not be doubted whether the matter of the Epistles, in all instances, be produced by the inspired wisdom of Paul alone,—whether he be the sole authority in any case. No one, in any age of the Church, so far as I know, has ever thought of laying to the account of the 'brethren,' on the one hand, or of *Sosthenes*, *Silvanus*, or *Timotheus*, on the other, the authorizing, in whole or in part, of any doctrinal decision, or binding precept, addressed to the respective communions. The introduction of the brethren in the superscription was to signify that these had already received and believed the truths of which the Epistle treated; and now, by concurring with the Apostle in sending it through the medium of a bearer, they testified that this was the very teaching of Paul, and not some spurious production foisted upon them. And so with regard to the other Epistles: whether *Timotheus* and *Silvanus* had any degree of inspiration or not, is nothing to the point; the Epistles are held to be those of Paul. His co-Apostle, Peter, addressing all Christians, and therefore the Thessalonians, speaks of them as his: He, 'Paul, according to the wisdom given him, hath written to you.' (2 Peter

* "History of the Christian Religion and Church during the First Three Centuries."

iii. 15.) They profess to be such, and contain this note of attestation in conclusion: 'The salutation of Paul with mine own hand, which is the token in every Epistle: so I write.' (2 Thess. iii. 17.) These Thessalonians appear to have been tampered with by a forged epistle, as from the Apostle, which enunciated deceptive doctrines respecting 'the day of the Lord.' (ii. 2.) Hence arose the necessity of having known witnesses to the genuineness and authenticity of apostolic communications; and the names of Timotheus and Silvanus, who were then with St. Paul, are therefore appended to the initial address. In this way, the superscription of the pastoral or synodical letter to the Gentile Churches (Acts xv.) is explained. The brethren were associated with the Apostles and Elders, as testifying to the truth and reality of the acts of these latter in council, and that this document was a faithful account of these decisions, and the recommendations thereon."—Pp. 323–325.

Mr. Steward asks,—“Could it have pleased the Church to accept the decree, and to concur in the Epistle, if it had been shut out from all participation in the matter?” Our answer is, that, with all his leanings to popular rights and lay-interference, Calvin himself simply admits, that it was *possible* that the *plebs* may have been present, as we have noticed already; but that “the modesty of the *plebs* appears herein, that, after leaving the judgment in the hands of the Apostles and the rest of the Doctors, they also subscribe to their decree.”*

He appears also to suppose, that by the long paraphrase and comment in which he has enveloped the case in question, he has secured for his theory an in-expugnable position. But his defences consist, for the most part, of mere imagination, or of feebly-supported conjecture. By reasoning from doubtful probabilities and vague assumptions to unquestionable certainties, as he has done, it were no difficult task to bring out conclusions directly contradictory to those which he has adopted. But it is enough for our purpose, to have shown that he has failed to prove *his* thesis, chiefly from attempting to prove too much; if he has not, also, indirectly, given strength and cogency to the arguments, both from facts and from grammatical criticism, which are available against him. There is, however, one piece of criticism, to which it is clear he attaches particular importance, and on which, therefore, it were ungracious and unjust, not to bestow a little attention.

“Who can be meant,” he says, “by the phrase of ‘all the multitude who kept silence and gave audience to Barnabas and Paul?’ Are these Apostles, and Elders, too? The absurdity of such a supposition is but too manifest. The phrase ‘multitude,’ or ‘all the multitude,’ *never* bears such a meaning in the New Testament. It *always* means the people,—the mass, whether composing the Church, or the hearers of the word.”—P. 177.

* “*Plebs modestia hinc colligitur, quod postquam Apostolis et reliquis Doctoribus judicium permisit, nunc quoque subscribit eorum decreto.*”—*Comment. in Act. xv. 22.*

Of course, the meaning of this statement is, that, according to the *usus loquendi* of the New Testament, the word *πλήθος* cannot be applied to the bulk, or whole, of an assembly composed of Apostles and Elders only. Then, by parity of inference, neither can it be applied to the bulk, or whole, of an assembly composed of "Elders of the People, the Chief Priests and Scribes," only. But what is the fact? On referring to Luke's Gospel, from xxii. 66, to xxiii. 1, we read as follows: "The Elders (τὸ πρεσβυτέριον *) of the People, and the Chief Priests and the Scribes, came together, and led Him into their Council." (συνέδριον ἑαυτῶν.) And, after having interrogated Him, in the manner stated by Luke, (vv. 67-71,) "the whole multitude of them," † (ἅπαν τὸ πλήθος αὐτῶν,) that is, of the Elders of the people, &c., "arose and led Him to Pilate." Were these "Elders, and Chief Priests, and Scribes," the *people*—the *mass*, composing the Church, (or synagogue,) or the hearers of the word (or law)? So Mr. Steward's *dictum*, above cited, would determine; but with how much propriety, let himself be judge. And if Luke, in his Gospel, uses the word *πλήθος*, as it is clear that he does, in the instance now mentioned, with reference to a council, or *synedrium*, in the proceedings of which the mass of the people had no share, why may not the same writer apply the same term to the "Council of Jerusalem," though consisting of Apostles and Presbyters only?

In thus dealing with the question in hand, we are not intending to deny, or even to question, the right of the laity "to be admitted to deliberative assemblies of the Church," but simply to deny the existence of any warrant of *clear scriptural authority* for the claim which is set up by Mr. Litton and Mr. Steward, on their behalf, of a "right to be freely admitted to *all*" such assemblies. Such denial, however, leaves room for very ample admission, that, on *other* grounds, there are many deliberative assemblies to which they have much more than an *equitable* claim to be admitted,—a claim which cannot be rejected, or even ignored, without serious error, and the probability of mischief to all parties concerned. We are disposed to go a long way in such admissions; and we are more than equally willing to concede, that, "in the management of the funds of the Church, the laity should have a part, either personally or by their representatives."

The *second* claim of Mr. Litton, on behalf of the laity, is, "that they should have joint rights with the Clergy in the appointment of Pastors." And he adds, that "the rule which

* "Luke, in this passage, and in Acts xxii. 5, gives this name to the Sanhedrim. In Acts v. 21, he calls it ἡ γερουσία."—Bloomfield, *in loc.*

† "Render *πλήθος* *cœtum*, 'assembly;' and by *αὐτῶν*, understand the Chief Priests and Scribes."—Idem, *in Luc. xxiii. 1*. See also Schleusner's "Lexicon," and Matt. xxvii. 1, 2.

Scripture furnishes on this point is, that no Pastor is to be placed over a Church, without its consent having been previously obtained thereto." In proof of this rule, he alleges the mode in which Matthias was appointed to supply the place of Judas Iscariot: (Acts i. 23-26:) "They (the disciples) appointed (ἔστησαν) two." But the word ἔστησαν does not mean, "they appointed," but "they *proposed* for election;" as it does also in the next instance cited, of the appointment of seven Deacons. (Acts vi. 2-6.) In both instances, this word describes the act of "the disciples," rendered by our translators, in the first, "appointed," and in the second, "set before." And there the act of the disciples ended. "Look ye out men whom *we* may appoint." With respect to the seven "Deacons," Mr. Litton very candidly adds, "that if, as some have thought, those who were appointed to office under that name were not Deacons, properly so called,—that is, as the term was afterwards understood,—but lay-administrators of the revenues of the Church, the transaction does not constitute a precedent for the principle in question." What their office really was, is tolerably clear from the statement which is made, that it was on the ground, that it was not reason that the Apostles should leave the word of God and serve tables,—that it seemed meet to the Apostles to "appoint" them "to *this business*." And, thirdly, he refers to the case of Paul and Barnabas, as "having ordained" (χειροτονήσαντες) "Elders" in the newly founded churches of Asia, (Acts xiv. 23,) on the ground—which may be very freely conceded—that, "although the word χειροτονέω is often used to signify the simple act of appointing, and does not necessarily mean, appointing with the consent of others, it is better, where there is no reason, as there is none here, for departing from it, to adhere to the natural and original signification of the word, which is, to appoint officers by means of suffrage."* To these cases may be added that of the selection of the deputies who should carry to Antioch, and other Churches, the "decrees which were ordained by the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem."† To these Scripture testimonies, Mr. Litton adds "the weighty testimony of Clement of Rome," and an extract from one of the "Epistles" of Cyprian, both of which he regards as confirming the rule which he derives from scripture precedents.

We are inclined to think that the language of Cyprian has been sometimes unduly strained, by Mr. Litton and others, to a meaning which Cyprian himself never intended. His true meaning is to be gathered, not merely from any particular expressions, detached from the rest, but from a regard to those expressions *in connexion with the circumstances* by which the Letter was occasioned, and to which it mainly refers. What were those

* Litton, p. 595.

† Cyprian, p. 172.

circumstances? Basilides and Martialis, Bishops of the Churches, officers, and people, (*plebs*), to whom the letter was addressed, had fallen into *sins so scandalous*, as to render it necessary that they should be deposed from their offices, and that others should be appointed in their stead. With reference to such appointments, Cyprian cites, in the first instance, the ordination of Eleazar, as successor to the priesthood, on the decease of Aaron his father; (Num. xx. 25;) and remarks that, by Divine direction, this ordination took place "in the sight of all the congregation," God himself intending thereby to show that "all ordinations of Priests should be made with the privity (*consentientia*) of the people (*populi*) standing by, in order that, in the presence of the *plebs*, (of the Church,) the *crimes of those who are wicked* may be uncovered, and the *merits* of those who are good may be set forth; so that the ordination may be just and legitimate, as having been tried by the judgment and suffrage of all." He next refers to the apostolical precedents already cited, and says that the ordinations or appointments, therein specified, were made "in the presence of the whole multitude (of the Church) assembled together, lest any *unworthy* person should creep into the service of the altar, or the place of the Priests." And then, with reference to the particular case in question, he adds, "Wherefore, in pursuance of Divine tradition and apostolical observance, there must needs be a diligent keeping and maintenance of the rule, which is kept amongst *us* also, and throughout almost all the ecclesiastical provinces; namely, that in order to the due celebration of ordinations, all the neighbouring Bishops, of the same province, should come together to the *plebs*, over whom a *præpositus* is ordained; and that a Bishop should be ordained in the presence of that people, which is fully acquainted with the *life* of each one, and has thoroughly seen his *practice* (*actum*) from his conversation."

The conclusion to be drawn from the Letter of Cyprian is, that the practice of *almost* all the Churches of his time was, to make appointments of Bishops, and other Church-officers, in the presence of the Churches specially concerned in such appointments; not so much on the ground of "joint *right*," as on the ground of its being a common *duty* on the part of the ordinary Bishops (or Presbyters) and the *plebs*, to take all possible precautions against the appointment of persons who might be defective in their *moral* and *religious* character; and that, this point being secured, the act of appointment, or ordination, was vested in the Bishops or Presbyters.* Cyprian himself, in cases

* Cyprian, Epist. lxvii. (Oxford Edition.) It may be added, "that in conformity with this practice of the Churches, the Emperor Alexander Severus, previously to his appointment of Governors, Prefects, and other officers to the Roman provinces, made a practice of publishing his arrangements, with the names of the parties proposed to be

where his own judgment and conscience were satisfied as to the eligibility of persons for the pastoral office, on the score of their general qualification and merit, made no scruple of ordaining them to clerical offices, even in the Church at Carthage, without any consultation of the people at all. "In clerical ordinations," says he, in a letter addressed to the Presbyters, and Deacons, and the whole *plebs* of that Church, "we are accustomed to consult you beforehand, and in common council to weigh the morals and merits of each; but human testimonies are not to be waited for, when there are Divine suffrages going before. Know, therefore, my very dear brethren, that he (Aurelius) has been ordained by me and by my colleagues who were present." *

The *third*, and, in the opinion of Mr. Litton, the most important of the rights which belong to the laity, "relates to the exercise of discipline." And he adds, "That this power of inflicting Church censures is to be vested not in the clerical body alone, rests on the clearest evidence of Scripture. It is the whole Society, under the Presidency of its Pastors, that is to adjudicate upon the case, and pronounce sentence." In proof of these statements, Mr. Litton first adduces the oft-cited directions given by our Lord with reference to a certain particular case, "If thy brother trespass against thee," &c. (Matt. xviii. 15-17.) In the case which he supposes, the complainant, on the failure of all reasonable *private* attempts to obtain satisfaction for the "trespass" committed, is directed to "tell it to the Church." "The meaning of Christ is plain: that he who has offended, and has been in vain reproved by 'two or three,' is to be reported to all the members of the Church, in order that they all—not, certainly, the Elders of the Church alone—may, according to their ability, instruct, admonish, and restore him to the right way. For this duty is committed to all the faithful, to take care of those who are in error."† But let the term "*Church*," in this instance, mean what it may,—for ourselves we have no great objection to its meaning all the Church, only not in its *collective* capacity,—where is the intimation of its having any call "to adjudicate upon the case," or "to pronounce sentence?" The very terms used by our Lord plainly assume the

appointed; remarking, that, 'inasmuch as the Christians and Jews followed this practice, it would be a hard case if the same thing should not be done on the appointment of Governors.'"—*Note*, by Rigaltius.

* "*In ordinationibus clericis solemus vos antè consulers, et mores ac merita singulorum communi consilio ponderare; sed expectanda non sunt testimonia humana, cum procedunt Divina suffragia.*—*Hunc igitur, (Aurelium,) fratres dilectissimi, à me et à collegis qui præsentes aderant, ordinatum sciatis.*"—*Ibid.*, Epist. xxxviii.

† "*Senex enim Christi clarus est, eum qui peccavit et frustra correptus est à duobus aut tribus, indicandum esse omnibus Ecclesie membris, ut illum omnes (non certè soli Presbyteri Ecclesie) pro sua facultate instruant, admoneant, et in viam rectam reducant. Est enim hoc officii demandatum omnibus fidelibus, ut errantium curam habeant.*"—Vitringa, *De Synagoga Vetere*, lib. i., p. i., cap. ii.

fact of the trespass; and, on the supposition of the offender's finally refusing to "hear the Church," He himself pronounces the sentence, if such it may be called,—“Let him be to thee” (the party complaining)—not necessarily or immediately to the Church—“as a heathen man and a publican.” “Of the Church, (in its corporate form,) nothing here is required. In respect of it, the *offending* brother would suffer no loss of privilege, nor would he be excommunicated by it. Christ simply directs that the brother who is *injured* or *offended*, should avoid familiar intercourse with the trespassing or offending brother until he has obtained entire satisfaction.” *

The next instance mentioned by Mr. Litton in support of his theory of the rights of the laity in disciplinary matters, is that of the incestuous Corinthian. (1 Cor. v.) Of this case he speaks, as being one “from which may be gathered the rule which the Apostles prescribed to themselves.” But, unhappily for his argument, as we shall presently see, he *first* lays down his rule, and *then* deals with the example, from which it “may be gathered.” That rule, as he gives it, is as follows:—

“To the presiding Bishop, or Elders, it ordinarily appertains to pronounce and carry out the decree of expulsion: and, as long as the legislative power resides in the whole Society,—so that no decision in matters of discipline can be come to without the consent of the people,—there is no danger in permitting the clerical body, as a particular member of it, to be the organ of the community in promulgating its decree.”—Pp. 596, 597.

Now, in accordance with this rule, it was to have been expected that the whole Society at Corinth would meet together, to examine and decide upon the case in question, both as to the verdict and the sentence; and that, the Apostle not being able to attend in person, they would transmit their judgment to the Apostle, for the purpose of its receiving his official sanction. Or, supposing, as was the fact, that, instead of dealing with the case, they should be “puffed up,” and not rather mourn that he that had done this thing might be taken away from among them,—did not the rule, as laid down by Mr. Litton, require that, besides urging them to disciplinary proceedings, the Apostle should suspend his judgment, and wait for their decision, and *then*, adding his own vote, (if he had any,) should be, personally or by letter, “the organ of the community in promulgating and executing its decrees?” The rule stated, assuredly, required all this. But what was the Apostle's actual procedure? Does he give to “the whole Society,” or to any other parties, directions to judge and

* “*De Ecclesiâ hic nihil repetitur. Ejus respectu, frater lædens nullam pateretur diminutionem, nec ab eâ excommunicaretur: sed id tantum monet Christus, ut frater læsus vel offensus familiariorem lædentis aut offendentis conversationem vitaret, donec sibi penitus esset satisfactum.*”—*Ibid.* (The opinion of Selden, quoted with approval by Vitringa, lib. i., p. i., cap. ix.)

determine the matter? No; not at all. He simply gives them his own decision, to be considered as being given by himself, on their "being assembled together,"—as "being present in spirit, though absent in body,"—and he concludes with the following charge, "Put away from among yourselves that wicked person." The "rule" and the example are at variance with each other. This Mr. Litton very plainly feels; and so, to compromise the matter, says that the Apostle, in acting as he did, was "super-seding, apparently, for the time being, the regular authorities of the Church:" in other words, on the showing of Mr. Litton, the case at Corinth is at the same time a *rule*, and yet, in the *main* points, an *exception*, too!—and the reader may take it to be either a *rule*, or *no rule*, as his own discretion may determine. We ought to add, that for putting us into this dilemma he makes ample amends by the following observation in another part of his work:—

"It must be remembered that this person (the incestuous person at Corinth) was, when St. Paul wrote, no longer regarded by him as even in visible communion with the Church, the Apostle having 'judged already concerning him who' had 'so done this deed, to deliver such an one to Satan;' and the sentence of excommunication subsequently pronounced by the Church being but the ratification of that which had previously issued from St. Paul."—*Litton*, p. 303.

That the excommunication of the offender should afterwards have been spoken of (2 Cor. ii. 6) as a "punishment" *ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων*, does little towards deciding the point at issue, as to the *authority* on which that punishment was decreed; whether we say it was "*of many*" (as the authorized English version has it) or "*by the means or instrumentality of many*," according to the sense which the word *ὑπὸ* bears in Rev. vi. 8, and elsewhere. All that is *certain* on *this* point—so far as the *record* guides us—is, that this communication was, on the part of the Church, an act of submission to apostolic authority, plainly indicated so to be by the Apostle's own words: "For to this end," says he, "did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be *obedient* in all things."

Before quitting this case, we must allow Mr. Litton an opportunity of again explaining and correcting himself, as to what he holds to be the relative position of Ministers and laymen on disciplinary matters, especially in extraordinary cases:—

"It cannot be denied," he says, "that Scripture, far from making the Ministers of Christ the mere organs of the Church, every where invests them with an independent and effective authority. They are described as 'leaders' of the flock, to whom obedience is due; as 'overscers' of the Church of God; and the charges given to Timothy and Titus, in their simple ministerial capacity, to 'rebuke sharply,' to 'command and teach,' and to 'reject' the contumacious and self-willed, prove that authority of no contemptible kind was committed to their hands.

Not unfrequently, indeed, the circumstances of the times were such as to call for, on the part of the Bishop, the most rigorous exercise of the prerogatives of his office conferred upon him, in order to prevent the Church from becoming a scene of anarchy and disorder."—Pp. 587, 591.

There is yet another instance (in Acts xxi.) in which Mr. Steward imagines that he has discovered "an incidental notice of Church practice in exact accordance with" his views of the preceding instances, as to the participation of "the multitude" of the Church in every department of Church rule. We should scarcely have thought the case worthy of being noticed at all, but that his treatment of it furnishes a singularly striking example of the way in which a mind warmed with a new theory takes the most trifling things for proof, just as a piece of amber or glass, *recently* rubbed, takes up very small particles, and adheres to them with a tenacity inversely proportionate to their weight.

It appears, from the chapter referred to, that, on the arrival of Paul and his companions from Cæsarea, "the brethren" at Jerusalem "gladly received them. And, on the day following, they went in unto James; and all the Elders were present." No other persons are mentioned; nor is there any, the remotest, intimation that any others were there. Having delivered his report, which was well received, especially as it was accompanied (according to Acts xxiv. 17) "with alms to his nation, and offerings," he was informed that, in consequence of certain rumours to his disadvantage,—as though he "taught the Jews among the Gentiles to forsake Moses,"—there was reason to fear, that a commotion might arise amongst the "many thousands of Jews which believed, and were all zealous of the law," so soon as they should "hear that Paul was come." It was not yet generally known amongst them; but, on its being so known, "the multitude," they said, "must needs come together," (A.V.) πάντως δεῖ πλῆθος συνελθεῖν. In commenting upon this narrative, and especially upon the passage last quoted, Mr. Steward remarks,—

"The only point of interest here is the allusion that occurs of (to) the coming together of the Church to sift these, as soon as it should have been ascertained that Paul was come. This notice of the Church, as of necessity to be gathered together on this occasion, is *decisive* as to its general practice, and of its unquestioned right to convocate whenever it saw good, as well as to take part in the business which had brought it together: no more need be said."—P. 191.

Mr. Steward, indeed, has said quite enough. But the want of the article (τὸ) before πλῆθος is, in our judgment, fatal to his view of the case. And in this particular objection we find our-

selves supported by Pricæus and Rosenmüller;* and, if we are not mistaken, by Dr. Bloomfield also. The latter says: "Piscator, Beza, and Grotius understand this (πλήθος) of a regular convocation of the people, as contradistinguished from the Presbyters. But all the best recent commentators seem right in determining the sense to be, 'It is unavoidable but that a—not the—multitude should flock together.' Δεῖ, like ἀνάγκη, often denotes what *must and will happen*." Further, as cited by Kuinoel, (*in loc.*,) Heinrichs is of opinion, that πλήθος has reference not to "a church-assembly (cætus) to be convoked by the Apostles," but simply to a *concourse* of the multitude. And the issue of the matter, notwithstanding the precaution taken against it, was what "James and all the Elders" had apprehended, as being unavoidable,—a riotous mob. "When the seven days (of purification) were almost ended, the Jews which were of Asia stirred up all the people, and laid hands upon him, and all the city was moved, and in an uproar," and Paul narrowly escaped with his life! (Acts xxi. 27–31.) If the practice of the Churches, and the meaning of the passage in question, were such as he supposes them to have been, how is it that there is no mention of any formal convocation of the *plebs* of the Church on this occasion? And where was the "*balance-principle*," with "*its working equilibrium*," all this time?

The directions of Christ, and the practice of the apostolical Churches, are thus seen to avail but little, if anything at all, in favour of the principle, or "rule," in support of which they have been so strenuously pleaded. We may now proceed to refer to the views which are suggested by the practice of the Synagogue, on the platform of which the early Churches were established. On this point, Mr. L. first assumes that our Saviour's direction (Matt. xviii.) is to be interpreted, as "conferring the power of excommunication, not upon the Pastors of the Church only, but upon the *whole body* of Pastors and people;" and, secondly, he states that, in so doing, he "merely turned to a Christian use the well-known existing practice of synagogical excommunication."—P. 201. His assumption, on the first point, we have already shown to be groundless; and equally groundless, we are now prepared to maintain, is the assumption which he makes, in reasoning on the supposition that the power of excommunication was vested in the *whole body* of the people composing the Synagogue. His statement on this point purports, indeed, to rest on the authority of Vitringa;† but, on examining the passage to which he refers, we find that the testimony of Vitringa is so far from being in accordance with that of Mr. Litton, that it is even directly contrary to it. "Let us now see," says

* "Quia ante πλήθος articulus deest, non malè conjicit Pricæus, concursum potius quàm convocationem denotari."—Rosenmüller, *Comment. in loc.*

† *De Syn. Vet.*, lib. iii., p. i., cap. ix.

Vitringa, "who were the persons with whom, in the Jewish Church, was lodged the power of exercising this act. The Canons of the Hebrews every where assign *public excommunication** to the בית דין 'House of Judgment,' or 'Synedrium,' by which, he says, we are to understand the judicial Presbytery ("Senatum judiciale").† It is, in fact, one of the main objects of Vitringa, in the chapter to which Mr. Litton refers, to prove, not only that "Christian excommunication has its origin from the Jewish," but also that "the act of excommunication" belonged of right to the Rulers of the Synagogue."‡

Having thus examined the scriptural, Judaical, and patristic authorities, which have been supposed to justify, or rather to demand, the "three rules" laid down by Mr. Litton, in favour of the rights of the laity in Church affairs, we have only to add, with reference to him, that whilst we reject the fallacies which we have shown to exist in some parts of his reasoning, we yet agree with him in many of his conclusions; and that, on the whole, as a statement of the case between Romanists and Protestants, his work is entitled to our hearty commendation.

And here we should be willingly content to leave the matter, having ourselves very small relish for *ecclesiastical* controversy, and being inclined to believe that our readers, in general, are not disposed to go into such matters to any greater length than that to which we have already carried them. But two of the writers named at the head of this Article, have made special reference to the ecclesiastical polity of the Wesleyan Body. It seems, therefore, to be incumbent upon us, in fulfilment of one of the pledges contained in our Prospectus, to take some notice of that polity, and particularly of the strictures which one of those writers has made upon it; with a view to its being shown what that polity *really is*, and how far it agrees with so much of the theory, just now examined, as may be fairly admitted.

First, then, let us look at the general administration of Church affairs, including participation in deliberative assemblies, and the management of Church funds. It should be understood, that those portions of the country which are occupied by the Wesleyan Connexion, are geographically divided into *Circuits*, each portion including some city or town, (or a part of such city or town,) with a number of neighbouring towns or villages; and also into

* As distinguished from the *private* excommunication referred to in Matt. xviii.

† "Videamus nunc secundo loco, penes quos in Ecclesiâ Judaicâ resederit potestas hujus actus exercendi. Hebræorum Canones excommunicationem publicam adscribunt בית דין, Domui Judiciæ, sive SYNEDRIO. Receptum est, eâ dictione vulgò innui Senatam Judiciale; nec aliter hic sumendum existimo."—*De Synagoga Vetere*, lib. iii., p. i., cap. ix. (Ed. Franqueræ, 1696, p. 744.)

‡ "Nobis nunc stat propositum, 1. Quædam eorum quæ Seldenus aut præterit, aut singularem animadversionem merentur, relegere. 2. Excommunicandi actum signatim vindicare τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν. 3. Ostendere, excommunicationem Christianam ortum suum trahere de Judaicâ.—*Ibid.*, p. 730.

Districts, each District comprehending a number of Circuits. In each Circuit, in addition to one or more Ministers, there are two Circuit-Stewards, several Society-Stewards, and a large number of Leaders of Classes; all these (with rare exceptions in the case of Leaders) being of the *laity*. For the transaction of business, in the various Societies belonging to each Circuit, including the distribution of the Poor's Fund, as well as other matters more directly spiritual, there are weekly meetings of the Stewards and Leaders of each Society; and there is a Quarterly-Meeting, consisting of the several Stewards and Leaders in the Circuit, together with a number of Trustees of Chapels and Local Preachers,—all of the laity,—to deal with the *finances and general interests* of the Circuit. And, in addition to these, there may be Special Circuit-Meetings, for special emergencies. There are, further, two Meetings in each year, of all the Ministers of the District, at both of which all the Circuit-Stewards and District-Treasurers of Connexional Funds (who are always laymen) have a right to participate, in the transaction of financial business. All these are administered by Ministers and laymen, in conjunction, a layman being always one of the Treasurers of each such Fund. The laity are not admitted to the Annual Meeting of Ministers, composing the Conference; it having been understood from the beginning, and it being the practice to this day, that its business is almost wholly restricted to examinations of ministerial character, to the settling of ministerial appointments, and other matters of minor, though necessary, detail, together with the confirmation of the proceedings of the *mixed* Committees of Ministers and laymen, held immediately before the Conference. *Occasionally*, only, it proceeds to *legislative* acts; such acts, however, being not considered to be absolutely binding in the first instance, but being left open to objection and appeal, on the part of the Societies. In cases of *special importance*, they are submitted beforehand to large meetings of Ministers and laymen, in conjunction, invited from all parts of the Connexion.

With respect to the *second* item in Mr. Litton's enumeration of the rights of the laity; namely, their "joint rights with the Clergy in the appointment of Pastors," and, we will add, in the appointment of other Church-officers; the following is the settled practice of the Wesleyan body. No person can be appointed to the office of Leader, or Society-Steward, or Poor's-Steward, but with the expressed concurrence of the Leaders'-Meeting; nor to the office of Circuit-Steward, but with a similar concurrence on the part of the Circuit Quarterly-Meeting; nor to that of a Local Preacher, without the concurrence of a Local Preachers'-Meeting. No man can be received even as a *candidate* for the office of a Pastor, but on the previous recommendation of the Quarterly-Meeting of the Circuit to which he belongs. In all these cases,

it is true, the nomination is with the Ministers; but the power of accepting or rejecting—Cyprian's *potestas vel eligendi vel recusandi*—is with the laity, who almost exclusively compose the meetings at which the various nominations are made.

Mr. Litton's *third* and last point, on the rights of the laity, relates to their participation in "the exercise of *discipline*," particularly in cases of expulsion from Church-office, or Church-membership; or, as he chooses to call it, excommunication. The latter term is not current in the phraseology of the Wesleyan body, because, in its ordinary acceptation, as being equivalent to implying a separation from even the visible Church of Christ, it involves much more than is necessarily and in all cases involved in *their* idea of "expulsion from the Society." With respect to the exercise of discipline on the lay-members of their Societies, their practice is as follows. In case of complaint against any member, he is thereupon summoned to appear before the Leaders'-Meeting, and, whether he attends or not, that Meeting constitutes the Court of hearing, the lay-officers present—together with such Ministers of the Circuit as may also be present in addition to the presiding Minister—acting in some sort as jurors, with the exception that they are not previously "sworn," their religious principle being held to constitute a sufficient obligation to fidelity, and that they are not required to be unanimous in their verdict. The innocence or guilt of the accused party having been decided, not merely as to the facts of the case, but also as to the bearing which the "law of Christ," and the settled Rules of the Society as being in harmony with that law, may have upon the facts, the censure, or sentence, in case of a verdict against those accused, rests with the Pastor. But, that he may not act precipitately, he is required to suspend his judgment for one week, at least, and, in the mean time, to take counsel privately, not only with members of that Meeting, but with others beyond, leaving, however, both to the party accused, and to the Pastor, the right of appeal to the District-Meeting and Conference, if either the one complain of an unfair trial, or the other of being hampered by a verdict palpably at variance with facts. Further,—

"Against a sentence of expulsion pronounced by the Superintendent, after the verdict of a Leaders'-Meeting, the Regulations adopted by the Conference of 1835 give to every member the right of appeal to a Minor District-Meeting, of which he may select two—that is, one-half—of the members or jurors. And, in 1852, with the unanimous sanction of a large number of laymen from all parts of the country, it was provided, with reference to *extraordinary cases*, that, should there be dissatisfaction, on either side, with the verdict of a Leaders'-Meeting, then, before the appeal goes to the superior tribunals, there shall be a re-hearing of the case before a jury of twelve persons, (laymen,) to be chosen by the Quarterly-Meeting (consisting of laymen)

of the Circuit in which the offence occurs, and a new verdict taken ; in order that this wider appeal to persons more likely to be dispassionate and disinterested may have the effect of bringing the case to a speedier and more satisfactory conclusion ; so making the appeal to the District-Meeting and the Conference, which is the final authority, only a last resource. It is also provided, that, where a Trustee of a chapel is accused, the co-Trustees of that chapel, being members of the same Society, shall, in the case of a trial, meet with the Leaders, and take part in the verdict. The 'Leaders' have a right, likewise, of declaring any candidate for admission into the Societies unfit to be received, after which declaration the person is not received. Office-bearers, as 'Leaders' and 'Local Preachers,' have the right of objecting to the introduction, among themselves, of persons whom they may deem unfit, or with whom they may not be disposed officially to associate ; as, also, of deliberating mutually in reference to the discharge of their mutual duties, and of deciding on the fault or delinquency of those who are accused of neglect, or any other fault involving the liability of removal from office. And, finally, if the majority of the Trustees, or the majority of the Stewards and Leaders of any Society, believe that any Preacher appointed for their Circuit is immoral, erroneous in doctrine, deficient in abilities, or that he has broken any of the Rules (of Pacification, made by Ministers and laymen in 1797), they shall have authority to summon the Preachers of the District, and all the Trustees, Stewards, and Leaders of that Circuit, to meet in their chapel. The Chairman of the District shall be President ; and every Preacher, Trustee, Steward, and Leader shall have a vote. And, if the majority of the Meeting judge that the accused Preacher is immoral, erroneous in doctrine, or deficient of ability, or has broken any of the Rules referred to, he shall be considered as removed from that Circuit ; and another shall be appointed in his stead."—*Barrett*, pp. 348-351.

These are the facts of the case. For the present, we make no comment upon them, but leave them to speak for themselves ; simply requesting our readers to compare these facts with the statements contained in one of Mr. Steward's most elaborate and eloquent comments on the ecclesiastical system to which they belong :—

"Methodism," he says, "in *every* thing belonging to its government and action on the people, is *simply* a machine formed and worked by the Pastorate *alone*. *Every* spring and power of it are actuated by the Pastorate,—*every* right and privilege emanate from the Pastorate,—and are held by this *one* tenure. The Pastorate keeps the keys of *every* apartment of this great house ; and its escutcheon is impressed on *all* and *every* thing it contains,—on *every* ordinance and function set up there for its order and maintenance. It grasps the members of its own fellowship and of the Church with *equal* force, and disposes of a man's commission to teach and preach, or to hold membership in the Church, *WITHOUT ANY POPULAR SUFFRAGE OR INTERFERENCE WHATEVER*."—*Introduction*, pp. xxvii., xxviii.

For ourselves, on reading so astonishing a statement, we pause for a moment to take breath. And, having recovered ourselves a little, we go over the statement a second time. And as we proceed with it, sentence by sentence, we venture to ask, In the machine of Methodism, does *no* layman assist, either in forming or working any of the parts or details of which it is composed? Is there *no* spring or power which laymen actuate? *no* privilege or right which emanates from *them*? Is there *nothing* it contains impressed with their escutcheon? Have they *nothing* at all to do with the origination and management of the Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Society, or of the Theological Institution, or the System of Sabbath and Week-day Schools, or the Training College at Westminster, &c.? Is there *no* key of *any* apartment in the house kept by a *layman*, either alone or in conjunction with others? Have they *nothing* to do with the selection of the persons who compose the Pastorate? May men become Pastors *without* them? and then, for aught that *any* layman can do, preach, and live, and govern, just as they list? and is there *no* opportunity, on the part of the laymen, to interfere with their *doctrine*, or *morals*, or *rule*? Is there "no lay (or popular) interference whatever," on the question of Church-membership, or on the appointment of Church-officers? Have they *no* share in the government of the body? Does Methodism allow them *no* suffrage on the question of law-making and rule? and do they take *no* part in the charge and administration of Connexional Funds? And are they *never* consulted, either before or afterwards, in any of these matters? One question more: Can Mr. Steward deny any *one*—and, much more, can he deny *all*—of what we have stated, a little before, as the facts of the case? If he can, let him do so. If not, in deference to the "balance-principle," we will abstain from pronouncing any positive judgment of our own, and will just leave it to the *πλήθος* of our readers—with whom it is for our advantage, as well as for that of the public, that we should continue on good terms—to determine for us, whether the comment we have quoted from Mr. Steward's Introduction, is not a species of misrepresentation, for which *hyperbole* is rather too gentle a name. We will, at the same time, and on the same principle, leave them to say, whether "Methodism, as it is," deserves the brand of "Ultramontaniam," which Mr. Isaac Taylor, for lack of better information,—and others, from defects of a more serious character,—have attempted to stamp upon it.

As to the discipline farther exercised by the Conference on its own members, its practice is assuredly, at all events, not "Ultramontane." The Popish authorities, it is well known, reserve the *severity* of their discipline for the *plebs*, the Clergy enjoying the indulgence of a more lenient inquisition; whereas the Wesleyan Ministers are all annually subjected to scrutiny on every thing

relating to their personal and ministerial character, with a strictness beyond any thing which is used towards private Church-members. We question whether any other religious body has a guarantee equal to that which this practice secures for the purity of its Clergy. And he must be a bold, and not very wise, theorist, who would seek in any way to alter it.

To return, for a short time, to Mr. Steward's "Principles of Church Government," we are delighted with the *mottos*, from Cicero* and Shakspeare,† which face the table of "Contents," and cannot but think that, if he had kept them in view through the whole of his volume, he would probably have been saved from very much of the confusion and mistake into which he has fallen. Instead of doing this, unhappily for his subject and for himself, he has exchanged the *musical* illustration which they supply, and which is admirably fitted for his theme, for a *mechanical* one, which is altogether out of place, and which misleads and hampers him almost all the way through. He is evidently a man of gentle spirit, poetical taste, and warm fraternal sympathies; so much so, that it grieves us to be compelled to differ from him so widely, as in justice to the subject we are constrained to do. And if he must needs excogitate a theory out of an illustration, we are quite sure, that himself and his subject would have been much more at home in Music, than in Mechanics. Would, therefore, that he had kept to his two elegant and most appropriate *mottos*! In that case, he might have shown, in his own vivid and powerful style, how the strings of each *fides*, and all the *tibiae*, should be attuned to the New-Testament *pitch*, not to that of the Parliament, or the politico-religious public of this country, or to that of any earthly Government whatever:—how the *harmony* intended is produced, when each of the strings and pipes keeps to its own part, whether it be *alto*, *tenor*, or *bass*; and all, with the same object in view, (for they are all sup-

* The passage, as it appears in the *motto*, is only *part* of a sentence, (to be found in St. Augustin, *Civ. Dei*, lib. ii., cap. 21,) and, of itself, is hardly capable of grammatical construction. The *whole* passage, as it stands in the "Fragments" of Cicero, is as follows: "*Ut in fidibus ac tibiis, atque cantu ipso ac vocibus, concentus est quidam tenendus ex distinctis sonis, quem immutatam ac discrepantem aures eruditæ ferre non possunt, isque concentus ex dissimillarum vocum moderatione concors tamen efficitur et congruens,—sic ex summis et infimis et mediis interjectis ordinibus, ut sonis, moderata ratione civitas consensu dissimiliorum*" (not *dissimiliorum*) "*concinit; et quæ harmonia à musicis dicitur in cantu, ea est in civitate concordia.*" "As, in instruments that go with strings or wind, or as in voices consorted, there is a certain unison, from distinct notes, the least alteration of which is harsh and intolerable to skilful ears, and this unison, though made up from the effect of very different sounds, is yet rendered concordant and congruent; so, from the highest and lowest and intervening orders, as from so many sounds, a city governed by reason, by the agreement of very different things, is in unison; and that which, in song, is called by the musicians '*harmony*,' is, in a city, '*concord*.'"

† "For government, though high, and low, and lower,
Put into parts, doth keep in one consent,
Congreeing in a full and natural close,
Like music."

posed to be living and intelligent,) conspire, without any thing of the spirit of rivalry or counterblast, to heighten the effect of each other:—how the *discords* which may sometimes grate upon the ear may arise from some of the strings or pipes going "out of tune," or from their leaving their own part for the purpose of attempting to take a part which belongs to another, or from officious and unskilful, and, it may be, even mischievous, intermeddling, from some quarter or other, with the tension of the strings, or the adjustment of the pipes, or the arrangement of the parts to be played. And he might also have referred to certain pieces of Church-music, composed by St. Paul and others; such as Rom. xii. 2–16, and 1 Cor. i. 10–13, &c. The illustration he has chosen as his guiding-star is altogether inapt and unintelligible as applied to his subject. We can understand what is meant by *harmonious* action; but a "*working equilibrium*" is what Dr. Whately calls "a *mathematical* impossibility, which involves an absurdity and self-contradiction." This incongruity is very candidly admitted by Mr. Steward himself, in the very first sentence of his chapter on the "Balance:"—

"By this," he says, "is not meant what the word 'balance,' if literally taken, would seem to intimate,—a perfect parity between two constituent forces in a community, which, as placed in opposition to each other, serve but to negative the action of each respectively. Such a balance must imply, not perpetual motion, but perpetual standstill; a notion which, as applied to minds," (and to matter, too,) "is a simple impossibility. All balanced counteraction in societies implies dissolution, or that one or other of their constituents ultimately prevails. By 'balance,' then, is not meant parity in reference to government, or there could be no rule; but such a combination of forces, of different kinds, as serves to modify the ascendant one."—P. 20.

This is intelligible, though not very happily or coherently expressed. But then, for consistency's sake, and for the sake of perspicuity, from this point through the rest of the volume, the terms "*balance*" and "*balance-principle*," and "*equilibrium*," with respect to Church-government, should have been dropped altogether, and the term "combination of different forces," or some equivalent expression, should have been used in their stead. Otherwise, by using, as he does, old words with *new* meanings, which few of his readers will be likely to remember, and the introduction of which very greatly lacks the "*callida junctura*" upon which Horace insists, as being essential to the acceptance and currency of such innovations, he "darkens" his "counsel," almost as much as if he had employed "words *without* meaning." In plain English, his object is to indicate a course of procedure between Absolutism (on the part of Ministers) on the one hand, and Democracy on the other; and this intermediate course he calls "Moderatism." In the remarks which he has

made on these three principles, we freely admit, there is much to approve and admire; and we repudiate the extremes which he condemns, as heartily as he could wish us to do. In so saying, we express also our approval of a system which shall be neither the one nor the other, though we reject the absurdity of its being a "combination" or even "apposition" of two principles which are incompatible with, and contradictory to, each other. We also accept, as freely as he does, the teaching of St. Paul and St. Peter, that government in the Church—but not the *whole* government—is both the ordinance of God, and of man likewise; and that, in those cases of mere detail in which God has not spoken, man may ordain, provided only and always, that his ordinances so agree with the *principles divinely authorized*, as not to detract from them on the one hand, nor to add to them on the other. But at this point we must needs leave him. In sketching his theory of Church-government, he has wandered away from the economy of Christ's household and kingdom to those of merely human societies and worldly governments; and in so doing he has introduced *new principles*, not merely supplementary,—which would be bad enough,—but even contrary, as we think, to "the law of Christ." His theory, therefore, "is of the earth, earthy, and speaketh of the earth;" and it "savoureth not the things that be of God, but those that be of men;" and therefore, as a whole, is utterly inadmissible. "With these views"—to use his own words—"we cannot hold the foundation as sure; and, if there be fault in the foundation, we may be surely spared the labour of examining the superstructure,"* beyond what we have already done in our remarks upon his scriptural precedents. "No more need be said," except that almost every thing that is valuable in his *theory*, is already to be found in *practice*, in the ecclesiastical system which, nevertheless, he so unsparingly condemns.

We deeply regret the necessity of adverting to such topics. A truce, we say, to all controversies on mere externals, saving the right of defence to those whom their adversaries will not suffer to be quiet. The Apostles and earlier Churches had little or no controversy upon such matters; and it was only when attention was transferred from the spirit to the letter, from the substance to the form, that those Churches began to decline in their power for *good*, as well as in their purity. Nor did the Protestant Reformers, in the first instance, object to the external form and polity of the Church against which they protested, but against its doctrinal errors, its blinding superstitions, and its blasphemous idolatry. But as the new or Reformed Churches began to quarrel about modes of worship, and other matters of

* Appendix II., containing "Remarks on an Essay on the Constitution of Wesleyan Methodism, by John Beecham;" an Essay which we strongly recommend to the attention of our readers.

still less importance, the *true* spirit of the Reformation began to wax feeble, the fires of their sanctuaries were buried in ashes; and a renewed dispensation of the Spirit of power and grace became necessary, to renew their strength and to re-kindle their glory. So it will always be. The zeal expended upon things merely external, is so much withdrawn from what is due to those things which are spiritual; and the jewel is forgotten, and in danger of being lost altogether, in the bustle of those who *will* tinker the casket. The guilt of these damaging controversies rests, of course, with the *aggressors*, and with those who encourage them, whosoever they be; just as the guilt of the mischief that may accompany, or follow, the European war now opening its thunders, rests with the Russian Czar, and with those who may abet him. "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind," as to what Church or Society it is that most nearly approaches the scriptural standard, and will best subserve, in his own case, the great objects which all Churches ought to promote; and then let him study to "be quiet and do his own business," and "to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace." Should he want other work, there is better work to be done, if the Apostle was right, than that of "meddling with those who are given to change." Our own country demands of the Churches a more thorough cultivation, and "the field" of "the world" is all before them. Let their "wars cease." Let them "beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks," and let them "learn war no more." "Then shall the earth yield her increase; and God, even our own God, shall bless us. God shall bless us; and all the ends of the earth shall fear Him."

ART. VII.—1. *State Papers published under the Authority of Her Majesty's Commission.—King Henry the Eighth.* Eleven Vols. 4to. London. 1830–1852.

2. *Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies of Great Britain, from the Commencement of the Twelfth Century to the Close of the Reign of Queen Mary.* Edited chiefly from the Originals in the State-Paper Office, the Tower of London, &c. By MARY ANNE EVERETT WOOD. Three Vols. London: Colburn. 1846.

3. *Writings and Disputations of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the Lord's Supper.* Edited for the Parker Society by THE REV. JOHN EDMUND COPE, M.A. Two Vols. 8vo. Cambridge. 1844.

4. *Sermons and Remains of Hugh Latimer, sometime Bishop of Worcester.* Edited for the Parker Society by THE REV. GEORGE ELWES CORRIE, B.D. 8vo. Cambridge. 1845.

5. *Remains of Myles Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter.* Edited for the Parker Society by THE REV. GEORGE PEARSON, D.D. 8vo. Cambridge. 1846.

THE transition periods of history present to the mental vision of the philosophic thinker phases fraught with deep interest, not only from their ultimate bearing upon the wide out-stretching destinies of countries and kingdoms, some of them slumbering in the mysterious haze of a yet undreamed-of future, but also from their developments of human power and human passion, alternately swaying, and swayed by, the strong current of events. Great men and great events have, from the world's beginning, sprung up simultaneously. Whether the men create the events, or the events bring out the else latent powers of the men, is a question ever mooted, but never to be decided, unless we can come to the conclusion that He who controls *both* fits his instruments for the work which He has in store for them to do, and the work for the men whom He has thus supremely gifted.

But what is to be understood by a transitional period of history? Not that which bears the impress of external force, when the iron rod of conquest, stretched over a desolated country, strikes down half its inhabitants, and makes slaves of the rest. The reckless conquerors subdue, but they do not convince; and the crushed victims submit, but are not changed. No one of the many conquests to which England, in its earlier history, was subjected, can be called a transitional period, excepting that of the Roman; when, not by the power of the sword, but by the introduction of wise and beneficent laws, of civilized usages, and of the benignant influences of Christianity, a complete, though not a rapid, change was produced in the whole character of the population; and this, not after the manner of the fierce Saxon, the piratical Dane, and the hardy Norse-man of after times,—by so large an indraught of the conquering nation, as made the natives only a small proportion of the whole population,—but by the strong influence exercised over those natives themselves. Far more important than the changes produced by the rush of conquest, are those that spring up silently from a nation's heart, as the progress of resistless truth makes for itself a deepening course, and bursts down, one after another, the barriers which the prejudices of ages have heaped in its way, but which were never before felt as barriers; for the strong stream had not reached their limits. Now they are slowly undermined, or bravely—it may be, fiercely—overleaped; and broad and gushing lies the out-spread stream, widened as well as deepened, and laughs at the feeble strength which would have held in its course.

Who is not conscious of the thrillingness of the transitional periods of his own life, or of the young lives, perhaps still dearer, growing up around him? With what earnest hope we watch

the early gleams of intellect in the child that, fitfully and by starts, wanders out of his own little fairy realm into the *real* world, and surprises us with his eager questionings of that which *is* ! The child is becoming a boy ; years roll on ; his converse is with the *real* ; and he has so much to do in " guessing his wondering way " amidst the marvels which surround him, that he has no time left for any thing else, till another transitional period arrives. The *spiritualities* of life, the mysteries that lie beneath the surface of things, are dimly recognised, and tremblingly pored into ; and we feel that the mind has awoken to a fully-developed consciousness, and that there is now no limit, beyond that of its own strength, to which, if uncontrolled by circumstances, it may not aspire.

Somewhat analogous to these two periods are the changes in a nation's history. During the time of the Romans, our forefathers emerged from infancy to boyhood ; but their progress was so frequently interrupted by foreign wars, and civil strife, that ages intervened before any material advance was made. In the fifteenth century, however, the invention of printing gave an electric impulse to the intellect of Europe ; and in 1509, when our Eighth Henry ascended the throne, there were latent energies rousing into action, which, independently of himself, must have rendered his reign a heart-stirring time. We are too much in the habit of regarding England as exclusively Popish at the accession of Henry VIII., and as exclusively Protestant when the sceptre was swayed by Queen Elizabeth ; and of attributing the change mainly to the personal influence of these strong-willed Tudor Sovereigns. But neither one position nor the other is strictly correct. In both cases, there were counter elements at work ; and it was the power possessed by these Princes, of throwing the potent *prestige* of Government into the scale of the party which they favoured, that enabled them to wield the sceptre with a despotism exercised by no Sovereign of England before or since.

The pulses beating at a nation's heart are but imperfectly registered by the cursory surveyor of its acts. Our chroniclers tell us little of the workings of those movements, of which they record only the results ; but a succession of coincidences, fortunate for us, though most unfortunate for the parties themselves, has laid open before us a series of private records of the reign of Henry VIII., unequalled in extent and value by those of any nation in Europe, at so early a period. The disgrace and fall of his two successive Prime Ministers, Wolsey and Cromwell, occasioned the seizure of their papers, and the preservation of a long series of documents, which can scarcely be too highly prized. We have not only their State correspondence, but letters addressed to them by persons in every stage of society, and on every class of subjects ; whilst, to complete the picture of society thus formed, and

to fill in its domestic details, we have a third set of papers,—those of Arthur Plantagenet, Viscount Lisle, a natural son of Edward IV., and Governor of Calais. He was a man of large family connexions; and his private correspondence is curiously illustrative of home life in the sixteenth century. His papers were seized, and he himself was committed to the Tower on a charge of official negligence, which was construed into treason. He was ultimately exonerated, but died in the Tower, of the very joy of release. From these three classes of documents are mainly gathered the contents of the volumes, some of them large and ponderous, the titles of which are placed at the head of this paper; and from them we shall obtain a view, as clear as our limits will permit, of the state of religious belief, of social and domestic life; and may also indulge in a peep at bluff King Hal himself, not in his robe and crown, but in his doublet and jerkin, when he unkinged himself in his cheery, and often very homely, unbendings with his courtiers. Somewhat, too, of the hidden workings of his strong and fiery passions, of the sinuous and treacherous policy of Wolsey, and of the avaricious and servile temper of Cromwell, will come before our view. But of this more anon.

The Court in which More and Russell flourished, in which Holbein painted, and Surrey sang, was awaking to the importance of extending the education of youth beyond the mere reading and writing, the hunting and hawking, which had hitherto formed its principal sphere. The collections of State Papers before us, however, being published chiefly for historical purposes, give us little information on this head; and we supply the lack from some private memoranda of our own. The following letter is from the Schoolmaster of the Duke of Richmond, the natural son of Henry VIII., to Wolsey. This boy, then about eight years of age, was established with a princely Court at Pomfret Castle, to fill, under the direction of a Council, the post of Lord Warden of the Border Marches.

“Most humbly beseeching Your Grace, your Orator and Daily Beadman, Richard Croke, Schoolmaster to the Duke of Richmond, that it would please Your Grace, of your most abundant goodness, to direct your most gracious letters of commandment unto my Lord of Richmond’s Council, comprising these articles following:—

“First, the quantity of time which I shall daily occupy with my Lord in learning, by Your Grace appointed; the said Council permit and suffer me to have access unto him one hour before Mass and breakfast, according to Your Grace’s former commandment. The rest of the time of instruction of my said Lord to be taken at my discretion, and as I shall perceive most convenient, and my said Lord most apt to learn, provided that no more time by me be occupied in one day, than by Your Grace shall be appointed, nor that I so remit any part of the same, that thereby my Lord’s learning may decay.

“Second, that whereas my said Lord is forced to write of his own

hand to Abbots and mean persons, contrary to Your Grace's commandment, and *that* immediately after his dinner and repast taken, to the great dulling of his wits, spirits, and memory, and no little hurt of his head, stomach, and body. And that it were very necessary, in my poor judgment, my said Lord should write nothing of his own hand, but in Latin, specially to the King's Highness and Your most noble Grace, to the intent that he might more firmly imprint in his mind both words and phrases of the Latin tongue, and the sooner frame him to some good style in writing, whereunto he is now very ripe: it would please Your Grace therefore to determine and appoint both certain persons and also certain times in the week, to whom only, and when, my said Lord shall write, either in English or in the Latin tongue, as your high wisdom shall think most convenient, provided the said exercise of his hand and style, in both the tongues, be committed only to the discretion and order of me, his Schoolmaster, and that no man may force him to write, unless I be there present to direct and form his said hand and style.

"Thirdly, that whereas by example of good education, as well in *nourriture* as good learning, of such young gentlemen as by Your Grace's commandment be attendant upon my said Lord, the same might more facilely be induced to profit in his learning, it would please Your Grace to give commandment that the instruction of the said gentlemen be at the only order and disposition of the Schoolmaster. So that they be straitly commanded to apply their learning at such times as I shall think convenient, without maintenance of any man to the contrary; and also that none of them, nor any other, be suffered to continue in my Lord's chamber, during the time of his learning, but such only as the said Schoolmaster shall think meet, for the furtherance of the same.

"Fourthly, it would please Your Grace in like wise to command that the time of my Lord's learning, by Your Grace appointed, be not interrupted for any trifle, or resort of any stranger, but only strangers of honour, to whom also, if my said Lord might, by the advice of his Schoolmaster, exhibit and make some show of his learning, like as he was wont and doth of his other pastimes, it should greatly encourage him to his learning; to the which, because it is most laborious and tedious to children, His Grace should be most specially animated and encouraged.

"Finally, that no ways, colour, nor craft be taken, to discourage alienate, or avert my said Lord's mind from learning, or to extinguish the love of learning in his estimation, but that he be induced most highly to esteem his book of all his other studies. The which thing, with other the premises, obtained, I dare be bold to assure Your Grace, that his learning, at the sight of Your Grace, shall, with no little time, and much pleasure of himself, far surmount and pass the knowledge of any child of his years, time, and age, none excepted."—*Wolsey Correspondence*, vol. iii., p. 93, *State-Paper Office*.

Amidst the immense mass of Cromwell's Correspondence, there are many interesting notices of the early education and habits of his young son Gregory. Some of these are curious, as affording illustrations of the modes of study, &c., adopted at that period. Gregory was placed under the care of Dr. Row-

land Lee, afterwards Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who frequently wrote to Cromwell, announcing the improvement of his "little man" in learning, and also his proficiency in the exercises of the chase, to which he was greatly addicted. After the elevation of Dr. Lee to his bishopric, the charge of young Cromwell devolved more immediately upon Henry Dawes, the Bishop's Chaplain, from whom we have the two following letters:—

"Pleaseth it your mastership to be advertised, that Mr. Gregory, with all his company here, are (thanks be to God) in health, daily occupied and embusied in the train and exercise of learning, under such manner and form as there is no small hope the success thereof to be such as shall content and satisfy your good trust and expectation. Being much more likelihood of profit and increase, than at any time heretofore; partly for cause he is now brought somewhat in an awe and dread, ready to give himself unto study when he shall be thereunto required, and partly since things which heretofore have alienated and detracted his mind from labours to be taken for the attainment of good letters, are now subdued and withdrawn. Whereunto (as a thing not of least moment and regard) may be added the ripeness and maturity of his wit; which, not being of that hasty sort that bye and bye do bring forth their fruit, doth daily grow to a more docility and apt readiness to receive that that shall be showed him by his teachers. The order of his study, as the hours limited for the French tongue, writing, playing at weapons, casting of accounts, pastimes of instruments, and such others, hath been devised and directed by the prudent wisdom of Mr. Southwell, who, with a fatherly zeal and amity, much desiring to have him a son worthy such parents, ceaseth not as well concerning all other things for him meet and necessary, as also in learning, to express his tender love and affection towards him, searching, by all means possible, how he may most profit,—daily hearing him to read somewhat in the English tongue, and advertising him of the natural and true kind of pronounciation thereof, expounding also and declaring the etymology and native signification of such words as we have borrowed of the Latins or Frenchmen, not even so commonly used in our quotidian speech. Mr. Cheney and Mr. Charles in like wise endeavoureth and employeth themselves, accompanying Mr. Gregory in learning, among whom is a perpetual contention, strife, and conflict, and in manner of an honest envy who shall do best, not only in the French tongue, (wherein Mr. Vallence, after a wondrously compendious, facile, prompt, and ready way, not without painful diligence and laborious industry, doth instruct them,) but also in writing, playing at weapons, and all other their exercises. So that, if continuance in this behalf may take place, whereas the last summer was spent in the service of the wild goddess Diana, this shall, I trust, be consecrated to Apollo and the Muses, to their no small profit and your good contentation and pleasure. And thus, I beseech our Lord to have you in his most gracious tuition. At Rising in Norfolk, this last day of April.

"Your faithful and most

"Bounden Servant,

"HENRY DAWES."

—*Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series*, vol. ix., p. 89, *State-Paper Office*.

A little later occurs the following:—

"After he hath heard Mass, he taketh a lecture of Erasmus's '*Colloquium*' called '*Piætas Puerilis*,' wherein is described a very picture of one that should be virtuously brought up; and because it is so necessary for him, I do not only cause him to read it over, but also to practise the precepts of the same; and I have also translated it into English, so that he may confer them both together, whereof, as learned men affirm, cometh no small profit; which translation, pleaseth it you to receive by the bringer hereof, that you may judge how much profitable it is to be learned. After that, he exerciseth his hand in writing one or two hours, and readeth upon Fabian's Chronicle as long: the residue of the day he doth spend upon the lute and virginals. When he rideth, (as he doth very oft,) I tell him, by the way, some history of the romances or the Greeks, which I cause him to rehearse again in a tale. For his recreation, he useth to hawk and hunt, and shoot in his long bow, which frameth and succeedeth so well with him, that he seemeth to be thereunto given by nature."—*Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series*, vol. ix., p. 40, *State-Paper Office*.

This scale of education, limited and uncomprehensive as it was, far exceeded the usual modicum. Public schools for the instruction of youth of the higher orders were of recent institution. In reference to one of these, we hear of objections made to the placing of *four* boys in one bed, but met in a mode evidently deemed most satisfactory by the master; namely, by a statement, that the bed is *large* enough for four *men*, and that the companions of "Master James" are all "*clean-skinned children*:" whilst, in a young ladies' boarding-school, one of the pupils loses a pair of shoes in a bet with a lady's-maid; and another displays far more eagerness about her coifs, and partlets, and satin gowns, than about her lessons, which were confined to reading, writing, learning to play upon the spinnet and regals, and the endless stitcheries in wools, worsteds, and silks, rivalled in the German-wool mania of our days. Domestic education was rarely made of sufficient importance to require a separate official as instructor. The family Chaplain, where such existed, added the "teaching the young idea how to shoot," to sundry other duties, sometimes miscellaneous enough, which fell to his department; and a lady's-maid was considered of additional value, if she could not only care for her lady's robes, but also teach good manners to her lady's daughters.

"'Madam,' writes a noble lady, who is urgently recommending the virtues and excellencies of 'a good maid, both *sad* (steady) and wise, and true of heart and tongue;' 'Madam, this gentlewoman can do any manner of service you put her to, either to wait upon your Ladyship, or to wait on my Lord's daughters and yours, and to bring them up well, and can teach them *right good manners*; or to keep your plate, or your napery, she can do very well, or any other service.'"—*Letters of Royal and Illustrious Ladies*, vol. ii., p. 81.

Parents not unfrequently sent their children to some neighbour-

ing convent, where, if they learned little, they were at least out of the way, at an expense as trifling as that of certain advertising schools of the present day, in which the juvenile inmates are completely "done for," that is, boarded, clothed, and educated, for £16 a year, and no vacations! The consequence was, that few, even among the higher classes, were sufficiently expert in the use of the pen, to dispense with a secretary; they always signed, but seldom wrote, their own letters; and occasionally, when they did so, their offences against orthography, unsettled and varying though it was, were so flagrant as to render it matter of regret that they did not adopt the *façon d'agir* of a certain Russian Prince, who wrote with his own hand, to show all due courtesy to his correspondent; but, for the sake of convenience, sent a copy written by his secretary. What, for instance, can be more atrocious than the following lines, penned in a hand which, to judge from the specimen given in a facsimile, is as bad as the spelling; yet the production of a lady who was the daughter of one of the first Peers in the realm, and who, in her married life, filled the place left vacant by the death of a daughter of Edward IV., in becoming the second wife of the Duke of Norfolk?—

"I pra you to lat me haff knowyng wwhether you haff rassaived my boke hoff hartacles, and my later that I sand you wythal, to intrat my Lord my hasban to haff a bater leffeng. I pra you sand me word in wryeteng wat hanware you had. I pra to God that I may be my fforten to do you sum plaser ffor the kyness that hy haff ffon in you; he sal haff my hart and my god wyl hy leff, and hal the ffrendes thahat I kan make."

Lest our readers should not easily read this riddle, we subjoin its solution:—

"I pray you to let me have knowing whether you have received my book of articles, and my letter that I sent you withal, to entreat my Lord my husband to have a better living. I pray you send me word in writing what answer you had. I pray to God that it may be my fortune to do you some pleasure for the kindness that I have found in you: ye shall have my heart and my good will (while) I live, and all the friends that I can make."—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 221.

There were accomplishments, however, in which the fair fingers, innocent of ink, excelled, and in which we find amusing traces of assistance received from the other sex. A notable housewife, whose decoctions and confections were in a style sufficiently *recherché* to be thought worthy of presenting to the royal table, writes to no less a person than a future Bishop, in reference to some instructions in cookery, which she had received from him:—

"Sir,—These shall be to desire you to be so good unto your servant and worst scholar, as to write unto me of the thing that you taught

me, how many pounds of sugar must go to how many pounds of quinces, barberries, and damascenes, or plums. I have clean forgotten how many pounds of the one and of the other. Now the time of quinces is come, I would fain be doing. It may please you, therefore, to write to me of all this, and of any thing more that it will please you to teach me."—*Letters, &c.*, vol. iii., p. 30.

We find another member of the clerical profession, who, being left steward in the house of his absent patroness, was expected to keep strict count of all the beds and pillows, bolsters, cushions, and coverlets, and to air them occasionally: he was severely blamed for not attending to this part of his duty, as well as for neglect in more important matters, and a substitute was sought for. A correspondent writes to the lady patroness:—

"Your chapel standeth unserved, saving the Vicar causeth one Mass in the week there to be said, which is of his devotion. But there is an honest Priest hath guaranteed to serve there for forty shillings by the year, because he will be quiet to serve God; and he will mend your bedding, and other such stuff as is need, if it shall so please you for to take him; a middle-aged man. I have stayed him unto the time I must know your mind in it."—*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 142.

The King bestowed one of his most lucrative benefices on a Priest that trained his hawks, when in one year he had trained two "which fly and kill their game very well, to His Highness's singular pleasure and contentation."

There are few more truthful standards of the hold which religion possesses over the mass of a people, than the estimate in which they rank its Ministers; and, at this period, many circumstances combined to bring down that estimate below its healthful level. The secular functions of the Clergy were too multifarious for reverential exclusiveness. They were the lawyers, the secretaries, the scribes, often the stewards, of the higher classes; and although literature was beginning to flourish, as a hardy native plant, outside the sheltering walls of a monastery, yet by far the larger proportion of its votaries were of the ecclesiastical profession. The growing necessities of society required more extensive services from these semi-professionals. Thus they were brought, in the contact of daily life, into more frequent connexion with the laity; and the proverb, that "familiarity breeds contempt," was too frequently realized, and realized the more readily, because the super-human position challenged for themselves by the Romish hierarchy was found to be coincident with the passions, and often, alas! with the frailties, of our erring humanity. As the statue stepped from its pedestal, its veil flew aside, and revealed, not the features of calm, immortal, benignant beauty, but of strong humanity, fraught with the intensity of the same life which was kindling the myriad bosoms around it into every form of energy, working for good or ill,

according to the leading of its impulses; and the Priest stood forth as a man of like passions with his fellow-men. "*Heu, quantū de spe cecidi!*" was the involuntary exclamation of many a heart, from which the instinct of veneration, the "hero-worship" of the sixteenth century, was thus painfully rooted up. The monasteries, also, became objects of suspicion. Of their value in humanizing and civilizing,—of their importance in a social, as well as a literary, point of view, as a refuge for the poor and the wanderer, and an asylum for the thoughtful heart that shrunk from wrestling with the wild spirit of the age, during the long periods of civil commotion which characterized our Plantagenet dynasty,—of these there cannot be a doubt, even in the mind of the firmest Protestant. But a long period of repose had been enjoyed, in which their incomes had largely increased; and, uncontrolled by the force of external opinion, vices were spreading amongst the monastic orders to a frightful extent,—an extent which was in itself an earnest of their dissolution.

More potent, also, than either of the above-mentioned elements of change, was the slow, but silent, spread of the word of God, which, directly or indirectly, led to a gradual awakening of the spirit of religious inquiry,—a spirit ever fatal to a system which has built, on the pure and holy foundation of Gospel truth, a superstructure so blended with the "hay and stubble" of human invention, as is Roman Catholicism. Surprise became indignation, when it was slowly discovered, that the very doctrines which had added most to priestly power and priestly wealth,—*e.g.*, those of Transubstantiation, Confession, Purgatory, Indulgences, &c.,—were not to be found at all in God's own word.

With such thoughts brooding in the minds of the few, what instrument seemed more likely to uphold and strengthen the existing state of things, and effectually to control opposition, than the elevation, to the highest offices and influence in the State, of a subtle, enterprising, and ambitious Priest? Such a man was Cardinal Wolsey. Yet, next to the King himself, he was, indirectly, unconsciously, and most reluctantly, the principal agent in bringing about the change of opinions. Sprung from the lower ranks of society, and owing his elevation solely to the favour of his royal master, Wolsey, with the upstart Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, headed a party at Court, which had to struggle for existence with the hereditary nobility and ancient clerocracy. In the eagerness of the struggle, neither showed any hyper-fastidiousness, as to the means by which he might humble his political opponents; and Wolsey, in many instances, particularly in his lenient dealings with Latimer, allowed indulgence to the new principles, or, at least, refrained from insisting on their suppression as strongly as his ecclesiastical position would seem to have demanded, until he was too firmly seated in his throne of imaginary security to fear a rival. Our readers need

hardly be reminded, that one of the proudest titles now worn by the Sovereign of Great Britain, "Defender of the Faith," was first bestowed on our Eighth Harry, as a compliment for his "book against Luther," which was received at Rome with high honours and laudations.

The sternness with which the King looked upon the new doctrines is abundantly manifested in the following letter from one of the diplomatists of his Court, then at Brussels, to another, their sentiments being, of course, founded upon those of their master:—

"The 22nd day of this month, there is a publication done in the Emperor's name, through all this country of Brabant, that all the New Testaments translated in French, Dutch, or English, shall be brought to the Justices' hands to be burned, within the 25th day of November next coming, upon great pains, every man for him; and that from henceforward, is commanded no more such heretic books to be written, copied, or imprinted, nor read, neither kept public, neither secretly, upon like pains; and if there be any man that sustains heresy, he shall be justified (executed) with the sword; and if any woman be faulty, to be *quick* buried, (buried alive,) cast and couched in a pit under the earth; and that if there be any man found that has been aforetime accused and pardoned, that turns again to his errors, he shall be burned without any further delay; with many other good articles contained in the said publication, right convenient for the exaltation and increase of the holy Catholic faith, and for the extirpation and annihilation of the false heretics' intentions and opinions."—*State Papers*, vol. xii., p. 210.

Presently, however, symptoms of change of opinion began to appear. Gardiner, writing to Wolsey about the same date, says:—

"The King's Highness willed me, also, to write unto Your Grace, that being suit made unto him in favour of the Prior of Reading, who for Luther's opinion is now in prison, and hath been a good season, at Your Grace's commandment, that unless the matter be much notable and very heinous, he desireth Your Grace, at his request, to cause the said Prior to be restored to liberty, and discharged of that imprisonment."—*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 346.

During the few ensuing years, it was no easy matter for even the most pliable of courtly consciences exactly to ascertain and accommodate themselves to *what* it was expedient for them to believe. A correspondent writes:—

"The news here are these. Many Preachers we have, but they come not from one master; for, as it is reported, their messages be diverse. Latimer many blameth, and as many doth allow. I heard him preach on Friday last, and, as methought, very good and well."—*Lisle Papers*, vol. xiv.

The awkward dilemmas to which the Prelates and others were reduced, between their wish to stand well with the King, and to maintain clerical consistency, are amusingly exposed in the following letter from Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, to Cromwell:—

"Right Honourable and my singular good Lord,—

"These be to put your Lordship in remembrance of my suit unto you for an order to be taken for sermons at the Cross;* for, since the Parliament, I could not get one to preach a sermon there, saving myself, or one of my Chaplains; except one day only that Dr. Bird, at long suit, preached one sermon. I promised to write a book to your Lordship for the said sermons, the which I have sent here, with the bill; and if it please your Lordship to subscribe it, and command it to the Bishop of London; for he can make provision for Preachers better than any else, (as his Chaplains reporteth,) and as I, indeed, think; for many doth refrain to preach there, because that he hath not the order thereof; and of the other side, when I or any of mine preach there, we are so untruly reported, that we dare not without fear to preach any more there; for whereas a Chaplain of mine preached on Sunday last at the Cross, now he is cited to appear before the Bishop of London, on Friday next: but I trust he hath nothing preached against God's laws, nor the King's; and on Sunday next, for lack of one to preach, I must preach there myself, with more fear than ever I did in my life."

The following letter from Latimer, then Bishop of Worcester, to Cromwell, relates to the preparation of the work usually known as "the Bishops' book,"—"The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man,"—the scope of which was to give form and consistency to the then Creed of the Court. It was left to the King's option, either to have it brought out under his own name, or that of its true compilers, Latimer and Fox, the Bishops of Worcester and Hereford; and he chose the latter. How seriously they regarded the task, they shall themselves inform us:—

"This day," writes Latimer, "we had finished (I trow) the rest of our book, if my Lord of Hereford had not been diseased; to whom surely we owe great thanks for his great diligence in all our proceedings. Upon Monday (I think) it will be done altogether, and then my Lord of Canterbury will send it unto your Lordship with all speed; to whom also, if any thing be praiseworthy, a good part of the praise rightly belongs. As for myself, I can nothing else but pray God, that, when it is done, it be well and sufficiently done, so that we shall not need to have any more such doings; for, verily, for my part, I had liever be poor Parson of poor Kinton again, than to continue thus Bishop of Worcester; not for any thing that I have had to do therein, or can do; but yet, forsooth, it is a troublous thing to agree upon a doctrine, in things of such controversy, with judgments of such diversity, every man (I trust) meaning well, and yet not all meaning one way. But I doubt not but now, in the end, we shall agree both one with another, and all with the truth, though some will then marvel. And yet, if there be any thing either uncertain or untrue, I have good hope that the King's Highness will *expurge* whatever is of the old leaven; at leastway, give it some note that it may appear he perceiveth it, though he do tolerate it for a time; so giving place, for

* St. Paul's Cross.

a season, to the frailty and gross capacity of his subjects."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 563.

Fox, writing on the same subject to Cromwell, informs him that—

"Notwithstanding all the diligence we could possibly use in the printing of our book, the same cannot be finished before Tuesday next. It groweth somewhat unto a greater quantity than I showed your Lordship of at the beginning; and I assure you that I had little thought that the correcting and setting forth of the same should have stood me in so much pain and labour as it hath done. Notwithstanding, when it shall come forth, I trust it shall content the King's Highness."

This unsettled state of opinion brought to the block, within a few years of each other, martyrs alike for the Catholic and Reformed faith; but then both these terms must be understood in a modified sense. Papists of the temper of Gardiner and Bonner were willing to sign the renunciation of the Pope's supreme power, and to take the oath of supremacy to Henry VIII.; whilst a Protestant as true-hearted as Cranmer still held to the doctrine of transubstantiation; and the performance of Masses for the dead proved that the country had not eschewed the fable of purgatory. The following was written to Cromwell on the death of Queen Jane Seymour, by Sir Richard Gresham:—

"Mine humble duty remembered to your good Lordship, &c. It shall please you to understand, that by the commandment of the Duke of Norfolk, I have caused twelve hundred Masses to be said within the City of London, for the soul of our most gracious Queen. And whereas the Mayor, and Alderman, with the Commoners, was lately at Paul's, and there gave thanks unto God for the birth of our Prince, my Lord, I do think it were convenient, that there should be also at Paul's a solemn dirge and Mass; and that the Mayor, Alderman, with the Commoners, be there, for to pray and offer for Her Grace's soul. My Lord, it shall please you to move the King's Highness, and, his pleasure known in this behalf, I am and shall be ready to accomplish his most gracious pleasure. As knoweth God, who give unto you good health with long life."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 571.

Well indeed was it for the cause of humanity, that neither Wolsey nor Cranmer, the leading Churchmen of the times, was of violent or sanguinary temper; for the fierce and stormy passions of their master were easily roused to acts of brutality, and religious persecution was too sadly the vice of the age. The manner in which it was discountenanced by Cranmer, places his character in a very pleasing light:—

"My Lord,—In my most hearty wise I commend me unto your good Lordship. And whereas I am credibly informed, that at your commandment, one Sir Thomas Mounteford, Priest, is committed to the Fleet, for certain words (as is reported) by him spoken against me,

which now he utterly refuseth, and thereto offereth himself to prove the contrary in that behalf, by divers that were there present, when the said words should have been spoken of me: I most heartily desire your Lordship, at this mine instance and request, ye will discharge him, for [the] time, of this his trouble and vexation; for surely, of all sorts of men, I am daily informed that Priests report the worse of me; and therefore so to be reported of a Priest, it should very little grieve me, although he had confessed it; much less now would I then this his trouble for the same, he himself reporting the contrary. Wherefore eftsoons I require you to be good Lord unto him herein, and that the rather at this mine instance."—*Cranmer's Works*, vol. ii., p. 291.

"Right Worshipful,—In my most hearty wise I commend me unto you. And whereas I understand that amongst other persons attainted of high treason, the Prior of Axholm, named Webster, and Master Raynold of Syon be judged according to the law, for offending against the late Act of Parliament made for the suppressing of the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome; surely I do much marvel of them both, specially of Mr. Raynold, having such sight in Scriptures and Doctors, and also of the other, which promised me that he would never meddle for the defence of that opinion; much pitying me that such men should suffer with so ignorant judgments; and if there be none other offence laid against them than this one, it will be much more for the conversion of all the favourers hereof, after mine opinion, that their consciences may be clearly averted from the same by communication of sincere doctrine, and so they to publish it likewise to the world, than by the justice of the law to suffer in such ignorance. And if it would please the King's Highness to send them unto me, I suppose I could do very much with them in this behalf."—*Cranmer's Works*, vol. ii., p. 303.

Cranmer dared to go farther than any mortal man in opposition to the will of the Tudor lion; yet he could not prevent the execution, within two years of each other, of the venerable Sir Thomas More, of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and the poor deluded "Holy Maid of Kent, Elizabeth Barton," and others, whose names swell the lists of Popish martyrologies, nor of the venerable Tyndale, to whom we owe the earliest printed translation of the Bible. Thus, at the very same period, persecutions more or less virulent were carried on, by those who had ceded a few important points, against the stricter Romanists, who had not taken as many steps as themselves, and against the open favourers of the Lutheran heresy.

Another character, far less intrinsically estimable than that of Cranmer, had still an important influence in favouring the spread of the new doctrines. This was Thomas Cromwell; first Secretary, then Privy Seal, and, at length, Earl of Essex. As to his private character, the revelations in his printed Correspondence, and, still more forcibly, in other portions of it which have not yet seen the light, prove but too incontrovertibly that he was venial to a degree far beyond his contemporaries even in a corrupt age; and his good-will was pretty generally understood to be a mar-

ketable commodity. Yet, when important interests were pending, he threw aside meaner motives, and spoke and acted with a firmness and vigour, which do credit alike to his understanding and his heart. We find him patronizing the earliest literary efforts of Myles Coverdale,—Tyndale's assistant in Bible translations. The following is from an early epistle, signed, "Friar Myles Coverdale," to Cromwell, then Secretary of State:—

"Most singular good Master,—With due humility, I beseech unto your Mastership all godly comfort, grace, and prosperous health. For so much as your goodness is so great toward me, your poor child, only through the plenteousness of your favour and benevolence, I am the bolder of your goodness, in this my rude style, if it like your favour, to revoke to your memory the godly communication which your Mastership had with me, your orator, in Master More's house, upon Easter-Eve, amongst many and divers fruitful exhortations, specially of your singular favour; and by your most comfortable words, I perceive your gracious mind toward me. Wherefore, most honourable Master, for the tender love of God, and for the fervent zeal that you have to virtue and godly study, falling on the knees of my heart, I humbly desire and beseech your goodness of your gracious help. Now I begin to taste of holy Scriptures; now (honour be to God!) I am set to the most sweet smell of holy letters, with the godly savour of holy and ancient Doctors, unto whose knowledge I cannot attain without diversity of books, as is not unknown to your most excellent wisdom. Nothing in the world I desire but books, as concerning my learning; they once had, I do not doubt but Almighty God shall perform that in me, which he of his most plentiful favour and grace hath begun. Moreover, as touching my behaviour, (your Mastership's mind once known,) with all lowliness I offer myself, not only to be ordered in all things as shall please your wisdom, but also as concerning the education and instruction of other, all only to ensue your prudent counsel."—*Works of Coverdale*, p. 490.

Who does not long for a daguerreotype of the Easter-Eve scene in "Master More's house," in which the venerable Chancellor—with "Mistress Margaret" standing at his side, and his wife and other children grouped around him—took part in the "divers fruitful exhortations" and "comfortable words" with which the astute Secretary of State encouraged the budding genius of the future translator, who, more fortunate than his companions, was the only one of the trio that escaped a violent death?

The edition of the Bible issued by Grafton and Coverdale, under Cromwell's auspices, was the subject of much correspondence; one or two specimens of which we subjoin:—

"After most humble and hearty commendations to your good Lordship,—Pleaseth the same to understand, that we be entered into your work of the Bible, whereof (according to our most bounden duty) we have here sent unto your Lordship two ensamples; one in parchment, wherein we intend to print one for the King's Grace, and another for

your Lordship; and the second in paper, whereof all the rest shall be made; trusting that it shall be not only to the glory of God, but a singular pleasure, also, to your good Lordship, the causer thereof, and a general edifying of the King's subjects, according to your Lordship's most godly request. For we follow not only a standing text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and the Greek, but we set, also, in a private table, the diversity of readings of all texts, with such annotations, in another table, as shall doubtless elucidate and clear the same; as well without any singularity of opinions, as all checkings and reproofs. The print, no doubt, shall please your good Lordship. The paper is of the best sort in France. The charge certainly is great; wherein, as we most humbly require your favourable help at this present with whatsoever it shall please your good Lordship to let us have; so trust we, (if need require,) in our just business, to be defended from the Papists by your Lordship's favourable letters, which we most humbly desire to have, (by this bearer, William Grey,) either to the Bishop of Winchester, or to some other whom your Lordship shall think most expedient. We be daily threatened, and look ever to be spoken withal, as this bearer can further inform your Lordship; but how they will use us, as yet we know not. Nevertheless, for our further assurance, wherethrough we may be the abler to perform this your Lordship's work, we are so much the bolder of your good Lordship; for other refuge have we none, under God and our King, whom, with noble Prince Edward, and all you, the most honourable Council, God Almighty preserve, now and ever. Amen. Written at Paris, the 23rd day of June, by your Lordship's assured and daily orators."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 678.

The result of these labours was, that, in 1541, the Privy Council were enabled to issue orders that the price of a Bible, unbound, should be ten shillings; and bound, twelve shillings, only.

Cromwell patronized other literary undertakings, besides the Scripture translation. The following is from a letter of Archbishop Cranmer to him:—

"This shall be to signify unto your Lordship, that I have overseen the Primer which you sent unto me, and therein I have noted and amended such faults as are most worthy of reformation. Divers things there are besides therein, which, if before the printing of the book had been committed unto me to oversee, I would have amended. Howbeit, they be not of that importance but that, for this time, they may be well enough permitted and suffered to be read of the people; and the book of itself, no doubt, is very good and commendable."—*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 559.

One of the most important concomitant circumstances in strengthening the cause of the Reformation, was the suppression of the monasteries. Wolsey had here again opened the way for the wholesale changes that ensued, by requesting permission to suppress the smaller monasteries, which were notoriously vicious and profligate, and to draft off their inmates into larger and better-conducted houses; and then giving over their revenues into the hands of the King, who re-assigned them to Wolsey, to form

endowments for the Colleges he was instituting at Ipswich and Cambridge. This was giving the lion a taste of the prey; and he soon determined to be more than a mere vehicle of conveying the property. Having thrown off the yoke of Rome, he issued a commission for the general visitation of the monasteries, and suppressed and seized the revenues wherever the visitors found disorders; which, to eyes rendered vigilant by self-interest, were not difficult of detection.

Irregularities in the female monastic establishments were considered to arise chiefly from the gossiping tendencies of the inmates, their frequent and lengthened visitings beyond the enclosure of their monastery, and the habit of keeping as much company as they chose. Those houses, therefore, which were permitted to remain, received strict orders to enforce the rules of monastic enclosure,—a discipline against which they sorely revolted. The Nuns of Wilton broke out into open rebellion. Wolsey's agent declares that he has endeavoured, to the utmost of his power, to persuade and train them to discipline, and has even put three or four of the ringleaders of the malcontents in ward; but that neither by gentle means nor vigorous could he obtain their consent to the enforcement of rule. He, therefore, took French leave, and acted without it, in closing up certain back-doors and bye-ways to the monastery, which had led to much private mischief, though he could not control access to the front door; but he charged the Lady Abbess to take the case seriously in hand. She informs Wolsey, that though she has often motioned her sisters to be reclused within the monastery, yet they do find many difficulties, and show divers considerations to the contrary; so that she begs a little respite in the execution of orders, that she may, with better leisure and quietness, commune with her said sisters; promising, in the mean season, to order them in such religious wise, that there shall be no such resort as hath been of late accustomed. The succeeding Abbess, however, brought these refractory ladies into much better order. But she, too, pleads with Wolsey for some little relaxation of strict rule; namely, licence that any of the nuns, "when their father, mother, brother, or sister, or any such nigh of their kin, come unto them, may have leisure to speak with them in the hall in her presence, or that of her Prioress, and other two discreet sisters;" and, also, that in consideration of the administration of temporalities of the house, "which is in great debt, and requireth much reparation and good husbandry," he would permit her, "being associate with one or two of the said discreet sisters of the house," "to lie forth of her monastery," when business absolutely prevented her return the same day; as she assured him, that the said husbandry could not be done "so well by any other overseer as by her own person." A noble lady, also, remonstrates against the enforcement of the new rules upon a house of

Monks in Bristol, where she, a poor widow, had what she considered a lodging "most meetest to serve God in her old days," from which she was likely to be excluded by the new rule, that "no woman shall come within the precincts of the same." She faithfully promises that she and her women will be "of such governance that no inconvenience shall ensue thereof." "And where hereto," she adds, "I have used from my house to go the next way to the church, for my ease, through a cloister of the same to a chapel that I have within the quire of the same, I shall be content from henceforth, if it shall so seem convenient unto you, to forbear that, and to resort to the common place, like others do, of the same church." * Another Abbess bribes Cromwell to permit her to re-open a back-gate in her monastery, the closure of which, she declares, causes her visitors to go two miles about.

Every conceivable device was laid hold of, to accomplish the suppressions by other than forced means. The convents were forbidden to receive fresh inmates, on pain of the royal displeasure; and any transgression, on the part of the Superior, was considered to forfeit the house into the King's hands. The following royal mandate gives an idea of the summary mode of proceeding: it relates to the abbey of Whalley, in Lancashire, and was addressed by the King to his Commissioners:—

"Whereas, upon the execution of the Abbot of Whalley, ye have taken order for the good direction of the house, and the safe keeping of the goods, without embezzlement, till further knowledge of our pleasure; approving much your good foresight hereof, we have thought convenient to signify unto you, that, forasmuch as it appeareth that the house of Whalley hath been so sure corrupt, amongst other, that it should seem there remaineth very few therein that were meet to remain and continue in such an incorporation; we think it shall be meet that some order be taken for the removal of the Monks now being in the same, and that we should take the whole house into our own hands, as by our laws we be justly, by the attainder of the said late Abbot, entitled unto it, and so devise for such a new establishment thereof as shall be thought meet for the honour of God, our surety, and the benefit of the country. Wherefore our pleasure is, that you shall, with good dexterity, lay unto the charges of all the Monks there their grievous offences towards us and our Commonwealth, and therewith essay their minds, whether they will conform themselves gladly, for the redubbing of their former trespasses, to go to other houses of their coat, where they shall be well entreated; or else whether they will rather take capacities, and so receive secular habit. Albeit, we require you so to move them to enter into other houses, that they may choose the same; for we think it cannot be wholesome for our Commonwealth to permit them to wander abroad; and therefore we require you to frame them to that point, that they may enter into other places, as is aforesaid; wherein you shall do unto

* "Letters," &c., vol. ii., p. 160.

us good service, desiring you to advertise us of this matter with all diligence. As touching the order of the house in the mean time, we desire and pray you to have special regard that nothing be embezzled, and to lie in a good await of the Monks, that they conspire not to the brewing of any inconvenience."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 540.

Efforts were sometimes made to obtain a transmutation of the monasteries into institutions for the benefit of learning. Audeley writes to Cromwell,—

"Such bruit hath run since my last departing from your good Lordship, concerning the dissolution of the abbeyes of Saint John's in Colchester, and Saint Osyth's, that I am bold to write to your good Lordship, after mine old suit, for the continuance of the said two places; not as they be, religious, but that it might please the King's Majesty, of his goodness, to translate them into Colleges, after such sort and ordinances as shall seem most charitable to His Highness; for the which, as I said to you afore, His Grace may have of either of them a £1,000; that is, for both, £2,000, and the gift of the Deans and Prebendaries at his own pleasure."—*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 587.

The breaking up of the monasteries brought about many disclosures in reference to the relics which had been regarded with such veneration, and from which some houses had derived enormous wealth, by substituting false plate and jewels for those offered by the devotees, and selling the real, or hiding it in secret recesses of the convent. The following notes record the result of inquisitorial visits to Glastonbury and Winchester:—

"Pleaseth it your Lordship to be advertised, that, since our letters last directed unto you from Glastonbury, we have daily found and tried out both money and plate, hid and mured up in walls, vaults, and other secret places, as well by the Abbot as other of the convent, and also conveyed to divers places in the country. And, in case we should here tarry this fortnight, we do suppose daily to increase in plate and other goods, by false knaves conveyed. And, among other petty briberies, we have found the two Treasurers of the church, Monks, with the two Clerks of the vestry, temporal men, in so arrant and manifest robbery, that we have committed the same to the jail."—*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 619.

"Pleaseth your Lordship to be advertised, that this Saturday, in the morning, about three of the clock, we made an end of the shrine here at Winchester. There was in it no piece of gold, nor one ring, or true stone, but all great counterfeits. Nevertheless, we think the silver alone thereof will amount near to two thousand marks. We have also received into our possession the cross of emeralda, the cross called Jerusalem, another cross of gold, two chalices of gold, with some silver plate, parcel of the portion of the vestry; but the old Prior made the plate of the house so thin, that we can diminish none of it, and leave the Prior any thing furnished. We found the Prior and all the convent very conformable, having assistants with us at the opening of our charge to the same,—the Mayor, with eight or nine of the best of his brethren, the Bishop's Chancellor, Mr. Doctor Craiford, with a good appearance of honest personages besides; who, with one voice,

most heartily gave laud and praise to God, and to the King's Majesty, thinking verily that they do all as much rejoice of His Majesty's godly and most Christian purpose herein as can be devised. We have, also, this morning, viewed the altar, which we purpose to bring with us. It will be worth the taking down, and nothing thereof seen; but such a piece of work it is, that we think we shall not rid it, doing our best, before Monday night or Tuesday morning. Which done, we intend, both at Hide and St. Mary's, to sweep away all the rotten bones, that be called 'relics;' which we may not omit, lest it should be thought we came more for the treasure, than for avoiding of the abomination of idolatry."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 621.

By far the wealthiest shrine in England was that of Thomas à Becket. The following extract records a visit paid to it, just before its removal, by a French lady, Lady Montreuil:—

"At ten of the clock, she, her gentlewomen, and the said Ambassadors (of France), went to the church, where I showed her Saint Thomas's shrine, at the which she was not a little marvelled of the great riches thereof, saying to be innumerable, and that, if she had not seen it, all the men in the world could never have made her to believe it; thus overlooking and viewing, more than an hour, as well the shrine as Saint Thomas's head, being at both set cushions to kneel, and the Prior, opening Saint Thomas's head, saying to her three times, 'This is Saint Thomas's head,' and offered her to kiss it; but she neither kneeled nor would kiss it, but was still viewing the riches thereof: so she departed, and went to her lodging to dinner."—*Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series*, vol. xxxvi., p. 241.

Cranmer writes to Cromwell to investigate St. Thomas's shrine, and adds,—

"Farther, because that I have in great suspect, that Saint Thomas of Canterbury's blood, in Christ church in Canterbury, is but a feigned thing, and made of some red ochre, or of such like matter, I beseech Your Lordship that Doctor Lee, and Doctor Barbour my Chaplain, may have the King's commission to try and examine that and all other like things there."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 580.

With the removal of the shrine, the primary ground of offence, however, Thomas à Becket did not cease to excite uneasiness. A Curate records being at a church, where,—

"On the north side of the church, I espied certain windows, wherein is pictured the life of Saint Thomas: in especial, I noted a superstitious Popish remembrance in the absolution of the King that was in that time, that is thus set forth: there be divers Monks portrayed with rods in their hands, the King kneeling naked before a Monk, as he should be beaten, at the shrine of Saint Thomas. This manner I have seen in divers places, and have heard pardoners set forth, in the declaration of the pardon of Saint Thomas, divers points wherefore he was slain, in that he did resist the King at that time: one is, that he would not grant that whosoever set his child to school should pay a tribute; also, that no poor man should eat certain meats except he paid a tribute; also, that Priests or Clerks should be judged of any layman, whom they call Secular Judges. These words, with

divers other, remaining in the people's heads, which they call the Articles of Saint Thomas and Liberties of the Church of England, with such pictures, shall be a great hinderance to the contentation of the King's subjects, unless by your wisdom you be good helper herein."—*Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series*, vol. xlv., p. 49.

An adherent to Romanism writes in a melancholy strain to his mistress, Lady Lisle, then at Calais:—

"The most part of saints, whereunto pilgrimages and offerings were wont to be made, are taken away. Our Lady of Southwark is one, Saint Saviour, the Blood of Hayles, and others. I doubt the Resurrection will after."

"This day" (July 18th, 1538) "our late Lady of Walsingham was brought to Lambeth, where was both my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Privy Seal, with many virtuous Prelates; but there was offered neither halfpenny nor candle: what shall become of her, is not determined."

Few superstitions had so strong a hold upon the popular feelings as our Lady of Walsingham. After the removal of the image, a rumour of a miracle just performed by it was spread abroad, and jealously traced back, by an assiduous Magistrate, to its author, a woman of the place, who was committed to ward.

"The next day," writes our informant, "I caused her to be set in stocks,—in the morning, and about nine of the clock, when the said market was fullest of people,—with a paper set about her head, written with these words upon the same, 'A REPORTER OF FALSE TALES,' she was set in a cart, and so carried about the market-stand, and other streets in the town, staying in divers places, where most people assembled, young people and boys of the town casting snowballs at her. This done and executed, she was brought to the stocks again, and there set till the market was ended. This was her penance; for I knew no law otherwise to punish her but by discretion, trusting it shall be a warning to other light persons in such wise to order themselves. Howbeit, I cannot perceive but the same image is not yet out of some of their heads."

It was evidently a fresh experience to the English autocrat, that the superstitions of ages were not to be uprooted at his bidding, and that it could be considered at all *outré* in him to punish those observances, the absence of which, a few years before, would have been equally, or still more severely, chastised.

"It may also like you to know," writes Audeley to Cromwell, "that there is a book come forth in print touching the taking away of images, which I send you; praying you to know, whether ye be privy to the setting forth thereof. I insure you, in the parts where I have been, some discord there is, and diversity of opinions, amongst the people, touching worshipping of saints and images, and for creeping at cross, and such like ceremonies, heretofore used in the Church; which discord were good should be put to silence. Whereupon I pray you I may be advertised, whether ye know it or not; for I intend to send for the printer, and stop them; but there be many abroad. It were good that the

Preachers and the people abstained from opinions of such things, till such time as by the report of such as the King's Highness hath appointed, for searching and ordering of laws of the Church, his Grace may put a final order in such things, how his people and subjects may use themselves without contention."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 447.

The numerous classes of persons, whose interests were intrenched upon by these reforms, murmured sorely against them. The Friars Mendicant, more especially, went about with grave looks amongst their friends and supporters, accosting them with a solemn shake of the head:—

"Father, (or, Sister,) what a world is this! It was not so in your fathers' days. You may see here is a perilous world: they will have no pilgrimage; they will not we should pray to saints or fast, or do any good deeds. Our Lord have mercy on us! I will live as my forefathers have done. I am sure your father and friends were good, and you have followed them hithertoward: therefore, I pray you, continue as you have done, and believe as your friends and fathers did, whatsoever these new fellows do say."—*Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series*, vol. xlv., p. 49.

In this state of affairs, it will not be matter of surprise, that England was reputed abroad to be wholly given over to the new doctrines. Cromwell informs his master,—

"That there arrived yesterday one Hieronymo, an Italian of Sienna, a man of much outward simplicity, and as weak learning, as far as I can perceive. He fled the persecution of the Papists in Italy, and went to Wittemberg, where he hath been but a little season; yet, nevertheless, he hath letters of commendation from Martin Luther, Philip Melancthon, Kreutziger, Oziander, and other learned men, and therewith some letters to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and to Your Grace's Chaplain, Mr. Thixtill. The simplicity of the man, and his rude apparel and behaviour, show the man not to be, in my judgment, greatly suspected. I have sent him to the said Archbishop, as well for to judge of his learning, as also for to help him as he shall see cause."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 611.

The Flemish Ambassador, Pate, writing to Norfolk from Bruges, July 12th, 1540, a few months after the fall of Cromwell, says,—

"Your Grace shall understand that, all the while Thomas Cromwell ruled, there were such slanders and obloquies of our realm, as might be, to a true Englishman hearing the same, a great grief; some pronouncing the blessed sacrament of the altar was utterly abolished with us; some affirming that we never observed holydays, nor regarded saints, as we had none of their images standing within our churches; and some said that we no more fasted than dogs; the Lent abrogated, so that all piety and religion, having no place, was banished out of England; whither, some purposing to go, said they would carry their Chaplain with them, to say them Mass in their chambers, thinking they could have no place in the church so to do; but when they heard me declare the contrary,—to whom such kind of questions were moved

of those that were desirous to know the truth,—giving to my word credit, and seeing my servants of an honest life, and conforming themselves to the laws of God, they began to bless them, as so lightly deluded by common rumours, that now, lauded be his Majesty, waxeth so weak and feeble every where, as I trust they shall perish with their author, a plain Gentile, a traitor, and an heretic. This I write to your Lordship to the intent you may perceive what service that wretch did our Sovereign Lord, that neither regarded his master's honour, nor his own honesty."—*State Papers*, vol. viii., p. 397.

"He that is low need fear no fall;" and, Cromwell once down, it became the fashion to accuse him of every description of crime and misdemeanour. One amongst other charges was that he had presumed to aspire to the hand of the King's elder, but then illegitimatized, daughter, the Lady Mary. Wallop, the English agent at Paris, reporting a conversation with Cardinal du Bellay, writes:—

"He showed me further than he did before, and that the said Privy Seal's intent was to have married my Lady Mary; and that the French King and he had much debated the same matter, three quarters of a year past, reckoning at length, by the great favour Your Majesty did bear to him, he should be made some Earl or Duke; and thereupon presumed your said Majesty would give to him in marriage the said Lady Mary, your daughter, as before-time you had done the French Queen unto my Lord of Suffolk. These things they gathered of such bruits as they had heard of the said Privy Seal before, knowing him to be fine-witted, in so much as at all times, when any marriage was treated of for my said Lady Mary, he did always his best to break the same. All these things considered together, the said French King and Cardinal conceived in their heads, he minded surely at length to have had the said Lady Mary, and thereby to come to all his determined evil purposes. As to the Ambassador of Portugal, I have done my best to know of whom he heard first the said bruits; he protesting by a great oath, that he could not call it to his remembrance, but heard it often communed of, among Ambassadors, two years past, and, in a manner, had forgotten the same, saving now hearing of the said Privy Seal's abominable determination, which did put him somewhat in memory thereof."—*Ibid.*, p. 379.

The rumour that any subject had ventured to entertain the bare idea of marrying his daughter, enraged the King, and he bade his agent strongly to affirm,—

"That neither we go about nor intend to marry our said daughter at home, in such sort as he pre-supposed unto you; nor that there is any man within our realm that dare presume to press or persuade us thereunto; but rather that we bear such natural and entire affection to our said daughter, as, when we shall happen to bestow her, it shall well appear that we have no less regard to our honour and the advancement of our blood than appertaineth."—*Ibid.*, p. 455.

Henry VIII. had bandied about the name and rights of his daughter, to pander to his own disgraceful passions; but he

would permit no one to trifle with her save himself. The same temperament pervaded his conduct in other respects: he could act the boon companion amongst his courtiers, with a complete *abandon* of the exclusiveness of royalty; but woe to the man that, for an instant, presumed upon his Sovereign's freedom! A certain man, named William Webb, got into trouble for reporting that, as

—"he rode upon a good gelding, and a fair gentlewoman behind him, the King's Grace met him, and said unto him, 'Whom hast thou behind thee there, Will?' and he made answer again, saying, 'A friend of mine, an it like Your Grace.' And with that the King stepped to her, and plucked down her muffler, and kissed her, saying, 'Well, Will, thou art never without such fair stuff about thee; but we will give her a gown of damask, for thy sake, and see she have it.'"

The anecdote was true, and not denied; but the repetition of it gave offence.

On one occasion, Cromwell feared to repair to Court without special leave, because a man in his house had died under circumstances suspicious of plague. The King said he might repair to Court safely enough within a day or two; but when he talked to the Queen (Jane Seymour) about it, her countenance betrayed alarm; and as the King had his own reasons for wishing to remove every cause of anxiety from her, he said it would be better for Cromwell to stay at the house of some friend in the neighbourhood, without coming to the palace;—

"And to meet with His Grace at hunting, and keep him company all day till night, and then to repair to where you shall be lodged, till such time as His Grace and you shall perceive further in the matter; assuring your Lordship, that His Grace is very sorry that the chance happened so now that ye might not be here to make good cheer, as we all do, and the King, who useth himself more like a good fellow than like a King among us that be here; and, thanked be God, I never saw him merrier in his life than he is now."—*Miscellaneous Letters, Second Series*, vol. xxxvi., p. 288.

The King was passionately fond of hunting, and his favourites were frequently presented with game killed by the royal hand. The two following are from courtiers to Wolsey:—

"And forasmuch as, in your journey, ye shall not by chance have always venison after your appetite, His Highness hath sent unto Your Grace at this time a red deer, by a servant of his own; and that, not because that it is a deer excellent, but forasmuch as it is at this time novelty, and dainty, and moreover slain of his own hand."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 209.

"The King's Highness commendeth him heartily unto Your Grace, and sends unto Your Grace, by this bearer, the greatest red deer that was killed by His Grace, or any of his hunters, all this year. Yesterday His Highness took marvellous great pain in hunting of the red

deer, from nine of the clock in the morning to seven of the clock at night; and, for all his painstaking, he, nor all his servants, could kill no more than this one, notwithstanding they hunted in four several parts."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 325.

His sports did not, however, divert the King's attention from business, in which he frequently interfered to an extent annoying to the officials. Secretary Pace, writing to Wolsey on one occasion, says,—

"And as for one of my letters, which was unto Your Grace very displeasing, as it appeared by your answer to the same, I had, at that time, devised a letter in the same matter, far discrepant from that ye received; but the King would not approve the same, and said, that he would himself devise an answer to Your Grace's letters sent to him at that time, and commanded me to bring your said letters unto his privy chamber, with pen and ink, and there he would declare unto me what I should write. And when His Grace had your said letters, he read the same three times, and marked such places as it pleased him to make answer unto, and commanded me to write and to rehearse, as liked him, and not further to meddle with that answer. So that I herein nothing did but obeyed the King's commandment, as to my duty appertaineth, and especially at such time as he would, upon good grounds, be obeyed, whosoever spake to the contrary."—*Ibid.*, p. 79.

The King was accustomed to manage the Parliament by paying the Speaker, and even Sir Thomas More, with all his single-heartedness, accepted the remuneration; whilst the commonalty had but small share in any political duty, beyond that of blindfold obedience.

"And, Sire," writes Wolsey to Henry VIII., "where it hath been accustomed that the Speakers of the Parliaments, in consideration of their diligence and pains taken, have had, though the Parliament hath been right soon finished, above the £100 ordinary, a reward of £100, for the better maintenance of their household, and other charges sustained in the same; I suppose, Sir, that the faithful diligence of the said Sir Thomas More, in all your causes treated in this your late Parliament, as well for your subsidy right honourably passed, as otherwise considered, no man could better deserve the same than he hath done; wherefore, your pleasure known therein, I shall cause the same to be advanced unto him accordingly."—*Ibid.*, p. 124.

Cromwell, writing to Henry VIII. on the election of a Member of Parliament, says,—

"Amongst others, for Your Grace's Parliament, I have appointed Your Majesty's servant, Mr. Morrison, to be one of them; no doubt, he shall be ready to answer, and take up such as would crack or face with literature of learning, or by indirected ways, if any such shall be, as I think there shall be few or none; forasmuch as I and other your dedicate Counsellors be about to bring all things so to pass, that Your Majesty had never more tractable Parliament. I have thought the said Morrison very meet to serve Your Grace

therein; wherefore I beseech the same to have him in your good favour, as ye have had hitherto. I know his heart so good, that he is worthy favour indeed."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 603.

The election of Knights of the Shire, as Members of Parliament, long considered a troublesome tax on the wealthier gentry, was now beginning to rank as a privilege, though with but a glimmering perception of its ultimate importance. The following is, perhaps, the earliest record in existence of a "contested election," and shows us how those matters were managed three hundred years ago: it is from the mother of the disappointed candidate:—

"Pleaseth it your master to be advertised, that at the coming down of the King's writ in *Salopshire* (Shropshire) to the Sheriff, to choose the Knights for the Parliament, there were of the worshipful of the shire, with the Justices, that sent unto me, and willed me to make labour that my son, George Blount, should be one of them; and so I did, my son being at the Court; and moreover, the shire laboured the Sheriff that the election should not be appointed at Shrewsbury, because the plague reigned there so sore; but in any wise the Sheriff would it should be there, to the intent that the inhabitants burgesses, with the franchise of the town, should assemble themselves to choose one Trentham; and so they assembled themselves riotously, that the worshipful of the shire were not content, (saying their voice cannot be heard,) and had much to do to keep the King's peace. Whereupon they titled their names, and went to the Sheriff, willing him to return George Blount, for they would have no other; but in any wise he would not, because the Under-Sheriff is a dweller in the said town: and then the gentlemen delivered their names to this bearer, being an honest gentleman, to make report, who can advertise you more plainly than I can write, (to whom it may please you to give credence,) beseeching you to be good master unto my son in this, as you have been unto me, and all those that mine be, at all times."—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 168.

A great disproportion existed between the former and the present value placed upon the courtly, but purely honorary, distinctions which the King alone had power to bestow; a disproportion easily accounted for, when we find that the King endeavoured to replenish his empty exchequer by a compulsory sale of these honours. He issued a mandate for all who possessed landed property to the value of £40 a year, equivalent to about £200 of our present money, to come up to Court and receive the honours of knighthood, by paying certain fees into the Royal Exchequer. This mandate sorely disquieted many of the proposed recipients of chivalrous rank. The Princess Mary wrote to Cromwell on behalf of the father of one of her servants resident in Cheshire, begging that he might be excused, on account of the distance, and of his age,—upwards of fourscore years; and the Countess Dowager of Oxford excuses one of her

servants, who is willing to take oath that his land is worth but £38:—

“And as for husbandry or other provisions, he occupieth none, but liveth only upon his land; nor he hath no fashion to provide otherwise; for he hath always been a serving-man, and hath continued in my Lord my husband's service this twenty years.”—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 67.

In the following extract, we have an account of the first attempt made in England to establish Parish Registers, and the alarm which it created amongst the people:—

“It is now come to my knowledge, this 20th day of April, by a right true honest man, a servant of mine, that there is much secret and several communications amongst the King's subjects; and that many of them, in sundry places within the shires of Cornwall and Devonshire, be in great fear and mistrust what the King's Highness and his Council should mean, to give in commandment to the Parsons and Vicars of every parish, that they should make a book, and surely to be kept, wherein to be specified the names of as many as be wedded, and the names of them that be buried, and of all those that be christened. Now ye may perceive the minds of many: what is to be done, to avoid their uncertain conjectures, and to continue and stablish their hearts in true natural love, according their duties, I refer to your wisdom. Their mistrust is, that some charges, more than hath been in times past, shall grow to them by this occasion of registering of these things; wherein, if it shall please the King's Majesty to put them out of doubt, in my poor mind, shall increase much hearty love.”—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 612.

We find the administration of justice capricious and insecure, and frequently retarded, or interfered with by private interests. One correspondent complains bitterly of the injustice done to a servant who, in a drunken frolic, had spoken disrespectfully of the King, and, although clearly acquitted of wilful misdeemeanour by a jury of his countrymen, was still kept in prison, “not only to the great loss and destruction of his goods, but also to the destruction and making lame his limbs.” Great rigour was often exercised against such parties as expressed freely their opinions respecting the King's conduct; for Henry VIII. was too conscious of deserving censure, to be able to endure it with tolerance. Nor was he more patient of practical offences which bore upon himself personally. Discovery was made of a design, on the part of some thieves, to break open the gate of Windsor Castle, and plunder the building, the King being absent from London. It was betrayed to the Earl of Hertford, who allowed the miscreants, in fancied security, to proceed to the perpetration of their crime, and then apprehended them in the very fact; and, after examining them apart, committed them to Newgate. The King was informed of these facts, and expressed some discontent at the leniency of the proceeding, and at the whole affair not being made of more importance:—

"His Highness hath commanded us to signify unto you, that he doth much marvel, both that you write so slenderly in it, without sending hither the examinations, and that you have committed the thieves to common prisons, as though you made *no difference* betwixt the enterprise of the robbing of *His Majesty*, and the attempting of a like act towards *any his mean subjects*! His Majesty thinketh they should rather have been committed to the Tower, there to have remained upon further examination; though percase you think you have gotten out the bottom of their purpose."—*State Papers*, vol. i., p. 684.

One of the most serious impediments to justice was the insolence of the nobility, who did not hesitate to hector and threaten, and even to interfere with their armed forces, when their passions or their interests impelled. John Barlow, Dean of Westbury College, summoned several inhabitants of the village of Yate, in Gloucestershire, to appear before the Sessions, for playing at tennis-ball during church-hours on the Sunday.

"But," he adds, "at my coming to the said Sessions, there was such a band of the said Lady Berkeley's servants and retainers, being common jurors all,—as she hath no small number of such,—and were impanelled the same time in juries there, rather to let (hinder) than to prefer justice, as I then mistrusted, and as most commonly they used to do; for fear of the same, I thought it good to defer the setting forth of the said matter till the coming of the Justices of the Assize; wherewith the said Lady Berkeley, upon knowledge given to her of the same, greatly being displeased, uncharitably railed, with many slanderous and opprobrious words, against me, in the presence of diverse gentlemen, wishing that the said evil-disposed persons had beaten me, saying that I should have been well beaten indeed, if she had had knowledge before of my coming thither; and further, with threatening words, said at the same time, that *she* would sit upon my skirts!"—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 211.

When a Nobleman, at the head of a small army of retainers, chose to break out into acts of violence, and revenge his own quarrels, it was indeed difficult for the feeble and terrified magistracy to prevent him; and recourse was usually had to the King or his Minister. A Dowager Countess of Oxford thus appeals against the lawless conduct of her husband's successor, who, on two separate occasions, broke into her park, at the head of a large company, and shot down upwards of a hundred of her deer. The Justice of Assize interfered, and bound both the Lord and the Lady over to keep the peace; but so far from fulfilling his pledge, the Earl, at the head of three hundred persons, broke into her house, beat her servants, and took forcible possession of her goods. She appealed to Wolsey; the Earl was severely remonstrated with, and a writ sent to the Justices of Cambridge-shire to keep him in order,—with what success, the Countess herself records, in a letter to her brother, the Duke of Norfolk, to whom she was compelled to appeal, that he might oppose might to might:—

"Please it your Grace to have knowledge that the writ which I had of my Lord Cardinal into Cambridgeshire doth nothing prevail me; for the Justices of Peace to whom the same was directed, with divers others of Peace of the same shire, were at the Castle of Camps, there to have *avoided* (turned out) all such persons as kept the same by force; but that notwithstanding, they answered them not to depart for no man, until such time as they had commandment from my Lord their master. And also the same Justices perceived themselves not able to remove them by their own power, nor yet with the raising of the country, without great disturbance of the King's peace, as they will justify at all times when they shall be called. They have not as yet proceeded no further in the execution of the said writ; wherefore, without your Grace help now, I know not how to obtain my possession again."—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 13.

The amenities of domestic life, depending more upon individual character than upon the complexion of the age, were then, as now, ever varying. We find one unfortunate lady complaining that her husband has kept her three or four years "a prisoner alone, and continually locked up in one of the towers of his castle," in constant danger of poisoning, which makes her fear to taste even the scanty allowance of food sent to her.

"Wherefore," she adds, "I have been, and yet am, fain to drink water, or else I should die for lack of sustenance, and *had*, long ere this time, had not poor women of the country, of their charity, knowing my Lord's demeanour always to his wives, brought me, to my great window, in the night, such meat and drink as they had, and gave me, for the love of God; for money have I none wherewith to pay them, nor yet have had of my Lord these four years, save four groats."—*Ibid.*, p. 274.

Another lady, evidently a wilful, wayward termagant, and yet the mother of the gallant poet-courtier, Surrey, whom she stigmatizes as her "ungracious son," pours forth volleys of abuse against her unfortunate spouse, whom she represents as dragging her about by the hair, and subjecting her to all sorts of insult from the menials of his house. This was the result of a marriage against her will; for her love had previously been lavished on an earlier suitor, who was rejected by her father. Of a very opposite character is an epistle from a young lady, the sister of Queen Anne Boleyn, who had incurred the hot displeasure of both King and Queen, by contracting a stolen love-match with Sir William Stafford.

"After my poor recommendations, which is smally to be regarded of me, that am a poor banished creature, this shall be to desire you to be good to my poor husband and to me. I am sure it is not unknown to you the high displeasure that both he and I have, both of the King's Highness and of the Queen's Grace, by reason of our marriage without their knowledge, wherein we both do yield ourselves faulty, and do acknowledge that we did not well to be so hasty nor so bold, without

their knowledge. But one thing, good Master Secretary, consider,—that he was young, and love overcame reason; and, for my part, I saw so much honesty in him, that I loved him as well as he did me, and was in bondage, and glad I was to be at liberty; so that, for my part, I saw that all the world did set so little by me, and he so much, that I thought I could take no better way, but to take him and forsake all other ways, and live a poor honest life with him. For well I might have had a greater man of birth and a higher; but I assure you I could never have had one that should have loved me so well, nor a more honest man; and, besides that, he is both come of an ancient stock, and again as meet (if it was His Grace's pleasure) to do the King's service, as any young gentleman in his Court.”—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 194.

As pendant to the above picture, we will place a few curious extracts from the domestic correspondence of Lord Lisle, Governor of Calais, and his lady, during a visit paid by the latter to England. Announcing her safe arrival to “her own sweet-heart,” Lady Lisle adds, “I should have been much merrier if I had been coming towards you, or if you had been with me. Your absence and my departure maketh heavy; also, for that I departed at the stair of Calais so hastily, without taking my leave of you accordingly, made me very sorry; but I assure you, my Lord, that I thought you had been in the boat, and would have brought me to the ship.” She ends by assuring her husband that she should think every hour ten, till she was with him again. Referring to the business which brought her to England, she writes, “I shall from time to time certify you how I shall prosper and succeed in all my affairs and doings, wherein I trust you shall not find me slack, but shall well know me to use such diligence as one should do, whose whole heart and mind will never be settled nor established till the body be returned unto you.” Before parting, the husband made a promise rather precipitate, that he would show his sorrow for his wife's absence by keeping himself very much in retirement. She heard, however, of his having been at a *fête* in the town, and rallied him on his breach of faith. “Fain would I be with you,” she writes, “notwithstanding you promised me that after my departing you would dine at ten of the clock every day, and keep little company, because you would mourn for mine absence; but I warrant you I know what rule you keep, and company, well enough, since my departing, and what thought you take for me; whereof you shall hear at my coming home.” To mitigate the apprehensions of the curtain lecture, she assures him that this quarrel she makes him is but her fantasy, and subscribes herself, “her that is more yours than her own, which had much rather die with you there, than live here.”

Lord Lisle, in his replies, apologizes that the pressing civilities of his neighbours prevent his mourning by day, but that at night he sleeps not an hour for lack of her, and never sleeps at all

after two o'clock in the morning ! A lady who was at the *fête* which had caused this fit of mock jealousy, assures Lady Lisle that her good Lord drank to her health in a full bumper, "and my Lord said that he thought the time long of your absence, and would for no good that you should lack him so long again, if it might otherwise be." Again, the loving Lady Lisle says, "And where you write that you never longed so sore for me as you now do, I assure you, my good heart-root, your desire in that behalf can be no vehementer than mine is ; for I can neither sleep, nor eat, nor drink, that doeth me good ; my heart is so heavy and full of sorrow, which, I know well, will never be lightened till I be with you, which I trust shall be shortly." Her Lord replied, that "never child longed for its nurse as he does for her ;" and after a month's absence, in which she had written him more than a dozen letters, and they had exchanged various presents, she returned to Calais. This lady was as notable as she was loving. Her husband's affairs were much left to her guidance. She exacted from him a strict account of all his expensiture, and so completely controlled it, that he had to plead very earnestly to be permitted to have a new doublet against Christmas ; whilst his gowns, hosen, shirts, &c., were all selected and provided by her.

The position of a widow in the higher classes was often fraught with much discomfort, as the selection of a second husband generally devolved upon the King ; and he was not very scrupulous in the choice, if the widow were richly jointured, and he could sell his influence over her at a fair price.

Lord Dacre thus addresses Wolsey concerning one of "the King's widows :"—

"My Lord, I humbly thank your Grace that you have stopped the coming up of the Lady Pickering, late wife to Sir Christopher Pickering, Knight ; which (if it might so stand with the King's high pleasure, seeing that she is his widow) I would have her in marriage, and have his gracious letters of consent to the same. And if His Highness have made any grant to any other person, I will speak no more therein. Her substance is this : she hath under £40 by year, by reason of her late husband ; and as for her goods, they are of little value, and how, and in what case as her father's land standeth in, seeing that she hath issue, I cannot perfectly advertise Your Grace. The labour that I have made unto Your Grace concerning her was more for love than for any profit."—*Wolsey Correspondence*, vol. iv., p. 11, *State-Paper Office*.

But royalty itself could not always lord it over the affections of these experienced dames. The following is a curious record of a courtship-scene, and its failure. The heroine is the same Lady Berkeley who had before defied the law in protecting her tennis-players, and empannelling her own tenants as jury-men. Her unsuccessful suitor was Edward, son and heir of John Lord

Dudley, a Nobleman notoriously poor. This circumstance *might*—such things have been known—influence the decision of her Ladyship. Dudley writes to Wriothesley as follows:—

“In my heartiest manner I recommend me unto you, ever heartily thanking you of your most singular goodness to me at all times, and in especial for the procurement and device of the King's letters and my Lord Privy Seal's, the which were as effectually devised in my behalf and preferment as I could either advise or desire. Notwithstanding, I have not been regarded according to the King's desire and my Lord's, but she hath made me a very light answer, that she is not minded to marry, and at the next time she will make an answer to the King, which is but done for a delay; whereby I am not able to follow my suit, unless you be good Lord unto me, to put your help with my Lady, my aunt, the bearer hereof, to speak unto my Lord that I may have some straiter command from the King and my Lord unto her, to go forward in the accomplishing my desire. The truth is, she entertained me, after the most loving sort, at my first coming to her, as I could desire; for, when she was in her chamber sewing, she would suffer me lie in her lap, with many other as familiar fashions as I could desire; also, she would bring me to my chamber, and send the gentlewomen unto me for to entertain me. But at my coming with the King's letters, I was nothing so well welcomed; but where it was so familiar before, it was much stranger since my coming last, which grieved me sore, as well for her own part as for mine, considering the King's pleasure and my Lord's request. Howbeit, as far as I perceive by such of my friends as be about her, if my letters had been of commandment, as they were in desire and request, I should have obtained my heart's desire without any further delay.

“Also, my desire is that it may be devised that the King and my Lord will see that I shall at all times use myself like an honest man unto her, or else that His Grace will see it remedied, trusting that I have not so little discretion for to use myself any way to her displeasure: there is too many discommodities would rise thereupon. Truly I love her not so weakly; but undoubtedly my heart is so faithfully assured unto her, that it were impossible to remove it for any pleasure in the world. And although it hath been expensive and chargeable unto me, the suit unto her, yet, an I were worth a thousand pounds, I would vouchsafe to spend it for her sake; wherefore you cannot do me a higher pleasure than to procure me a commandment whereby I may obtain her favour.”—*Letters*, vol. iii., p. 76.

The royal letters of recommendation were accordingly issued to Lady Berkeley, in terms stronger than before; but she declared that, although, if her *heart* were towards Mr. Dudley, she would rather receive a husband on the recommendation of the King and Cromwell than any other, yet, as it was not, she could not accept him; adding, that she had written to the King to signify “that I cannot with my heart be fair unto Mr. Dudley, to accomplish his high pleasure, and in semblewise also desiring your good Lordship, in that my stomach cannot lean there, neither as yet to any marriage, that you will continue my especial good Lord, as

you have done in time past, and to be in help of my rude answer unto the King's Majesty, so that I may stand in no displeasure with His Grace."

Another widow, Margaret Lady Audeley, wrote to Cromwell in similar, but still more amusing, terms. Sir George Aylesbury had been sent to her in character of a suitor; but, either ignorant of his errand, or unwilling to appear to know it, she had made him good cheer, simply as a person come from the King. Cromwell wrote to thank her for this, which he considered a favourable omen of the success of the wooing; but she wrote back at once, declaring that she deserved no thanks for entertaining any, though it were the meanest, person that could come from His Majesty; adding, that,—

"For any intent or purpose of marriage, either to the said Aylesbury or any other living creature, as yet I have none. And if it shall chance me hereafter to have any such fantasy or mind, (which I pray God I may not have,) it is not *he* that I can find in my heart to take to my husband, of all creatures alive. And my trust is, that, as the King's Highness hath been always good and gracious Lord unto all other his poor widows, His Majesty will be so much my good and gracious Lord to give me liberty to marry, if ever it be my chance, such one as I may find in my heart to match unto; either else, undoubtedly, I am fully purposed to abide and continue in this estate during my life."—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 270.

The minors were in still worse plight than the widows. Their wardship and marriage were commonly bought and sold; and a mother who really loved her child would not unfrequently pay a large sum of money, that he might become her ward. One lady informs us, "I bought my son of my Lord of Norfolk: I must give him £100, to the intent that I would marry my son to his comfort." Noblemen who had daughters frequently bought the wardship and marriage of minor Peers, as the best means of providing suitable sons-in-law; and, if the purchase-money for the husband were faithfully paid, an honorary obligation was thereby made out that the wife's jointure should not be curtailed nor impeded. In a series of angry letters from the Duchess of Norfolk to Cromwell, she complains, amongst other grievances, of the non-payment of her jointure. She urges that her husband had every reason to act differently, "seeing that my Lord my husband chose me himself, for my Lord my father had *bought* my Lord of Westmoreland for me, and had with me two thousand marks." And she mentions it as an extraordinary circumstance, that Queen Anne Boleyn, who, at that time, especially favoured the Duke of Norfolk, had procured for him the young Duke of Richmond as a husband for his daughter, the Lady Mary, and this "clear favour without any payment; for the King's Grace gat never a penny for my Lord of Richmond." One inconvenience resulting from this system was, that it became the interest

of the guardian to raise and extend the property of the eldest son; at the expense of the widow and younger children; since, the larger the jointure he could afford to assign to his bride, the higher would be the price realized for his sale in the matrimonial market. In consequence, we find complaints very numerous of the deprivations and injustice committed upon these more helpless members of the community. This system extended to the middle orders, where it was felt still more injuriously, as the right of wardship was often considered hereditary, or a perquisite of office. "Alas, my Lord!" exclaims one poor widow, suffering under this grievance; "this is an extreme fashion to use a poor woman; for, an they may have the heir and the land, they care not an I and the other children go a-begging." She thus details the circumstances of her case:—

"MY GOOD LORD,—

"Pleaseth your good Lordship to understand, that, fourscore years past, the Abbot of St. Alban's, that was in those days, had, wrongfully, my husband's grandfather to his ward. When he was fourteen years old, the Abbot sold him to a fishmonger of London, and he kept him two years; and then this child ran away from the fishmonger unto a Knight, one Sir Davy Phillip, which Knight married this child unto Mr. St. John's daughter, of Kent, and then the friends of his wife sued with the Abbot, and proved him not his ward. Then the Abbot gave him, in recompence for the wrongs he had done, a farm, which is called Ballard's, beside Luton, in Bedfordshire; but this young man was not contented with that gift. Then the Abbot gave him more, to have an end with him, and made him master of his game. This my father-in-law, Mr. Creke, and my husband did tell me many times; and yet there be old men in the country, and in Rickmansworth parish, that will say thus at this day. Whereupon I lowly desire your good Lordship's help, or else the Abbot that is now will do my children wrong; for he will not show his records, but doth say he will have my son to his ward, and I am not able to go to the law with him, nor never shall have end with him, except it will please your Lordship, of your abundant charity, to send for the Abbot to come afore your Lordship. He is now in London, in a house of his own, by the Charterhouse gate. And thus Jesu save your good Lordship!

"Your poor Beadwoman,

"JOANNA CREKE, Widow."

—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 267.

Literature was so completely beyond the pale of ordinary life, that the slightest allusion to a book is a most rare occurrence, except as connected with the change of religion. Our glimpses of the state of science are still more imperfect, if, indeed, science may be said to have existed at all, in the modern acceptation of the term. The practice of surgery was encumbered with much superstition; and its true principles were so imperfectly understood, that experience was often found a

much better safeguard than professional skill, so called. We have an interesting detail, from the pen of a noble lady, of the modes she adopted to cure the fatal sweating-sickness, so prevalent in the summer of 1528. Her letter is addressed to Wolsey :—

“My Lord,—I beseech Your Grace to have me excused that I do write so boldly unto Your Grace ; it is for my poor love unto Your Grace. My Lord, if it would please you, if that you have the sweat, from the which I pray God defend you, for to send me word. I shall send Hogon and William Hastings unto Your Grace, the which shall keep you as well as is possible, after the temperate fashion. I have the experience daily in my house of all manner of sorts, both good and bad ; and, thanked be God, there is none miscarried, neither in my house nor within the parish that I am in. For if they that be in danger perceive themselves very sick, they send for such of my house as hath had it, and knoweth the experience, whereby, thanked be God, they do escape ; and if they be sick at the heart, I give them treacle and water imperial, the which doth drive it from the heart ; and thus have holpen them that have swooned divers times, and that have received the Sacraments of the Church ; and divers doth swell at their stomachs, to whom I give setwell to eat, the which driveth it away from the stomach. And the best remedy that I do know in it, is to take little or no sustenance or drink, until sixteen hours be past. And, my Lord, such of your servants as have had it, let them not come about Your Grace of one week after. And thus I do use my servants, and I thank our Lord as yet I have not had it. Vinegar, wormwood, rosewater, and crumbs of brown bread, is very good and comfortable, to put in a linen cloth, to smell unto your nose, so that it touch not your visage. My Lord, I hear say that my Lord of Norfolk hath had the sweat, and that divers in his house are dead, and, as I think, through default of keeping.”—*Letters, &c.*, vol. ii., p. 28.

Such was ENGLAND, three hundred years ago :—its King, a bluff, good-natured, but capricious and wilful, tyrant, ruling, where he could, with absolute sway, and, where he could not rule, crushing the daring resister of his will, were he Noble or peasant, and setting at defiance the laws and customs of Western Europe ; its Ministry, if such it might be called, dependent upon, and cringing to, the will of the Prime Minister, who was always the personal favourite of the Sovereign ; its Parliament little more than the tool of the Court ; its Nobility often venal, disorderly, and violent, yet brave, and showing many examples of chivalric bearing ; its Priesthood divided in opinion, corrupt in practice, receiving their *dicta* of faith from the lips of a Monarch, whose character was stained by the foulest crimes ; its Commonalty ignorant, superstitious, impulsive, and easily carried away by designing plotters ; its commerce circumscribed, its literature insignificant, its science hardly born. Who can recognise *our* England under such a guise ? And what but the interfused ele-

ment of pure, religious, Protestant truth, spreading amongst the masses of a nation possessing intrinsically the seeds of that which is good and noble, could have produced, in the space of three centuries, a change much greater than had transpired in double that period previously? And now, if we look forward three centuries,—centuries during which “England expects every man to do his duty,”—who can foresee the point of religious, commercial, literary, and scientific elevation, which will form the mental vantage-ground of the future historian, who shall exercise his antiquarian predilections, and amuse his readers with a glimpse of ENGLAND UNDER QUEEN VICTORIA?

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Resources of New Granada.* By GENERAL MOSQUERA. New York: Dwight. 8vo.
2. *History of Yucatan: from its Discovery to the Close of the Seventeenth Century.* By CHARLES ST. JOHN FANCOURT, Esq. London: John Murray. 8vo.
3. *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro.* By A. R. WALLACE. London: Reeve and Co. 8vo.

SHADED maps have been recently employed to convey truth in colours. Two maps on this plan, adapted to the fertility and the present population of the globe, would effectually meet all the fears of the Malthusian philosophers. One would show that the world has never yet contained one-tenth of the number of inhabitants for whom provision has been made; and the other, that the disengaged portions equal the occupied regions in fertility, and excel them in magnitude. They would assure all men that the world was not modelled on too small a scale. The Creator of the earth counted all its inhabitants from the beginning, and his calculations are never erroneous.

We sympathize with those agricultural and economic writers who say that no European country is fully peopled; and we believe that more food could be, and will be, annually extracted, even from Britain or Belgium, than either has yielded hitherto: still, we can suppose a case of over-population in an island, or the corner of a continent, realizing all Malthusian horrors, but only from defective energy among the inhabitants, or the repression of commerce, and not from the want of means, or of room for men to live in the world.

The Old World's gardens and granaries in Western Asia have been, for long, only desolate and dreary wastes,—far-spreading cemeteries of mighty nations and numerous races,—with a few shepherds pitching their tents and leading their flocks, like watchers over the dead. The most fertile country of Eastern Europe is only now awaking, amid the tumult of a hostile

invasion, from a state of torpor. Africa—so long unknown to the commercial nations of the world, with the exception of the valley of the Nile, and a narrow ring around its shores—now, at this late period of history, also enters into the market of nations, and each passing year will materially enhance its resources. Australia, and the islands in its vicinity, are, in one respect, additions of this century to the world's wealth. They emerged from their hiding-place little more than half a century since; and ten years hence the three larger cities of Australia will probably contain a greater population than the three corresponding towns of the Russian Empire. India itself, with its one hundred and fifty millions of inhabitants, is not more than half cultivated; and it will yet support a larger and a happier population than those who now partially cover its plains.

America is not yet fully explored; and, although vast cities have been built on its Atlantic shores within two or three centuries, yet its industrial history has not passed the earlier chapters. The Southern is even less known than the Northern division of America. The South has gigantic mountains, whose slopes and table-lands would form kingdoms; and, concealed among their forests, or deep beneath their snows, the greatest rivers of the world have their sources: but the mountain lands have not been surveyed, the springs of its rivers have not been traced; although their banks have lovely regions, equal to Europe in extent, for Industry to cast its mantle over, as centuries pass away. South America has a great destiny; and the probable development of "its future" must not be measured by the slow progress of "its past." Europe is the world's school; and men commence the appropriation and improvement of new regions, with all the advantages of industrial and scientific experience, founded upon the knowledge acquired here, in which other continents and islands will participate.

Neutral agents often aid human progress. The merchant canvasses the world for sales, without considering himself a missionary of freedom: he seeks the enlargement of his fortune, without imagining that he works for the expansion of intellect and the extension of liberty. The man of science solves a problem in geography or geology, without believing that he is a pioneer of religion. Volney's "Ruins of Empires" was not written to prove the accuracy of the scriptural narratives; but the author's intentions have been frustrated, and his weapons turned against his cause.

Commerce, freedom, science, and religion, are remarkably associated. They advance together, even when their connecting links are imperceptible to careless observers. At other times they appear to follow antagonistic courses. The spirit of trade dissents from the spirit of patriotism; and the pride of science

despises the simplicity of the Gospel ; but, even when they seem to be mutually divergent and divorced, their union is maintained, to re-appear and to vindicate its strength in promoting the highest interest of the world. The providence of God so overrules the plans and works of men, that freedom and truth follow closely, when they do not precede, the footsteps of commerce and science.

Europe was emerging from the feudal darkness and the spiritual tyranny of the Middle Ages ; the empire of the Saracen had faded in Spain, and the great Reformation had dawned in the centre of the Continent ; civil wars had broken the power of our insular nobility, and the enlightening influences of the Bible had partially penetrated into some quiet English parishes ; when bands of loose adventurers, following the daring example of Columbus, crossed the Western Ocean, landed on the American coasts, and, aided by the arms and the military science of the Old World, submerged in ruins and slaughter the great empires of the Incas and the Montezumas. The Spanish conquerors of America did not discover in Mexico a people dwelling in peace and security, and then overwhelm them in the horrors of crime and conquest ; but they found and nearly extirpated a race, who, at a then recent date, had exchanged a comparatively mild form of secular and spiritual government for bloody rites and debasing tyranny,—among whom great civil wars had previously existed, and murderous cruelties were daily practised, in the usual routine of an idol-worship. This fact forms no sound apology for the destroyers ; and their guilt clings to their memory, and even to their posterity, while the latter pursue, so far as they are enabled, a similar course.

Francisco Pizarro, the bastard and foundling of Truxillo, had passed twenty years in South America before he left Panama, in 1528, to seek from the Spanish Court aid in effecting the conquest of Peru. Pizarro found Charles V., immediately after the great victory of Pavia, and before his installation as Emperor of Germany. Spain was at the moment the first European state : its Monarch was the first of European Sovereigns. He listened courteously, in the day of his greatest triumph, to the American adventurer ; commended his cause to the prudence of his Indian Council and the sagacity of his Queen ; and departed to receive from the Pontiff at Rome the imperial crown of Germany. Pizarro obtained the object of his long journey from the Spanish Court : he returned to Panama : he conquered Peru.

Three centuries have passed since then ; but the close of the third found Peru independent, the riches of Spain squandered, its power subverted, and the country prostrated from its high place in Europe. The footsteps of the Spanish conquerors may yet be obliterated from the land which they covered with blood ; and even their language may be vanquished, unless a great

change occur in the character and spirit of those who now represent Cortes and Pizarro,—the conquerors of Mexico and Peru, of the Incas and the Montezumas. The Anglo-Saxon race have annexed California and Texas, lately valuable provinces of Mexico; and they threaten to buy or to seize the entire Republic. Another war may bring their southern frontier forward to the Lake of Mexico. Annexation is a common passion to all the States of the great Republic; and is recommended as the means of conserving slavery in the Southern States. This besetting crime operates against Mexican independence, and the strong never want a pretext to attack the weak.

The Indian races are numerous in some provinces of Mexico. They have nearly re-conquered Yucatan. They exercise a powerful influence on all the frontiers; and some persons, intimately conversant with South America, say that it will again become the property of independent Indian nations. The Republics on the southern border of Mexico are obviously weak and disorderly. Their territories have been pervaded by large bodies of adventurers from the United States, since the discovery of gold in California. The commerce of Nicaragua has been improved by this invasion; but its independence is endangered, and its junction to the general Union of the North may not be distant. The Isthmus of Darien and Panama, the connecting link between North and South, between the Atlantic and the Pacific, is within the territory of New Granada; a country abounding in mineral wealth, and possessing grand commercial advantages. All its provinces are intersected by navigable rivers. Their climate, soil, and productions, from the height and magnitude of the mountains, combine all the varieties presented on the globe. The cultivatable land of the Republic equals, in breadth and length, France, Belgium, and Holland combined; and yet its population is little more than two and a half millions, although they have increased, during the present century, with greater rapidity than those of any other portion of America, not directly affected by immigration.

A change in the habits and principles of the Spanish Americans is necessary to prevent their absorption into the Anglo-Saxon or Indian races. Indications of that change are apparent in some quarters of South America. The Spanish Republicans celebrated the accomplishment of independence by the emancipation of their slaves,—an omen of future good, and even of mercy, to the Spanish race. The legislature of New Granada, although nominally Roman Catholic, has now disavowed bigotry and intolerance; and has vindicated, among its mountain chains, and upon its tropical rivers' banks, for the first time in the history of South America, the doctrine of religious freedom.

The modern history of Mexico clearly illustrates the necessity of religious freedom to national strength. The struggles of the

Colony with Spain produced an independence destitute of vigour. The institutions of the Republic wanted life. They were perfect in theory, so far as the political department extended, but weak in working. Mexico was, and even yet is, a political body without a soul. A territory strongly fortified by nature, was wrested from its effeminate and indolent possessors. Factions swept the land like foemen, wasting its might in their brief dictations. The Constitution was liberal; but politicians despised what they could not comprehend, and the people disregarded what they did not understand. Santa Anna, the present Dictator, an able soldier, has been three times banished, and he has returned for the third time to a contracted country, from which California and Texas have been severed. He has returned to sell another region for a few millions of dollars, and thus to bring the frontier of the United States nearer to Mexico, the most interesting city of the American continent.* The sale is made under the pretence that the Spanish Americans cannot control the Indians; and if this avowed reason be founded in facts, we have a distinct proof that the Indians of the south are gaining upon the Spanish race. Santa Anna is intimately acquainted with the condition of Europe. He has read, travelled, and learned much. He is attached sincerely to his mountainous country, is an able soldier, and a shrewd politician. He is convinced that the natives of Mexico cannot resist the States. He cannot expect strength from Southern Europe. He looks, therefore, to the Central States of the European continent for immigrants; but many Germans are also Protestants. Santa Anna's studies have, however, taught him that Protestant nations are more prosperous than their rivals in Western Christendom. Proceeding upon that fact, and the necessity for a new immigration, he has repealed the statutes of religious uniformity; leaving a full and perfect toleration for all religious opinions, and every form of religious worship. This movement does not necessarily disconnect the Church from the State, but, as Santa Anna requires money, he will probably seize the revenues of the Church. He offers liberal terms to one hundred thousand German immigrants, who would undoubtedly revive the power of Mexico. In this case, the political necessities of the State have promoted the religious freedom of the subject. We fully admit that the decree by Santa Anna does not correspond in value to the legislation of New Granada, which it imitates, because the next Dictator may assume a different policy; but we do not fear retrogression in this respect; for the various immigrants will protect themselves, and the same political interests which dictated this change will preserve the freedom which it establishes. We also admit that the Mexicans have hitherto manifested an equitable

* Since this passage was in type, we learn that the terms have not been accepted by the Senate of the United States.

and honest spirit in their transactions with European nations. Their indolence and consequent poverty, amid riches of the field and mine, are undeniable; yet they have not repudiated their large debt to Europe, and any defalcations connected with its settlement are fully explained by the rigorous pressure of want. They have given, in this particular, an excellent example to Spain and Portugal, and even to some of the richer States in North America. We therefore expect, under any future change of Government, adhesion, on their part, to the terms now offered to Protestant immigrants, which open Mexico, as we understand them, to the Bible, the school, the Missionary, and his tracts.

The religion of all the Spanish and Portuguese Colonies in America is nominally Roman Catholic, but often reduced in practice to a system of rough Heathenism, associated with all the crimes which constituted the worship of Venus in the ancient idolatries. Society in many South American cities is probably more immoral than in any other quarter of the world; and scandalous profligacy occurs under ecclesiastical sanction. Intelligent laymen deplore this degradation; and, even among the Priesthood, men may arise, to assert the rights of conscience, in vindicating the practice of good morals. A system of religion that has sunk to the patronage of low personal iniquity should not offer a formidable resistance to the Gospel, if its professors adopt proper means to publish these "glad tidings," in lands where they have been buried and hidden under the extreme rubbish even of European Popery.

The sincerity and zeal of individuals among the original Missionaries from Rome to the American continent, are undoubted. We cannot question the humanity of men who firmly, but often unsuccessfully, defended the helpless Indians against their oppressors, and sought to avert the miseries inflicted on the aborigines by Cortes, Pizarro, and their followers; who, with a cross in the left, and a sabre in the right, hand, accompanied by blood-hounds for Scripture-readers, offered the baptism of water, or of blood, to their victims, for whose worldly property and eternal salvation they exhibited a contending and nearly equal attachment; although the gold and silver had generally a preference over the souls of men.

We have equally little reason to doubt the infamous bigotry of other Priests, who resembled Father Valverde, when, in the square of Caxamalca, on the 29th of August, 1533, he gained an illustrious convert, Atahualpa, the last of the Incas, by the promise to substitute the *garrote* for faggots, in his judicial murder; or when he offered the cross, in the valley of Cuzco, to the Peruvian Chieftain, Chalcuchima, who perished by fire, refusing to profess "the religion of the white man, which he did not understand."

We are indebted to Roman Catholic Priests, who were supe-

rior to their system, for the wrecks of a great national history ; but we are not therefore to forget that to their coadjutors and followers must be charged, with equal truth, the grand crime against science, that this history, which must have thrown additional light upon the transactions of mankind in the earlier ages, was reduced to fragments, and torn into wrecks.

The original instructions of the Court of Spain were not inhumane. Ferdinand and Isabella professed a very warm feeling towards the Indian nations. Officials were appointed with the power and title of "Protectors of the Indians." Excellent regulations were occasionally framed by the Council of the Indies. Indeed, the discoveries of Yucatan, and, subsequently, of Mexico, and other parts of the South American coasts, were the results of necessity. The Spaniards of Cuba required Indians to work their mines ; and they were strictly prohibited from the employment of Cuban Indians, because their numbers had been greatly and rapidly reduced. The feeble authority of the Home Government was, however, eventually disregarded ; and the Indians of Cuba and of Jamaica, before its capture by the English, were almost entirely extirpated.

Cortes himself began his life of discovery as a humane man. Adopting a motto from ancient Roman history, he commenced his voyage from Cuba to Yucatan with the intention not to disgrace it : "*Amici, crucem sequamur, et in hoc signo vincemus.*" Few Admirals have telegraphed a nobler message to their crews on the morning of some great undertaking ; and Cortes acted well on his first voyage to Yucatan, although, before his second journey into the country,—when he ordered the Cacique of Tacuba to be tortured by rubbing the soles of his feet with oil, and placing them before a fire, "to induce him to confess his treason, and declare where the treasure of Montezuma was concealed,"—he must have forgotten the lessons of the Cross, if he had ever learned them.

The change of the Indians from their old mythology to nominal Christianity was easily effected. One set of superstitious observances was substituted for another, and in many instances without any manifest advantage. In Mexico, however, the new faith produced practice greatly superior to the bloody rites by which it was preceded. The worship of that country, before the arrival of Europeans, had been reduced to a carnival of demons. Human blood was more lavishly shed in Mexico, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to avert superhuman wrath, than in any other part of the world at any period in its history.*

* "In every tribe the captives taken in war were murdered with the most wanton cruelty, and afterwards devoured by the victors. Their religious rites were, if possible, still more horrid. The abominations of ancient Moloch were here outnumbered : children, virgins, slaves, and captives, bled on different altars to appease their gods.

The sun and the moon were the objects of Peruvian worship, which did not include similar cruelties. Although some authorities assert that human victims were sacrificed in Peru, yet the number was small, and the individuals were probably offenders against the law; while it is more probable still, that the victims on the Peruvian altars were confined to the irrational animals.

The "Yucatanese"—a term which includes different tribes, in many respects dissimilar, who inhabited Yucatan upon the arrival of the Spaniards—held at that comparatively recent date mythological traditions, partially resembling those of the Athenians during the life-time of St. Paul. Mr. Fancourt, in his *History of Yucatan*, which is drawn entirely from old, and to many classes inaccessible, works, states, that the Indians of Yucatan believed in one sole, formless Deity, who could not be represented, and of whom they worshipped no image. They also entertained the idea of a future state of being, with its punishments and rewards. They held, that man was originally made of earth and straw. They had added the straw in course of ages, to account for the existence of hair, which they could not explain as a production from the earth. So far, excepting the straw, original tradition had been preserved among them in an uncorrupted state. But to their "unknown" God they added many minor deities. The corruption of their worship followed that course. They did not absolutely forget the truth, but they grafted thereon imaginations of their own. These minor deities had temples, idols, altars, and Priests, steeped in human blood. One of the number was worshipped as the originator of writing. His mother was also worshipped as the first cultivator of cotton. Both acts were beneficent; yet men, women, and children were daily sacrificed in the temples of these idols. As the people also endeavoured to propitiate the principle of evil, we can comprehend the extent of human sacrifice involved in that superstition. The Yucatanese held slaves, they punished licentious crimes with extreme severity, they visited murder with death, and the laws relating to property were strict and simple. Their principles of social economy, in these particulars, resembled the Mosaic law; and they followed those practices in divination and witchcraft, which were common, at an early age, in Egypt, and may have originated on the Nile.

If there was a scarcity of human victims, the Priests announced that the gods were dying of thirst for human blood; and, to prevent a threatened famine, the Kings of Mexico were obliged to make war on the neighbouring states, to supply the altars. The prisoners of either side died by the hands of the Priests. At the dedication of the temple of Vitzuliputzli, (A.D. 1486,) 64,080 human victims were sacrificed in four days; and, according to the best accounts, their annual sacrifices required several thousands. The skulls of the victims sometimes were hung on strings which reached from tree to tree around their temples, and sometimes were built up in towers, and cemented with lime. In some of these towers Andrew de Tapia one day counted 136,000 skulls."—*Introduction to Mickie's Translation of the "Lusiad,"* vol. i., p. 15.

Cortes conquered Mexico many years before Pizarro invaded Peru; yet the Incas were ignorant of the fate, and even, probably, of the existence, of the Montezumas. Central and South America were originally peopled by one race, peaceable in their habits, and comparatively patriarchal in their worship. Another race, or a part of the same section of mankind, strengthened by a long residence in the north-western regions of America, swept over several southern states, especially Mexico, and introduced among their people the most terrible abuses of sacrificial rites that have ever existed; but one Mexican Monarch, not more than a hundred years before the Spanish invasion, employed language in prayer, that reminds us of the sublime terms which Job or Abraham, or even Moses, would have uttered. His belief in a future state was extremely clear, and that state perfectly pure. It was a heavenly state in the rigid meaning of the term. The records of this great King were, indeed, extricated from destruction by his direct descendant, who became acquainted with Christianity in Spain, but who would have found much difficulty in forming there the sublime ideas imputed by him to his ancestor. The literature and mythology of Mexico have been almost entirely lost to the world; and those readers who recall its traditions of the Deluge, and its still more wonderful pictorial representations of another event, in the paintings of the woman, the serpent, the tree, and the fruit, will concede that the loss may be one of the utmost importance, and eagerly hope for the possible exhumation of a Nineveh in the Western continent.

Mr. Wallace, in his "Travels on the Amazon and the Rio Negro," states, that the Indians on the higher banks of these great rivers ascribe the creation of the world to God; of whom, however, they have no definite idea, and to whom they offer no regular worship, although they employ, and remunerate richly, numerous *Pagès*, or "Heathen Priests," who appear to be pretenders to sorcery and witch or wizard craft; while the only prayer of the poor Indians is directed towards *Jurupari*, "the Evil Spirit," whom they endeavour to propitiate through these *Pagès*. Their Magicians or Priests claim no connexion with the Good Spirit, while they insist on the possession of a certain influence over the Spirit of Evil.

These Indians are far above the influence of the Roman Catholic Priests of the Brazils, although nominally on Brazilian ground; but they are nearer to Peru: and now, indeed, the Peruvian Government claims the banks and territory of the Upper Amazon; while they are still nearer to Bogota, the capital of New Granada, and more likely to be influenced from that city, than from any other town of South America. Bogota may, indeed, be regarded as the upper, and the only single, key of all those vast regions watered by the Amazon, the Magda-

lena, and the Orinoco, with their hundred tributaries, each equal to one of the great European rivers.

The original worship of the American Indians, like their political Government, was patriarchal in form, if not in spirit. The corruption of religion was probably slow, and stopped, in Peru, at the worship of the sun and moon, generally the first step in Heathenism. The various families separated as population increased; and although the distance between Mexico and Peru is not great, while the Peruvians navigated the Pacific, yet they were isolated from the Mexicans, and independent nations occupied the intervening lands. The gradual increase of the two great American Empires might have brought them together, but the arrival of the Spaniards prevented this collision. The recent Republic of Colombia, now subdivided into the Republics of Ecuador, Venezuela, and New Granada, occupied the land which once separated the Empire of Peru from the utmost southern limits of the Mexican state. This region belonged to several tribes, of whom the Muyscas were the first in civilization and power. Like the Peruvians, the Muyscas worshipped the sun and the moon; but corruption came from the North, and their creed, at the end of the fifteenth century, was far inferior to that of Peru; for its ceremonies included the sacrifice of many human victims. They had formed a regular system of Government under Princes not hereditary, but elective. Their laws were vigorously administered by an organized police. Their lands were skilfully cultivated. Their cities were large and well built, evincing considerable civilization. And the Muyscas, with their allied tribes, maintained their independence, in the recesses of the mountains, to a recent period. This independence was, indeed, fully asserted and vindicated on the Isthmus of Darien during the current year, in the presence of naval forces from England, France, and the United States, collected to survey that opening for inter-oceanic navigation, which London capitalists, in the spring of 1853, declared had been found. The investigation has been unsuccessful, as was fully anticipated in an Article in our March Number; and the result has shown, that very little confidence should have been placed in those published works of Dr. Cullen and Mr. Gisborne, which we then noticed.

Bogota is now the capital of New Granada; and the Muyscasian language is still the vernacular of the Indians in that and in other provinces of the Republic. We have already stated that the language of Spain and Portugal may yet be superseded in South America. Very few families of pure European descent now exist in the Republics of that continent; and, in the Brazilian Empire, the inhabitants are far more closely connected with Indian, than Portuguese, blood. Mr. Wallace states of the city of Barra, on the Rio Negro, that its population (only

five or six thousand) are chiefly Indians or Creoles, adding, "In fact, there is probably not a single person, born in the place, of pure European blood, so completely have the Portuguese amalgamated with the Indians." The same author, referring to the languages of the Amazon valley, says,—

"The 'Lingoa Geral' is the Tupi, an Indian language found in the country by the Jesuits, and modified and extended by them, for use among all the tribes included in their missions. It is now spread over all the interior of Brazil, and even extends into Peru and Venezuela, as well as Bolivia and Paraguay, and is the general vehicle of communication between the Brazilian traders and the Indians. It is a simple and euphonious language, and is often preferred by Europeans who get thoroughly used to it. I knew a Frenchman, who had been twenty years in the Solimaes, who always conversed with his wife and children in 'Lingoa Geral,' and could speak it with more ease than either French or Portuguese; and, in many cases, I have seen Portuguese settlers whose children were unable to speak any other language."

The "Lingoa Geral," as the name and purpose imply, is a composite dialect, taken from the various languages used in South America. They were, however, modifications of the same language, ever varying, from that want of written characters, which picture-writing could not supply; and the employment of this compound language was a retrogressive step upon a bad path, and calculated, therefore, to produce important and valuable results. At present, the Indian language is not declining in South America; and the native may yet supersede the imported dialects, unless the country fall into the possession of the Anglo-Saxon race, when, as in Hindostan, their language would become the "rising tongue."

Mexico and Yucatan do not form parts of South America. The geographical division, at the Isthmus of Darien, presents a natural landmark between the South and the North. Still the resemblance of climate, and the identity of the original races, are more powerful bonds than geographical or political arrangements. Yucatan has also other claims or attractions. It contains an unconquered population, in close proximity to British settlements. Within its territory ruins of great cities have been met with, which are altogether unexplained by any knowledge we possess of their founders and inhabitants. Mr. Fancourt was officially connected with the country for many years. His volume is preliminary to a projected work on the origin, progress, and state of the British possessions in Honduras. He has formed, from various sources, a continuous narrative of events subsequent to the discovery of Yucatan in 1508, down to 1699. The volume abounds with interesting information; and it is rendered more pleasant, from the obvious fact, that the Spanish Rulers in Yucatan appear to have been generally actuated by

purser motives, and to have acted on nobler principles, than those of other provinces. The Indians of Yucatan have never been completely conquered, and even yet maintain perpetual warfare with the European race. A few years since, the latter were in imminent danger of extermination; for the ordinary skirmishes became struggles of great magnitude, in which the Indians were, for a time, victorious. There, as in other provinces, the Indian races are disunited. A number of the tribes formed alliances with the conquerors, or were subdued, and the first reception of the Spaniards by the Yucatanese was decidedly favourable. They considered their arrival the fulfilment of a prophecy left by some of the Priesthood. They were, therefore, perfectly willing to adopt any faith proposed to them; and they were baptized in great numbers. They, however, rather wished to follow Christianity in conjunction with, than as opposed to, their Heathenism. Like all other Americans, they were unacquainted with horses. Therefore, when Cortes left his horse to gather strength in one city, after he had received some injuries, the animal was starved to death upon sweetmeats and sugars. "It had been better," adds the Spanish authority for the statement, "that he had died before he came there; for, after his death, the Cacique and his people found room for his bones in their temple, and worshipped his skeleton." They certainly believed that the horse was superior to the man.

Cortes endeavoured to improve the friendly intercourse subsisting on his arrival; but he was not supported by his followers, many of whom hasted to be rich; and thus originated a tedious war, conducted through a series of severe battles. The Indians were never thoroughly subdued; and the Ibraex, on their fortified islands in Lake Peten, and other tribes in the mountains of the interior, maintained their political independence, along with their spiritual ignorance and isolation. Upon the arrival of the Spaniards, the inhabitants of Yucatan occupied an advanced social position. They cultivated cotton, which they spun and wove, and all classes wore in tastefully-ornamented garments. They raised large crops of maize; and their savannahs supported numerous herds of cattle. They were acquainted with the sugar-cane, which formed a considerable part of their agricultural produce. Their houses were well constructed and furnished. They manufactured paper from the bark of trees, which they glued together into large sheets, with a peculiar paste. They were conversant with their native dyes, using extensively cochineal and indigo. The females spun, from cotton, gossamer threads, which they wove into remarkably fine fabrics, and then dyed or printed the cloth with designs in close imitation of nature. They were not, generally, darker than southern Europeans, especially the Ibraex, who were, as they still are, of rather fair complexion. They used hieroglyphical writing, like

that of the Mexicans; and, while their spoken language differed from that of Mexico, the distinction was probably not greater than circumstances would fully explain, without supposing a radical variance. The climate was excellent; the soil was fertile; and yet these facts do not account for the ruin of Yucatan, which must have experienced great calamities, and been in a state of decay, before a Spaniard landed on its shores.

Unsatisfactory as are all these ancient histories, from their necessarily speculative character, we turn from them to the large realities of our day; full of brilliant promise, and calling for present work. The Spanish adventurers early foresaw the advantages of the Isthmus of Darien; and, in 1519, they removed their metropolitan influence to Panama, on the Pacific. They correctly regarded New Granada as the great door of Southern America; yet, two centuries after its occupation by the Spaniards, very little progress had been made towards its settlement, because the Spanish leaders left occupants on the soil, but no inheritors of their enlarged views. In 1698, the Scotch Colony of Darien was settled there. One million of sterling money, and very many lives, were sacrificed to a selfish jealousy in London, which all now feel to have been a grand blunder. The wisdom of the scheme is completely vindicated; but to Great Britain its immense consequences are partially neutralized. New Granada remained subject to Madrid, exposed to the injustice against which the colonists of Spain long remonstrated, and finally rebelled. An unsuccessful effort was made, at the close of the last century, to form "the United States of South America;" but the promoters were arrested and executed. Miranda, a military adventurer, renewed the scheme at a subsequent date; but his followers were scattered, and he fled. When Napoleon invaded Spain, the province of Venezuela, through its Congress, renounced allegiance to the Crown of Spain, and appointed Miranda Commander-in-Chief of its forces; but this Congress renewed their submission to Rome, and refused to tolerate any other form of worship. Miranda was successful in the field, until a great earthquake destroyed many lives in 1812. The colonists considered the calamity as Heaven's judgment on their rebellion; and Montaverte, the Royalist Commander, was enabled, through this feeling, to subdue his adversary. Abandoned by a large portion of his army, Miranda was compelled to enter upon a capitulation with Montaverte. Contrary to its terms, the Venezuelan Chief was sent a prisoner to Spain, where, after four years' confinement in the dungeons of La Cabarca, he died.

Venezuela is now independent, but not at peace; for, during the past year, two armed factions struggled for supremacy. In 1853, as in 1812, a great earthquake interposed between the contending hosts. A Company of Artillery and their Captain

were literally swallowed up by the earth. Awed by the terrific calamity, the armies postponed a battle, and staggered from the beautiful, but devoted, city, subdued by a greater power than they could wield.

The New Granadians were more persevering, although originally less violent in their proceedings, than their contemporaries of Venezuela. The authority of the King was acknowledged, but the power of the Provisional Government was repudiated, at Bogota, in 1811. The Royalists attacked and defeated the Provincialists, and slew their General, Nurino, in 1814; but Bolivar assumed the chief command of New Granada in December. Soon afterwards, General Murillo landed with a large army from Spain, and in December, 1815, starved Carthagena into submission; yet, aided by the natural strength of the country, and animated by a growing spirit of independence, the Creoles, under their celebrated leader, finally secured the political freedom of South America.

The emancipation of New Granada effected no change in its religious policy. There, in all Colombia, as in all South America, Romanism was supreme, exclusive, and intolerant; according to the Constitution of 1823, confirmed by the Constitution of Colombia in 1829. This confederacy of the three States was not permanent; and New Granada, separating from the other provinces, constructed a more liberal political constitution, but retained the supremacy of Rome. Various alterations were subsequently proposed at Bogota; and finally, in May, 1853, the existing Constitution was adopted, upon the basis of complete civil and religious freedom.

These proceedings in the Chamber of Legislation at the mountain metropolis of New Granada, have accomplished a greater revolution than Miranda contemplated, or Bolivar achieved. The military chiefs only cut leaves from the weeds of despotism, and left the old roots in a fertile soil. Weeds of the mind often resemble those of the earth, in striking deeper into the sources of their life, as the branches are cut away. The political revolutions of South America confirmed the power of the priesthood, and riveted, more firmly than before, the fetters that bound this great continent to Italian decrepitude and Roman superstition. They gave to bigotry a new licence, to intolerance fresh guarantees, and to persecution a perfect power over the minds of men. The Princes of the Vatican were ungrateful even to the Courts of Lisbon and Madrid, and blessed their rebellious opponents, while the "patriots" bowed beneath ecclesiastical despotism; but their calculations have been wrecked. Revolutions did not at once secure constitutional freedom, but they removed some of the barriers to its existence, destroyed many obstructions to international communication and commercial transactions, and thus increased the temporary immigration of many persons from Britain and the

United States; not often by example preachers of righteousness, but frequently teachers of ecclesiastical and political independence. They also inaugurated the practice of popular assemblages, and the legislators gradually acquired respect for national and personal rights.

The political features of the new Constitution are more liberal than those of the general Constitution of the Colombian Republics adopted in 1829, although the latter secured some excellent theories; for political speculations are always active among new communities. It secured more than a property qualification for representatives and senators, as it fixed the *minimum* age of the higher class at forty years. It also embraced an intellectual and moral qualification for electors. The former was to operate from and after 1840, and embraced reading and writing. The moral qualification excluded habitual drunkards; so that the temperance principle had political power in Colombia, during its infancy in Britain and the United States. Equal representation was a principle of the Colombian Constitution, which is still retained in the last edition for New Granada. The former allowed one representative for 40,000 inhabitants in a province, and one additional for every 20,000 individuals over the first number. In the latter, the number is fixed at 25,000, without any further change. The political arrangements are sufficiently liberal for any European politicians; and yet, in a country where land waits idly, not for occupants, but for owners, they will not be deemed objectionable by any parties from this country.

This new Constitution, almost unanimously adopted by the Legislature, and sanctioned by the President, offers freedom of speech, of writing, and of worship, to men of all creeds. Authors may write, and booksellers may publish, such comments, opinions, and strictures, as would be permitted in a Protestant country. The platform to the lecturer, and the pulpit to the preacher, are free and open. One man may keep a school, and another may write a newspaper, without the interference of the Parish Priest. The Bible may be circulated by Missionaries and Scripture-Readers, or sold like any other volume in the usual places of business. These privileges are conveyed in the text of the Constitution, published in the "*Gaceta Oficial*," No. 1530, at Bogota, on the 23rd of May, 1853. This document commences with the title and preamble,—“Political Constitution of New Granada: in the name of God, the Legislator of the Universe, and by the authority of the People, the Senate, and House of Representatives of New Granada, united in Congress;” and, after reciting the powers on which they act, decrees: Article V. “*La Republica garantiza a todos los Granadinos*,”—firstly, Personal Liberty; secondly, Personal Security; thirdly, the Inviolability of Property; fourthly, Liberty of Trade,—all valuable political privileges; but, fifthly, “*La Profesion libre, publica,*

ed privada, de la Religion, que a bien tengan, contal que no turban la paz publica, no ofendan la sana moral, ni impidan a los otros el ejercicio de su culto." This clause is sufficiently distinct in guaranteeing to all men the free, public, and private profession of their religious faith, without offending against sound morals, or impeding others in their worship; unless, indeed, at some future period a Judge should hold, that the doctrines of the Church of England, for example, are opposed to sound morals; but if society could tolerate this perversion of truth, it would be easier to expunge the law, than to modify its meaning from the Bench. The sixth clause provides immunities for any man in his own house, rendering it indeed his castle. The seventh gives Liberty to the Press, complete and perfect. The eighth secures the right of Public Meeting, "without arms," for the purpose of petitioning Congress.

The Article providing for complete religious toleration originated, we believe, in negotiations for the concession of the Atrato Canal. The promoters of that scheme demanded a guarantee, for persons settling upon their lands, from religious persecution, or even from any tax for the purposes of the Established Church. It was inserted in their concession; and then the statesmen of Bogota, anxious to promote the prosperity of their country by European immigration, learned its price. They were told that no advantages could allure a Protestant peasantry to a land where they would be precluded from establishing churches and schools after their own opinions of Divine truth. Accustomed to regard religion as a convenient observance, the New Granadian politicians met a solid wall at last. And they honoured and respected this unbending principle. They even conceded its propriety, and at some personal risk they adopted it in their new Constitution.

Senor F. Gonzalez is a vigorous friend of progress in the legislature. He was formerly Financial Minister of the Republic, subsequently a member of the Senate, and is now Attorney-General, or Public Prosecutor. We should hardly comprehend these changes in this country. A Chancellor of the Exchequer, ascending to the Upper House, and next descending to the bar, even with a silk gown, would be a political phenomenon; but, in the American Republics, public business is managed on a system at variance with our staid habits. Enlightened and useful measures have been carried by the influence of M. Gonzalez against the power of Rome. He proposed that new Constitution which we have described. He was assaulted and wounded, during a riot incited at Bogota, by his political opponents, when this Constitution was carried against the will of the Archbishop and the Pope. The schism between Church and State was widened, at that time, by the imprisonment of the Archbishop Mosquera, not on account of his Italian allegiance,

but of his disobedience to the secular power in New Granada. He has now withdrawn from the territory which he failed to subdue, and, we believe, enacts the martyr at New York, because the executive authority of the State vindicated its right to deal with clerical persons for offences against the civil law. The Archbishop was a powerful personage, being the brother of the ex-President, and imagined that he could enact the part of Thomas à Becket at Bogota, without its risks. His expectations were erroneous; and in that wherein *he* was defeated, it is improbable that another will ever be successful.

The crafty policy of Rome rendered the representative and republican systems subservient to its objects. So long as private judgment was controlled, and religious liberty was restrained, so long as the press was gagged, the voice of intellect and of faith silenced, so long as Protestantism was crime, and its teaching was treason, the South Americans were freely indulged with the political toys of representation, and allowed to rattle in chains the dry bones of an arid and barren liberty, under an external independence, which left them subject to Italy instead of Spain. The local representatives of the Pope protested against progress, only when the right to examine facts or theories, to propagate the results of thought on all subjects, and to legislate on all topics, without the risk of a Roman *veto*, was asserted. Then, indeed, they acted with vigour, and summoned to their aid the dupes of their teaching, until the proceedings of the legislature were obstructed by a mob, and the citizens of Bogota were compelled to secure law and order by force, which they effected without calling for military aid.

The position of New Granada towards South America invests these reforms with great importance. The territories of the Republic are divided into six portions of unequal magnitude. The Isthmus derives its influence from an obvious geographical source; but the proof now afforded, that its profitable canalization is impossible, reduces its value. The railway communication already in part established will, however, always confer immense advantages on that narrow neck of land. The canal will be made between the Atrato and the Pacific; and the water drainage of the Atrato may be considered the second division. This river and its tributaries are navigable for five hundred miles from the Gulf of Darien; and even this division is extensive, and peculiarly rich in natural resources. The land drained by the Cauca and the Magdalena, forms the third. The Cauca is a tributary of the Magdalena, and both are considered navigable to between twelve and fifteen hundred miles from the sea. The fourth division consists of lands which send their waters into the Amazon and the Orinoco; the fifth, the extremely mountainous ranges of the Cordilleras, endowed with great mineral wealth; the sixth, the long and valuable Pacific coast from Panama to the Line.

The Atrato and Isthmus divisions are isolated; and valuable, therefore, for their native position and resources alone. The fifth, or the district of the Cordilleras, will support a race of miners and hardy agriculturists, in a high temperature, who may, in a great measure, command the plains around them on every side. The division of the Cauca and the Magdalena is entirely within the territory of the Republic; and although capable of supplying tropical produce for nearly all the world at the present day, yet its importance is confined to its own resources. The Pacific coast affords abundant means of commerce and correspondence with the west coast of America, to the north and south, and therefore has an external importance, independent of its own value. Bogota, the metropolis of the Republic, is built on the river of that name, nearly at equal distances from a branch of the Orinoco and the Magdalena rivers. The city stands eight thousand feet above the level of the Atlantic, but enjoys, at this great height, an equable temperature of 60° to 70°, which, from its uniformity, permits the cultivation of plants, that would not be naturally anticipated, with this high elevation and low temperature. The sanitary position of the city is highly favourable; and a more pleasant residence than Bogota cannot be found on the American continent.

These circumstances do not bestow upon it nearly so much importance, as its geographical and geological recommendations. The former are manifest from its proximity to the Magdalena, the Orinoco, and the waters of the Rio Negro and the Amazon. It stands at the top of a net-work of navigation, through a land of tropical fertility, and three times the magnitude of the Mississippi Valley. The connexion of the Rio Negro with the Orinoco, by a perfectly navigable link, is now well known. These great rivers descend from an immense height over the ocean level, by a slightly inclined plane, on which vessels can now steam against a deep current, which was formerly overcome with great labour. Standing, therefore, in the streets of Bogota, —a city now containing 50,000 inhabitants,—the merchant, the Missionary, or the printer, is within twenty miles of the Magdalena, affording, with its large tributary, a river navigation; of two thousand miles; at nearly the same distance from the Orinoco, with again an almost equal amount of river navigation; and at sixty miles from navigable water flowing into the great Amazon, having, with its branches, water communication for quite ten thousand miles. The navigable water thus available for trading purposes, without entering the ocean, from Bogota, extends to a length of fourteen thousand miles. It is the only locality in the world having the same advantage. Now, indeed, this commanding situation is comparatively unused, but is not therefore useless. The breadth of this great land, almost unbroken in fertility,

except by rivers resembling canals, may be estimated at fifteen hundred to eighteen hundred miles, and its extreme length at nearly two thousand miles. Bogota thus stands at the north-west corner of a vast plain four times the length of Great Britain, and six times its breadth, intersected by natural canals, and teeming with all those elements of riches afforded by climate and soil. We copy a few sentences from Mr. Wallace, which incidentally confirm this view of its position :—

“I am, therefore, strongly inclined to believe that the rivers Ariari and others, rising about a hundred miles south of Bogota, are not, as shown in all our maps, the sources of the Guaviare, but of the Uaupés; and that the basin of the Amazon must, therefore, be here extended to within sixty miles of the city of Bogota. This opinion is strengthened by information obtained from the Indians of Javita, who annually ascend the Guaviare to fish in the dry season, and who state that the river is very small, and in its upper part, where some hills occur and the forest ends, it is not more than a hundred yards wide; whereas the Uaupés, at the furthest point the traders have reached, is still a large river, from a quarter of a mile to a mile in width. The Amazon and all its branches are subject, like most tropical rivers, to an annual rise and fall of very great regularity. In the main stream, and in all the branches which flow from the Andes, the waters begin to rise in December or January; when the rains generally commence, and continue rising till June, when the fine weather has just set in. The time when the waters begin to fall is about the 21st of June, seldom deviating more than a few days from this date. In branches which have their sources in a different direction,—such as the Rio Negro,—the time of rising does not coincide. On that river the rains do not commence steadily till February or March, when the river rises with very great rapidity, and generally is quite filled by June, and then begins to fall with the Amazon. It thus happens, that in the mouths of January and February, when the Amazon is rising rapidly, the Rio Negro is still falling in its upper part; the waters of the Amazon, therefore, flow into the mouth of the Rio Negro, causing that river to remain stagnant, like a lake, or even occasionally to flow back towards its source. The total rise of the Amazon, between high and low water-mark, has not been accurately ascertained, as it cannot be properly determined without a spirit level; it is, however, certainly not less than forty, and probably often fifty, feet. If, therefore, we consider the enormous water surface raised fifty feet annually, we shall gain from another point of view an idea of the immense quantity of water falling annually in the Amazon valley. We cannot take the length of the Amazon and its main tributaries at less than ten thousand miles, and their average width about two miles; so that there will be a surface of twenty thousand square miles of water raised fifty feet every year. But it is not only this surface that is raised; for a great extent of land on the banks of all the rivers is flooded to a great depth at every time of high water. These flooded lands are called, in the language of the country, ‘*gapo*,’ and are one of the most singular features of the Amazon. Sometimes on one side, sometimes on both, to a distance of twenty or thirty miles from the main river,

these *gapos* extend on the Amazon, and on portions of all its great branches. They are all covered with a dense virgin forest of lofty trees, whose stems are every year, during six months, from ten to forty feet under water. In this flooded forest the Indians have paths for their canoes, cutting across from one river to another, and much used to avoid the strong current of the main stream. From the mouth of the river Tapajoz to Coary, on the Solimoes, a canoe can pass without once entering the Amazon. The path lies across lakes, and among narrow inland channels, and through miles of dense flooded forest, crossing the Madeira, the Purus, and a hundred other smaller streams. All along, from the mouth of the Rio Negro to the mouth of the Iça, is an immense extent of *gapo*, and it reaches also far up into the interior; for even near the sources of the Rio Negro, and on the upper waters of the Uaupés, are extensive tracts of land, which are usually overflowed."

When land becomes valuable, the *gapos* will be superseded, and the water which occupies them now will be retained in tanks, as in India, for irrigation or navigation. The former is not, indeed, absolutely requisite on the Amazon valley, as rains fall with nearly European regularity.

The geological riches of Bogota will increase the value of its situation. It is in the proximity of salt mines which may be considered inexhaustible. Copper ores abound in the mountains around the city: and evidence has been afforded that the coal mines will yet supply the furnaces of all the steamers on the many thousand miles of water flowing into it. The valley of the Orinoco contains a small number of inhabitants. The population of the Amazon is still smaller, in proportion to the magnitude of the land. But on both rivers a greater number of persons live and die than we are in this country accustomed to believe. The upper waters of the Amazon and its tributaries are possessed by thoroughly independent Indians, living still in utter Heathenism. They offer no insuperable obstacle to intercourse and instruction. The traveller experiences from them no inhospitable welcome: he enters, and hangs his hammock in their lodges, for their villages are under one roof. Even the *Lingoa Geral* fails him in some quarters; and the language of barter and commerce is the only means of intercourse. The natives exist in these upper districts in a very peculiar state. They manufacture baskets and various ornaments, without metals, with great ingenuity and perseverance. They abundantly provide for their own wants and those of their families, in ordinary circumstances; and yet, as ever was and always will be true, those dark places of the earth are the abodes of horrid cruelty. The *Pages*, or "Heathen Priests," inculcate the observance of ceremonies attended with extreme pain. The males indulge in a particular music, so fatal to females, that if a woman unfortunately, by accident, sees the instrument, she dies. A malevolent Indian gentleman, by merely producing this

instrument of what the Roman Catholic Indians style "the music of the Evil Spirit," in a company of native females, would subject all of them to capital punishment. The mind can hardly imagine the existence of society under customs so absurdly cruel and unjust. Cannibalism is practised among some of the tribes, not from necessity,—for the rivers teem with fish, and the land with fruits,—but as a matter of taste. The Indians eat every thing. If the alligators attack them, they also consume the alligators. If the jaguars seize and tear them for breakfast, they enjoy extremely a steak from this western tiger, when it can be procured. The abundance of animal and vegetable food leaves them no reason, on the ground of want, for consuming the bodies of their enemies; but some of them prefer their friends, while others examine the question entirely with reference to the condition of the subject. They are not poor, because poverty is incompatible with their position: they are not rich, because they have few ideas of improving their circumstances. They are not intelligent; for they are bound on all sides by a chain of divinations, sorceries, omens, and incantations; and yet they exhibit great ingenuity in the ordinary business of life, and, in their position, with the exceptions already stated, considerable regard for its social duties. Their numbers cannot rapidly increase, from the peculiar organization of society among them, and from other causes,—their frequent neglect of their children,—but chiefly those frightful observances which form their only worship, directed, as they confess, to "the Evil One," and therefore evil in their character and results.

We acknowledge the improvement presented by the Indians and the Negroes under the influence of the Roman Catholic Priests on the lower banks of the river. They are less brutal and savage in their worship, more careful and world-like in their lives; but they are utterly destitute of religious knowledge, and they have few intellectual attainments.

The Peruvians have offered very liberal terms to European settlers on the upper banks of the Amazon. The country, according to Mr. Wallace, is comparatively healthy. The obstacles to farming are very few, and easily met: the soil is extremely rich, and labour is inexpensive. At present the lower banks of the rivers present one vast mass of forest; offering timber in quantities that scarcely can be exaggerated, of far higher quality than the American pines of the north, and not at a higher price. The freight from the mouth of the Magdalena, the Orinoco, or the Amazon, cannot be much higher than that from the St. Lawrence; and the difference should be met by a reduction in the cost of floating to ports of shipment; while, for the pines of the north, we could readily command the cedars of the south. The British Empire comprehends part of the coast between the Orinoco and the Amazon. British Guiana extends from the

southern mouth of the Orinoco to the frontiers of Dutch Guiana, and recedes for a distance, not well defined, towards the centre of the country. Guiana possesses a distinctive water-shed, independent of either of the two great rivers that we have named, and of such magnitude, that, ultimately, it may be made a convenient frontier towards Venezuela.

The physical resources of New Granada were described by General Mosquera, in a pamphlet which has been translated and re-published at New York. Mosquera, who died recently, was President of the Republic, but retired in 1849, and was succeeded by General Lopez, who, at the expiration of three years, was followed by General Jose Maria Obando, the present President. Mosquera thus possessed ample opportunities of collecting information regarding the country; and his pamphlet resembles an official report, without any apparent exaggeration. The writer had imbibed the native Americanism of New York, which is certainly not current at Bogota. In a map attached to his pamphlet, Mosquera designates the British Colony which we have described, "a usurpation of the English," although we have all the right to the banks of the Demerara and the Essequibo that he and his fellow-countrymen can show to those of the Atrato and the Magdalena; or his northern friends, to the lands upon the Hudson. We are all usurpers in a narrow sense, and the English have been the most harmless usurpers in South America; for our present policy is confined to efforts for the preservation of an independent Indian nation, north of the Isthmus; and our relations with the Indians in our territories, south of the Atrato, have always been amicable in their nature. Mosquera might have remembered, that Canning brought the South American Colonies into existence; and that, if the independence of New Granada be hereafter threatened, its people have more reason to expect aid from England than from any other power. We dislike this exhibition of enmity to England, because we do not find the usurpation of Holland or of France on the map, although they are our "next neighbours" in Guiana; but Mosquera's opinions are not entertained by his countrymen.

The pamphlet is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a country which occupies so commanding a position. The irregular configuration of its territories, and the fact that they are not yet fully explored, render a precise statement of their arable contents now impossible; but their limits are equal to those of France, Belgium, and Holland; and if the contemplated re-union with the Equador and Venezuela were completed, the Peninsula might be thrown into the estimate.

The objections existing to its European colonization are strictly material; for the emigrant may be at once admitted into all the rights of citizenship. He will not become respon-

sible, as in the States, for the existence of slavery. He cannot be required to enforce a fugitive-slave law; for none exists. New Granada has now no slaves. All distinctions of caste, colour, or creed are abolished.

The majority of its inhabitants are Creoles, who partake more of Muyscasian than Spanish blood. The Normans in England, being of the same race with the Saxons, were rapidly absorbed in the native population. The Spaniards and the Indians were of different races, and the absorption of the former has not been rapid, although it progresses; but a large immigration of Europeans would change the current. The morals of the population contrast favourably with those of any other South American State. Valuable parcels of gold are habitually transmitted by mail, without an escort or a robbery. Crimes attended with violence are extremely rare; for those committed on the Isthmus cannot be ascribed to New Granadians. The revolutionary armies were disbanded without the formation of banditti similar to those which afflict Mexico; and we read of no gangs living by robbery, as in the Northern Republic. The temptations to dishonesty are certainly small in a land where existence is easily supported, and even riches may be readily procured.

The standing army of New Granada, during peace, is smaller than that of any similar country. It is not larger in proportion to the population than that of the United States, with their greater enlightenment, and a much more defensible frontier; for the Southern Republic, without a navy, is exposed on two sides of its triangle to oceans. A legislative enactment of the 22nd of May, 1852, gives the number of the army, during peace, at eighteen hundred men. The inhabitants of New Granada are taken at two and a half millions, and may, therefore, be one half million under the present population of Scotland, which has a smaller military force than any European country, but not smaller than this Republic. The military of France, taking population into account, exceeds that of New Granada by sixteen to one, Belgium by twenty-five to one, and Britain by five to one, without reckoning our naval service, or our Indian army, and the native forces in our Colonies. Our Indian army is a powerful force; but, upon the basis of population, is not so numerous as several European armies. During intestine troubles, the New Granadian army may be raised to twenty-five thousand, and during foreign war to one hundred thousand, men.

These military and other details oppose our statement, that society in the South American cities exists on a lower moral level than in European towns. It is difficult to support the statement, from the particularly low level in many countries of this continent; and while the circumstances of New Granada

have favoured the growth of superstition, yet, in Bogota and other towns, liberal principles have acquired an ascendancy on those topics, in which the love of change is moral progress.

Mr. Wallace states, however, of Barra, the first town on the Rio Negro and in the Brazils :—

“Morals are, perhaps, at the lowest ebb possible in any civilized community; you will every day hear things commonly talked of, about the most respectable families in the place, which would hardly be credited of the inhabitants of the worst parts of St. Giles’s.”

He was detained at Guia, on the Rio Negro, waiting for a Priest, who was making a baptismal tour; and his Indians would not move on until the arrival of the *Padre*.

“At length, however, he arrived, a tall, thin, prematurely old man, thoroughly worn out by every kind of debauchery, his hands crippled, and his body ulcerated; yet he still delighted in recounting the feats of his youth. He had been a soldier, then a Friar in a convent, and afterwards a parish Priest. He told tales of his convent life, just like what we read in Chaucer of their doings in his time. Don Juan was an innocent compared with Frei Joze.”

The *Padre* had a shilling for each baptism, and the author says, that the processes “bore sufficient resemblance to the complicated operations of their own *Pageès*, [‘Conjurors,’] to make the Indians think they had got something very good in return for their money.”

The debauched condition of common life in South American cities is universally admitted; and circumstances in the villages and rural districts preclude the hope, that greater innocence or less guilt is to be found in them. We have reason to suppose, that New Granada is not worse, and probably is better, than other States; yet the prevalent vices, although extremely degrading, in the lands south of its borders, do not include danger to the person or the property of those who take no part in the prevalent corruption.

The sanitary character of the climate is superior to that of any other tropical land. The ocean breezes, the stupendous sierras, forming three inland ranges, and an independent group on the north-eastern corner of the Republic, neutralize the tropical heat. The fevers of the valleys do not ascend many hundred feet above the tidal level. Poisonous insects and reptiles are unknown at a height of two thousand feet; but wheat-growing lands commence at three thousand, and continue to nine thousand, feet above the ocean. The local fevers of the valleys originate in causes which industry and population will remove. Accidents from poisonous or wild animals are few, and will annually become fewer. The census at various dates vindicates the sanitary character of the climate, since hitherto immigration has not swelled its figures. The population was, in 1820, 1,437,000;

in 1827, 1,357,000; in 1834, 1,687,000; in 1852, 2,351,000. The decrease in the first septennial period may be ascribed to the civil wars, and the banishment or the withdrawal of many royalist families. From 1827 to 1852, twenty-six years, the increase is 1,000,000, or 80 *per cent.*, being three times the increase of Great Britain and Ireland, without, however, reckoning the immigration from this country; while the census of New Granada may have been more accurately taken in 1852 than in 1827.

Labour is the grand want of the country; and we infer that the population are not distinguished by energy or industry. An official report, on the resources and state of various provinces, contains a bitter complaint against auriferous sands in rivers. The reporter charges the peasantry of Choco with indolence, from, he says, "the facilities they possess of obtaining wealth." A peasant who has to pay an account, or to make a purchase, walks to the banks of the Atrato, or of one of its tributaries, and washes the sand until he finds a sufficient quantity of gold-dust to dismiss his creditors, or to supply his wants. The same process, continued for a short time, would make him a freeholder of a parish; but a few days' labour annually provides an abundance of vegetables for his family, and he hunts in the forests or the mountains for venison. This pleasant life has its drawbacks. The man, while looking for his money in the sand of the rivers, may be seized by an alligator, stung by a scorpion, bitten by a viper, twisted into food for a boa-constrictor, or torn into shape for a jaguar's dinner. Centipedes may crawl over him in any direction; ants of enormous dimensions may threaten to appropriate parts of the gold-hunter to the objects of their community; mosquitoes may assail him mercilessly; and half a million of indescribable flies may darken the atmosphere around him; for the valleys of New Granada swarm with insect and reptile life; but even minute animal torments are beaten and disappear, in the tropics, before population.

New Granada presents attractions, and also objections, to European settlers. The latter are not greater than those of tropical countries in general, and smaller, or more easily overcome, than the obstructions in our path in other lands. The mountains are volcanic, and the valleys are occasionally shaken by earthquakes. Powerful foes of man swarm in the rivers; but men will finally extirpate even the alligator and the crocodile. Daring and wild animals exist in the forests; but, in the progress of population, they will be destroyed. Serpents, of all descriptions, haunt the low grounds; but the Indians and the Negroes have an antidote to their poison. The yellow fever seems indigenous to the river-banks and the sea-coast, although it is not nearly so destructive as the plague and the sweating-sickness were once in England; and they have ceased in our

land. But all these drawbacks and encumbrances are unknown in those comparatively elevated regions, where alone Europeans should settle to cultivate the soil.

The attractions of New Granada are not easily enumerated; for they embrace all the productions common to temperate and tropical regions. Gold has been hitherto exported chiefly in the form of "dust;" but large nuggets have been found. The annual production of the Viceroyalty was once estimated at nearly £700,000. The yield of the same ground is now larger. A single copy of a chart of Antioquia, one of the provinces, exists, "*Par Jose Manuel Restrepo, 1819,*" and rectified by A. Leleaux, Colonel of Engineers in the service of Colombia, in 1823. If it were lithographed and published, it would re-animate the stock-jobbing world; for it is dotted over with yellow spots, designating gold-findings. We reckoned over three hundred of these auriferous corners, and left off, wearied with the work, in regret that gold, so plentiful in some quarters, should be so rare in Britain, and even be made the object of idolatry.

We have a manuscript copy of a report on the gold and mining resources of Choco,—that province of New Granada intersected by the Atrato and its tributaries,—which was drawn up on the spot by Mr. Halsey, an English engineer, employed, in 1851, on this service. He died in the country, or on his return; and the document, fortunately for Australia, has not been published; for it reveals the existence of fabulous wealth within twenty-four days' direct steaming of our ports.

Gold, in our opinion, is a secondary or a tertiary object; and we shall only take a few extracts from this curious document, which is confined to the upper banks of the Atrato, and one of its tributaries. Mr. Halsey says, that the deepest shaft he saw was three feet high, and forty to fifty feet long, into the face of the rock; from which a Negro and his children had taken twenty-five pounds of gold, which, at £50, the value in the country, was worth £1,250. They were afraid to dig further, and stopped there. A single bowl of ore from these rock veins, he adds, frequently yields one pound of gold. Black sand and gravel he considers the surest material to work upon; but as the researches of the miners have never extended more than three hundred yards from the river's banks, nothing is known of the interior. Stamps and steam-engines are unnecessary to wash out the black sand, which forms, for hundreds of miles, a prevalent element in the river's deposits. But in the mountains, between the Andagueda and the Cauca, numerous mines have been appropriated, and have been partially wrought. The largest lump of gold yet discovered, weighed fifteen pounds. One person collected one pound and a half of gold dust in a single day, of which the value was £75. No failure having ever occurred on the Andagueda, the inference is, that the rock veins of gold

form a regular *stratum*, extending to many hundred miles. The deposits are quite open to two or three able-bodied labourers in company. Provisions are cheap; and they can be increased without an approachable limit. The climate is healthy, and the mosquitoes do not extend to the upper parts of the river; but the direct navigation by steamers can be effected for 400 to 500 miles, when the river is high, and 350 at any season. We refer to navigation by first-class steamers. The country abounds in platina and silver mines, perhaps more valuable than those of gold. We have not copied some statements from this report, because, if they are true, the facts would revolutionize our present standards of value. They form romances of gold, or "Arabian Nights'" tales of geology. But, at this point, although unconnected with the province of Choco, we may add that, on the upper bank of the Amazon, in 1853, several diggers had gained twenty-five pounds of gold for each person, by the labour of a few weeks.

In another province of New Granada six thousand four hundred pounds of gold dust passed through the Post Office within a comparatively short period. Its value, at £50 per pound, was £320,000. Many silver mines are wrought within the Republic. Mines of cinnabar, probably more important than the auriferous deposits, have been found in Antioquia, in Santa Rosa, and in the mountain of Quindiu. Platina was first discovered in Choco; and its value, for chemical purposes, is highly appreciated. The salt of New Granada is unusually pure; and the mines are sufficient to supply South America for ages to come. Coals have been procured, in the province of Bogota, eight thousand feet above the level of the Pacific. Copper ore is wrought for all home consumption, and will yet form an article of export. Iron-stone exists in the mountains, and, after the development of coal mines, will be extremely profitable. The emeralds of Peru are proverbial, and yet entirely fictitious. Emeralds have never yet been found in Peru. The emerald mine is fifty miles from Bogota; and it supplies all these precious stones. This unique rock is the only quarry of emeralds in the world. The dust of the land is literally gold; and among its stones are diamonds, amethysts, and jacinths.

The policy of Spain retarded the prosperity of her Colonies. The vine was a forbidden plant in New Granada. The mulberry tree was neglected; but, as population increases, they will produce silk for their own markets, and those of other nations. The olive and the palm grow in the forests to the level of Bogota. Far above them, stately oaks adorn the mountain brows. The sugar-cane is extensively cultivated, although its produce is chiefly consumed at home. The coffee plant thrives. The cotton bushes grow luxuriantly. Indigo has long formed a staple of Colombia. The cochineal insects are produced in great

numbers. The anti-febrile tree, which furnishes the celebrated Peruvian bark, forms forests exclusively of its species. A scattered population never engage largely in an export trade, with the exception of Anglo-Saxon colonists; but New Granada has long supplied our markets with valuable dyes; and her forests would freight the navies of the world with the most precious woods. The yield of barley, maize, and wheat, in their respective regions, ranges from an increase of eighteen to thirty; but the farms are not cultivated with the rural skill of East Lothian.

No other territory combines more advantages. Its grateful soil is intersected by immense rivers and innumerable streams; so that, beneath a tropical sun, its plains are covered with perpetual verdure. The highly-prized flowers of British gardens are the wild weeds on its hill sides. Flowers and fruit mingle together on the same bough. Majestic trees, covered with foliage, throw around them the richest odours. The balsamic trees are extremely numerous. The ground beneath them teems with medicinal plants; and fragrant lilies stretch upwards in astonishing profusion. The intense heat of the tropics is mitigated by the vicinity of two great oceans, by the multitude of streams and rivers, by the vast height of the mountains, and the snow on their summits continually pouring iced waters over the plains, and cooling the atmosphere. The timber—in vale, or hill, or mountain—comprises dye-woods equal to any in the world; mahogany, unsurpassed in richness of grain; cedars, like those of Lebanon; ebony, unrivalled in hardness; the *muro*, unequalled in varied shades; the *chicaranda*, possessing a capacity for the highest polish; the olive and the palm, producing the oils of commerce which our manufacturers have never obtained in adequate quantities: and thus the clearance of land, where so many waters are navigable, is a source of profit, instead of outlay. New Granada is destined to give influential aid in the struggle between free and slave-grown productions; for the soil is no longer cursed by slavery. The land languishes for labourers, whom it would raise into freeholders. Ere the present century draws to its close, new villages will be formed on its table-lands; innumerable vessels will navigate its now almost unknown waters; a vast population will be collected on its terraced mountains; and with us partly rests the formation of their character: for, upon its flowery plains, amid its palm and olive groves, beside its deep, still rivers, within its future cities, a race may rise to guard the independence of that mountain-land, to nourish freedom in South America; and, from intellectual and softened hearts, the thoughts and words of praise and prayer may flow in grateful adoration.

The river-navigation forms another advantage to European immigrants; for it carries them onwards and upwards until they have gained an altitude above the ocean, equal to that of the

highest habitations on the Alpine range, and have found on table-lands, spreading into provinces, a congenial climate and a fertile soil. From these high grounds the descendants of European settlers may direct opinion in the almost boundless plains beneath them ; for the Andes and their table-lands will govern South America, as the Himalayas and their corresponding districts will govern India, although their influence need not, and probably will not, be based upon physical force, but on mental culture and moral power. This peculiarity indicates the importance of establishing, in the territories of the Republic, settlements of European Protestants, with their churches, schools, printing-presses, and other means of vindicating truth and pure religion, among a people unaccustomed to the alliance between religious faith and personal purity, or to consider high-toned morals as connected with religious opinion, dependent on religious sentiments, or flowing from spiritual influences.

Merchants and speculators in search of investments, and ship-owners desirous to shorten long voyages, have recently inquired into all the peculiarities of Panama and Choco. They have sent surveyors to examine the botanical, geographical, and geological characteristics of the country. Estimates have been drawn up for its canalization. Plans have been devised to drain the rich delta of the Atrato. Schemes have been proposed for the colonization of the country, which, ere many years pass away, will contribute to feed the spindles of Cheshire and Lancashire with free-grown and stainless cotton. The commercial interests evince some activity ; but the religious world is apathetic on this subject. The former have proposed to adopt the opportunities, but the latter have almost entirely neglected the suggestions, afforded to them by the recent legislation at Bogota. The spiritual regeneration of South America has to be effected ; and where a commencement of reform might be made, we cannot take possession of the ground. We might now circulate moral and religious tracts ; and the intellectual men, who have carried the new Constitution, desire assistance of that nature. They probably seek more eagerly for secular science than spiritual truths ; but the former may be imbued with the latter. The disciples of our Protestant faith are bound to seek its propagation. Missions form an essential part of their duty, and are so requisite to its vitality, that faith without them is almost "dead also."

London, notwithstanding its multitudes of reckless men, is yet, doubtless, the metropolis of Protestantism ; and there, in May, 1853, were assembled many of its devoted disciples, planning means to occupy mission-fields, and supplicating for their enlargement. The answers to their prayers were given in the east and the west, at Nankin and Bogota. China and South America, opened in one month, added greatly to our respon-

sibilities. With the exception of British Guiana, the whole of South America was previously closed against Protestantism. The land of the most gigantic operations in nature, calculated to support one-half of all the inhabitants now on the earth, almost abandoned to the insect and reptile world, had, and has, little intellectual life, and *that* little is clouded by superstition, absolutely less philosophical than the errors which it supplanted in Peru, when its Incas, their golden temples of the sun, and silvery gardens of the moon, were overthrown.

We do not propose to take advantage of the new Constitution of Granada to establish Missions alone to any party; for that course might embarrass the Legislature and the Executive: but their offer of freedom and land to all Christian immigrants presents a noble opportunity to attack slavery in its stronghold,—the cotton trade of the United States,—and, by the example of a pure faith and biblical principles actuating a prosperous community, to draw the population of the Republic gradually into a consideration of those claims, which the religion they nominally profess has upon their hearts and life.

The country forms a grand strategical point in that moral warfare which pure Christianity must direct against its avowed and disguised opponents. Hindostan contains one hundred and fifty millions of persons; but its limits are not nearly equal to those great regions of South America which may be reached from Bogota, and its immediate environs, by river carriage alone. Even now it is the best centre for a Mission to the Pagan Indians on the upper banks of the great waters, that could be selected. The land forms at once the gate and garrison of two-thirds of South America; and if we neglect to seize a share of its influences now, hereafter our successors may remember this apathy with sorrow. Our own island of Trinidad, opposite the Orinoco, secures, indeed, a part of those advantages which the inland navigation affords, but is obviously unequal to Bogota, as a central point of operation.

The wide valley of Hindostan, the great extent of China, those profoundly-interesting regions of Asiatic Turkey, the fatherland, twice in our history, of the human race, the modern martyr-
-isle of Madagascar, the continent of Africa, all claiming aid, all promising ample returns, may well distract the efforts of British Christians; but they have prayed for these movements, and they must meet them, now that the answers to many prayers have been obtained, exactly as they were presented: yet, amid all the demands of the Old World, and its dying myriads, the new strange voice from the West, that, like the Macedonian's, says, "Come over and help us," will not, we trust, be overpowered and forgotten.

BRIEF LITERARY NOTICES.

Speeches of the Right Honourable T. B. Macaulay, M.P. Corrected by Himself. Longman and Co. 1854.

THE Speeches of Mr. Macaulay will be welcome, and even popular. If they do not positively increase his oratorical reputation, which it would be very absurd to expect, they will both sustain and extend it; and that is more than publication would achieve for far more eloquent contemporaries. This may be thought a very questionable proof of his success in the art of public speaking; but, at the same time, a doubt may be suggested, whether it is not possible to rise above the usual limits of a popular and capricious art, and lose some of its temporary rewards in the attempt to refine and dignify its character.

Oratory of the most effective kind is transitory from its very nature, and defies perpetuation. Even the noblest and highest specimens of eloquence form no exception to this natural law; but, perhaps, serve only to bring it into notice. The greatest orators of antiquity ground all their fame on our historical belief; the authority of their genius rests mainly on tradition. The name of Demosthenes has become a synonyme of eloquence, and summons to our mind an image of commanding power; yet the mere reader of his remaining Speeches could never have attained the conviction, or even the suspicion, of their reputed popular effects. It is certain that the orations of Demosthenes, prepared though they evidently are with consummate art, and inspired by the profoundest genius, would totally fail, not only in arousing the mind of the modern public, but of conveying to the accomplished reader any overwhelming impression of their original influence and power. Of course it may be said, in explanation of this fact, that the delivery of the speaker is wanting, and the circumstances of the audience vastly different; that the style of the popular appeal varies yet more widely than the matter; that oratory is an art adapting itself in all ages to the genius of the people; that it is intellectual or passionate, a chain of reasoning, or an electric flash of sympathy, according as the assembly addressed is more or less refined, and accustomed to weigh the justice, or presume the goodness, of its cause. All this is true; but the truth most clearly deducible is this,—that the subservient character of popular eloquence is fatal to its high pretensions as an art. What is so partial and ephemeral in itself, and often most eminent in its success where it is least competent to gratify the ear of judgment or of taste, can seldom rise above the class of gross

expedients. From its slavish nature, its ignoble artifices, and its almost inevitable abuses, the art of eloquence must always range lower than the other arts of imagination, which have truth for their substance, and perpetual praise for their reward.

It is in striking proof of the narrowing limits of oratorical power, that the highest deliberative assemblies, in this advanced age of the world, are so little subject to its influence. In the British House of Commons it has ever met with admiration and applause; but the orator who shall carry half-a-dozen votes from the opposite benches is, perhaps, yet unrisen. This does not, indeed, always or necessarily detract from the genius of the author; for the failure of the highest eloquence, of reason and passion interfused, is often due to the prejudice and predetermination of the hearers, to the counter-influence of party-feeling, to the want of candour, disinterestedness, or moral courage. Yet this only the more plainly shows the slavish nature of this imposing art. The orator must follow further than he leads; to improve in much, he must pander to far more. If he nobly dispenses with these unworthy compromises, and aims to lead his audience by candid statements and legitimate appeals, he is doomed to lose his labour. Such a man is not necessarily below the requirements of his art; it is quite as probable that he is above them. The eloquence of Burke was only the less effective because he was too far above his audience and before his age, and to him posterity will listen with increasing approbation; for future generations are the true contemporaries of such a man.

It must be remembered, however, that the orator's defeat is frequently due to something far nobler than prejudice and party-feeling. The diffusion of a high intelligence in such an assembly as the House of Commons, and the power of moral judgment residing, for the most part, safely in all majorities of such assemblies, are principal elements in this species of passive resistance, which is thus fortunately proof, not merely against appeals of coarser character, but against the subtle sophistries which too frequently pervade the higher efforts of impassioned reason. The fallacy which is not easily detected or exposed by any one, is commonly felt and resisted by the most admiring audience.

The Parliamentary career of Mr. Macaulay affords a double illustration of these truths. With all his powers of eloquence, in which the closest argument is seconded by the most powerful rhetoric, he has never proved very influential in the House of Commons. The truth seems to be, that, in questions of pure policy, this failure is mainly due to the deficient candour of his audience; but frequently, when a profounder principle is involved, he is rightly resisted by the moral judgment of the many. No one can read these Speeches without feeling increased admiration for the genius of the accomplished orator. They are remarkable for clear, sustained, and cumulative argument; rich in historical allusion; simple and dignified in their appeals; almost perfect in their command and discipline of language. There does not seem to be a thought or word superfluous, not a diffuse sentence, nor an incongruous idea. An opinion is entertained, we believe, by many, that something factitious, if not absolutely meretricious, disfigures the set speeches of Mr. Macaulay. This volume, at least, does not bear out that view. There is far less questionable

rhetoric here than in many of his brilliant Essays. Yet the impression made upon the reader's mind is not wholly satisfactory. The intellect is fatigued by his elaborate and well-balanced periods, while the heart is not sufficiently refreshed. The something wanting consists, we think, in the absence of a moral earnestness, the total lack of enthusiasm; the sense of weariness arises from the constant and complete predominance of the intellectual faculties. Mr. Macaulay brings unusual powers to do the work of a partisan. Even when his reasoning is most conclusive, his sincerity is not so warm as to attract you to his person; for judgment, and not sympathy, compels your suffrage. The slave of his imperious intellect, you perhaps welcome an occasion for rebellion and dissent.

As an example of Mr. Macaulay's misplaced ingenuity, we may instance his speech on the Sugar Duties, in February, 1845. It was pronounced in favour of an Amendment proposed, in a Committee of Ways and Means, by Lord John Russell; which Amendment declared the continuance of the differential duties on slave-grown sugar to be "impracticable and illusory." On merely economical principles, it was admitted on both sides, no distinction could be maintained; but it was rightly argued by Sir Robert Peel's Government, that, considering how clearly this country had expressed itself for the abolition of slavery, what sacrifices it had already made, and what active and expensive measures it still employed, to that end, a departure from the strict rule of commercial polity would only be sacrificing a much lower to a much higher order of consistency; while, to countenance the hideous slave-trade for so paltry an advantage, would be to prefer expediency in the smallest, to principle in its most important, form. It is melancholy to see how Mr. Macaulay brightens his arms and fortifies his position to assail this argument and maintain the contrary. He sets up, forsooth, an imaginary wall, enjoining perfect justice and active consistence; and because it is impracticable to conform to such a standard, and our markets cannot be kept wholly free from slave-production in one shape or other, we must, therefore, distinctly avow and countenance it in its most abhorrent form.

With this and one or two kindred exceptions, we have been much pleased with the speeches contained in the present volume: they contain a larger amount of political wisdom than we looked to find. Perhaps the most valuable are those on Parliamentary Reform. Mr. Macaulay will doubtless be mentioned in the political history of our times as one of the ablest advocates of the progressive measures which have so eminently distinguished it. Not greatly influential in his day, nor popularly quoted at the club or tavern, he is destined to be a living authority, when most of his more powerful contemporaries are represented only by a name. Acknowledged at the present as a man of letters among statesmen, he will one day be known as a statesman among men of letters. Almost all that has been said for parliamentary and commercial reform, is summed up in the able arguments and nervous language of our orator. The Speeches most interesting to the general reader are, that on "Copyright," and some of the miscellaneous addresses. In them the boundless information and graphic powers of Mr. Macaulay are freely drawn upon and exercised; and if the amount of literary and historic lore at his command is quite

unrivalled, still rarer is his masterly and tasteful use of it. In conclusion, we cannot regret that Mr. Macaulay has been almost forced into the publication of his volume. The bookseller whose act of appropriation has irritated him into this transaction, has really done our senator good service in compelling him to do it for himself; and we must remember, moreover, in justice to Mr. Vizetelly, who incurs so large a measure of the author's indignation, that he is not to be regarded as a lawless pirate, but a privateer sailing under letters of marque. Mr. Macaulay's reputation might have been taken at a greater disadvantage, if the buccaneers had delayed to fight for it till he could no longer make his own defence, or, at the worst, set his good ship in order, fling out his real colours, and make it a prize worth taking into any port, whether of the distant or the future.

The Sensibility of Separate Souls considered. By Caleb Webb. London, 1854.

WE know not any arguments tending to disprove the sensibility of the human soul in its separate state, which do not involve dangerous, and even fatal, concessions to the debasing doctrine of Materialism. Those who contend that the soul *does* not after death exist in independent consciousness, do so on grounds which equally avail to show that it *cannot* so exist. On the other hand, there is nothing which assures us of the immateriality of the soul, which does not also guarantee both its power of separate consciousness, and its attribute of uninterrupted being. Take, for example, an argument from the nature of identity. Identity is not common to all animal existences in their individual state, but proper only to man; for true personality consists in that moral principle which underlies all the experiences, and is present through all the changes, to which the human individual is exposed. Man "possesses a sense of permanence in connexion with a sense of change;" and this sense of permanence it is that distinguishes him from the brute, which has only a succession of sensations, and no consciousness or central principle of unity. We arrive, then, at the great truth, that consciousness is essential to the being of man; that it is not, like animal existence, necessarily interrupted by the disintegration of the bodily frame, because there is no proof that it is really dependent on it; and (as Bishop Butler argues) there is nothing in the known character of death which is antagonistic or destructive to this spiritual, thinking, and conscious principle of being. Thus much may be said, even to the sceptic, on behalf both of the immortality and uninterrupted sensibility of the soul; but the Christian, who doubts not the former, but wants assurance of the latter state, may learn to infer the one from the other, even on philosophical principles; for if (as he believes) the soul is indeed independent of the body, and survives when this is wholly dissolved, and the marvellous brain is no longer to be distinguished from the vilest dust, the soul must continue indiscerptible, and exercise at least that consciousness which is characteristic of its nature, inseparable even from the notion of identity, and necessary to the conservation of its uninterrupted being.

But the Christian is not left, in a point of so much personal interest, to a dependence on his own reason. That kind of assurance with which worldly moralists profess to be quite satisfied, is for him

only secondary and corroborative. Philosophy, so far as it goes, is entirely favourable to his pious wish; but only revelation can afford him perfect confidence; and this he is not left without. He who declared himself to be "the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob," has condescended to make the additional declaration, that "he is not the God of the dead, but of the living;" as though he would urge upon our minds the consoling inference, itself the direct assertion of another scripture, that "to be absent from the body" is, in the case of all his saints, to be immediately "present with the Lord."

Mr. Webb's little volume is worthy of perusal. In the first part, he considers the general argument; and, in the second, offers some remarks upon a number of passages in the New Testament, in each of which he finds the consciousness of the intermediate state to be more or less distinctly asserted or implied. To the whole of his textual elucidations we could not subscribe. Some, as we think, are palpably erroneous; others are strained to the author's purpose. The scriptural argument is not, we conceive, done vigorous and substantial justice to. Perhaps a more accurate and extensive critical knowledge would have served him better. But we are happy to commend this thoughtful effort as in the main correct, and evincing no small amount of evangelical feeling and discernment.

Discovery: a Poem. By Edward Aldam Leatham, M.A.
London: Walton and Maberly. 1853.

IF published a century ago, this graceful poem would have justly brought reputation to its author; at the present time it will be as justly left to the partial admiration of his friends. Such productions mark the high cultivation of the age, but do not greatly distinguish the individual. It is in art, as in other spheres of mental action: originality alone shows eminent power, and the excellence of a work is no certain indication of the author's genius. Many a mariner now pushes his keel beyond Hispaniola, and even "grates the golden isles" of the Pacific; but the merit of Columbus is not so readily out-matched; for it is almost as easy to follow in his wake as to set his celebrated egg in upright posture. If we could forget the poems of Rogers and Campbell, the verses of Mr. Leatham would have for us the charm of novelty as well as beauty, and we should hail the advent of a real poet. As it is, however, we have pleasure in transcribing the following lines, which are creditable to their author's taste and skill,—

"Then Commerce learn'd in triumph to expand
Her snowy wings upon the bustling strand,
And, like a prisoned bird from durance free,
Rode every blast, and tempted every sea;
Nor roam'd alone, for Plenty soar'd behind,
And shook her golden lap for all mankind,
Piled with those orient spoils and gems that shine,
Like stars unrisen, in Golconda's mine,
Or spice that breathes upon the balmy rest
Of fragrant Ind, and Araby the blest.
But brighter gems the bounteous goddess bore,
And sweeter frankincense from shore to shore,—
The scents that breathe Idalian groves among,
And all the priceless jewelry of song."

The Ballad of Babe Christabel: with other Lyrical Poems. By Gerald Massey. Third Edition. Bogue. 1854.

THE poetry of Gerald Massey is of a very different stamp from the preceding. It is all instinct with individual power, and much of it is strongly tinged with popular and current tendencies. While only one of these qualities is the source of unmixed pleasure to the reader, they have both conspired to give the author an unusual popularity. In this improved edition of his Poems, Mr. Massey has thought fit to retain the democratic songs which first attracted to him the public notice; but he seems to be aware that they are not able to fix or to reward it. He intimates, in the very interesting Preface now first published, that they are valuable only as "the out-come of a marked and peculiar experience," and were intended to be "read in the light or gloom of that experience," as recorded in the brief Memoir affixed. Certainly, those political pieces, however spirited, and stirring with a truly fanatic *animus*, are everyway inferior and unworthy; while the love-poetry of Mr. Massey is very pure and sweet, and frequently rivals the most genuine strains of Burns. But this "poet of the people" evinces a degree of culture, both of the imagination and expression, perhaps never equally exhibited by one so recently emerging from his bitter lot. The Ballad which gives title to this volume, is a tissue of poetic beauties, of which the Laureate himself might be proud; it is at once so elaborate and so simple. We make room for a few verses of this charming poem:—

- " Babe Christabel was royally born !
 For when the earth was flush with flowers,
 And drencht with beauty in Tainbow showers,
 She came through golden gates of Morn.
- " No chamber arras-pictured round,
 Where sunbeams golden gorgeous gloom,
 And touch its glories into bloom,
 And footsteps fall withouten sound,
- " Was her Birth-place that merry May-morn ;
 No gifts were heapt, no bells were rung,
 No healths were crown'd, no songs were sung,
 When dear Babe Christabel was born :
- " But Nature on the darling smiled,
 And with her beauty's blessing crown'd :
 Love brooded o'er the hallowed ground,
 And there were Angels with the Child !

* * * * *

- " With glancing lights and shimmering shade,
 And cheeks that toucht and ripelier burn'd,
 May-Roses in at the lattice yearn'd
 A-tiptoe, and Good Morrow bade.
- " No purple and fine linen might
 Be hoarded up for her sweet sake :
 But Mother's love shall clothe and make
 The little wearer richly dight !"

The Musings of a Spirit. A Poem. By George Marsland. London: Pickering. 1853.

Morbida; or, Passion Past, and other Poems. Saunders and Otley. 1854.

Summer Sketches. By Bessy Rayner Parkes. Chapman. 1854.

MR. MARSLAND'S little volume contains many striking thoughts, expressed with considerable felicity and force. His style, however, is too metaphysical to be read with continued pleasure. His sentiments, which are really sound and Christian, would be less liable to misconstruction in simple, axiomatic prose; and there is nothing, as it appears to us, in the substance of his "*Musings*," to make either the phrase or form of poetry desirable. There is no want of clearness in the author's language or ideas, separately considered; but the connexion of the whole is not so apparent as to secure a pleasurable sense of harmony and proportion.

The book called "*Morbida*"—and which needs no second title—is the production of one who has evidently received his inspiration at second hand. Unable to elaborate it for himself, he freely dilutes some of the finest of English poetry; but so feeble a menstruum cannot hold it in solution: much of it floats on his page in fragments, serving the place of mottoes; while still more sinks down, and forms a rich deposit of quotation in the shape of notes. A careless or malicious binder might cut off the interest of this volume by a single process of curtailment.

Miss Bessy Rayner Parkes writes clever verses in nervous and well-chosen language. There is a freshness and raciness in these "*Sketches*" which is very pleasing; but the pleasure is diminished by occasional intimations of sympathy with certain new views respecting woman and her social position, more popular in America than in this country.

The Ultimate and Proximate Results of Redemption: chiefly deduced from the Oath sworn unto Abraham. By H. E. Head, A.M., Rector of Feniton, Devon. London: Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

ON opening this volume, we were rather taken by surprise to find, in the course of a few pages, that by the "*ultimate results of redemption*" was intended nothing less than the final and eternal restoration of the entire race of man; and that the main object of the author was to establish that dogma. And we were scarcely less surprised to find that by the "*proximate results*" we are to understand, first, the salvation of the righteous in this life, and then—as "*preliminary to the full development of the great and final results of redemption—the judgments of God, issuing from his more awful attributes of justice and holiness, in their tremendous majesty, overwhelming, like the depths of the ocean, the impenitent sinners with fiery indignation, and the trembling saints with horrible fear for 'the ungodly that forsake thy (his) law.'*" His starting-point, in the formation of his creed on the subject of redemption, appears to have been the doctrine of unconditional *election*, as generally held by the Calvinistic school; but

he has been evidently startled, and frightened "out of his propriety," by the consequences which he has felt or supposed to be logically deducible from "that form of doctrine." So, from what we should be disposed to call the extreme of believing *too little*, as to the extent and results of redemption, he has passed—by a process of sentiment rather than of reasoning—than which nothing is more natural and common—to the opposite extreme of believing *too much*. And in this extreme he is disposed to rest.

"According to the gospel of apocryphal angels," he says, "the whole mass of mankind, a very small fragmentary part excepted, are created for the purpose of suffering, are predestined to suffer (a distinction without a difference is all that we gain, when we endeavour to distinguish in these cases) intense torture through the countless ages of eternity; so that, millions after millions of centuries having passed away, their torments are always beginning, and never ending. But, according to Scripture, directly, inferentially, and typically, a very different doctrine is taught. Jehovah is good to all, and his tender mercies shall be over all his works. He will not always chide, nor keep his anger for ever. The remedy which his love has provided will be more than co-extensive with the evil which his wisdom permitted; and the remedy, efficacious, in the first instance, in regard to the *elect*, shall prove universally efficacious at last. All shall be restored,—all shall be brought to Christ."—Pp. 7, 8.

The author's definitions of various theological terms are, where it seems necessary, expanded and *liberalized*, so as to harmonize with this theory. And the following is an instance of expansion in the meaning of a term, in accommodation to the author's expanded views of the great subject of his volume:—

"The righteousness of Christ," he says, "is the free gift of God, —a remedy co-extensive with, efficacious against, and superabundant over, the evil incurred by the fall of man; which remedy, causing, as its primary effect, a salutary hatred of sin in all who receive it, effectually works the salvation, first of the elect, subsequently of all mankind."—P. x.

Where such alteration is not necessary for that purpose, his definitions retain the strict Calvinian type, as in the following instance:—

"*Grace* is a state of indefectible security, acceptance, favour, and friendship with Jehovah, undeserved and unsought by men, supposing the temporary co-existence of a new and holy with a fallen and corrupt nature, the sin of the latter being atoned for."—P. xiv.

These extracts give a fair specimen of the author's conception and treatment of his main subject, as well as of the subjects of the Millennium, the New Creation, and other topics which he takes up, as being ancillary to it. The work is written in a warm, evangelical tone; and the exhortations in which it abounds, and which suggest the idea that the work was, in great part, composed in the form of sermons, are earnest and practical. But, independently of what we have already noted, he deals in interpretations and comments, in which we cannot follow him. As, when he says, "The appointment of Matthias" (to be an Apostle in the place of Judas) "was an act of hasty zeal, rebuked, in due time, by the appointment of Paul;" that "Melchizedek was not a

type of Christ, but of believers;" and that "the bright beam of '*universal grace*' shines away all difficulties."—P. 64. The theory of Mr. Head, like many others, raises more cloud and mist than it dispels.

My Schools and Schoolmasters; or, The Story of my Education.
By Hugh Miller, Author of "*The Old Red Sandstone*,"
&c. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1854.

THE able author of "*The Old Red Sandstone*," and "*Footprints of the Creator*," has here given an instructive and interesting record of the progress of his own mental training. The son of a small Cromarty shipmaster,—his family connexions being amongst the better class of mechanics, and himself working for many years as a stonemason,—he is fully competent to describe the habits, feelings, and tendencies of the working population, and has brought out his views upon these questions in the form of a running commentary upon his own career. The work traces, in graceful language, the steps by which a thoughtful lad, favoured by no external advantages, was led to cultivate his powers of observation, until he has become a geologist of European reputation. The solitary sea-shore, the storm-beaten cliff, the wild ravine and heathery moor, have formed, in conjunction with the serious moral instruction of the humble domestic circle, the chief stimulants of his onward progress, as they have stood to him in place of academic halls. We trace his career, from hewing stones in a quarry, till we find him recognised in literature as the Editor of the "*Witness*," and in science as the author of two of the most popular works in the range of geology.

We quote the following remarks as worthy of the attention of those who have charge of youth: "There is a transition-time in which the strength and independence of the latent man begin to mingle with the wilfulness and indiscretion of the mere boy, which is more perilous than any other, and in which many more downward careers of recklessness and folly begin, that end in wreck and ruin, than in all the other years of life which intervene between childhood and old age. The growing lad should be wisely and tenderly dealt with at this critical stage. The severity that would fain compel the implicit submission yielded at an earlier period, would probably succeed, if his character were a strong one, in insuring but his ruin. It is at this transition-stage that boys run off to sea from parents and masters, or, when tall enough, enlist in the army for soldiers. The strictly orthodox parent, if more severe than wise, succeeds, occasionally, in driving, during this crisis, his son into Popery or infidelity; and the sternly moral one, in landing his in utter profligacy. But, leniently and judiciously dealt with, the dangerous period passes: in a few years, at most,—in some instances, in even a few months,—the sobriety incidental to a further development of character ensues, and the wild boy settles down into a rational young man."

The reflections upon the state and prospects of the working classes are among the best portions of the work. The following discriminating remarks have reference primarily to Scotland, but will apply to the same classes elsewhere: "Between the workmen that pass seden-

tary lives within doors, such as weavers and tailors, and those who labour in the open air, such as masons and ploughmen, there exists a grand generic difference. Sedentary mechanics are usually less contented than laborious ones; and as they almost always work in parties, and as their comparatively light, though often long and wearily-plied, employments do not so much strain their respiratory organs but that they can keep up an interchange of ideas when at their toils, they are generally much better able to state their grievances, and much more fluent in speculating on their causes. They develop more freely than the laborious out-of-door workers of the country, and present, as a class, a more intelligent aspect. On the other hand, when the open-air worker does so overcome his difficulties as to get fairly developed, he is usually of a fresher and more vigorous type than the sedentary one. Burns, Hogg, Allan Cunningham, are the literary representatives of the order; and it will be found that they stand considerably in advance of the Thoms, Bloomfields, and Tannahills that represent the sedentary workmen. The silent, solitary, hard-toiled men, if nature has put no better stuff in them than that of which stump-orators and Chartist lecturers are made, remain silent, repressed by their circumstances; but if of a higher grade, and if they once do get their mouths opened, they speak with power, and bear with them into our literature the freshness of the green earth, and the freedom of the open sky."

The volume contains much relating to the writer's favourite geological pursuits, and is well calculated to create a love for the beauties and marvels of nature. To the young, especially to those who are apt to consider their humble circumstances as adverse to mental cultivation, the work will prove as stirring as a trumpet-blast, which calls them, by precept and example, to the exercise and development of such latent powers as they possess.

Notices et Portraits Historiques et Littéraires. Par M. Mignet, de l'Académie Française, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Deux Vols. 18mo. Paris: Charpentier.

WITH the exception of the volumes which we now propose to consider briefly, all M. Mignet's works have, we believe, appeared before the public in an English translation; and, assuredly, if the "*Notices et Portraits Historiques*" are still comparatively unknown on this side of the Channel, it is from no inferiority on their part. They evidence, indeed, a decided improvement upon the author's "*History of the French Revolution*," inasmuch as they do not betray what we should call the *esprit de système*, which is so apparent in almost every paragraph of the earlier production. They have, besides, the peculiar merit of completing M. Mignet's philosophical *résumé*, and of illustrating fully several incidents in the greatest event of modern times. Most of the men whose biography M. Mignet has written, all those, in fact,—except Livingston,—who appeared in the first edition, are indissolubly connected with the Revolution; and they have, more or less, contributed to the establishment of the political institutions which superseded the *ancien régime*. Sièyes, Rœderer, Talleyrand, Broussais,

Merlin, Destutt de Tracy, Daunou, Michaud, Raynouard, Frayssinous,—such are the chief names which grace M. Mignet's Gallery of Portraits: such are a few of the characters he has judged with an impartiality we would gladly see more general amongst historians. M. Cousin once said of our author: "*Ah! voilà M. Mignet, qui dit avec dignité des choses justes!*" No better motto could be prefixed to the *Notices*.

One thought must strike painfully all those who will read with attention these beautiful volumes. The French Revolution was the only great social movement whose leaders proclaimed a direct antagonism to religion. The *Idéologues*, as Bonaparte called them, the members of the Auteuil Society, were the disciples of the *Encyclopédie*. Applying to moral questions that vigorous analytical process which they had inherited from Condillac, and which had achieved such splendid results in the sphere of science, they reduced virtue to a mathematical formula, and inaugurated utilitarianism. Thus, by a natural deduction, Broussais was brought to consider man as a mere assemblage of well-appointed organs. "He does not recognise in him," writes M. Mignet, "a spiritual principle distinct from the material element. Man feels through his nerves; his *viscera* are the seat of his passions and instincts; thought is produced in his brain; his personality resides in his organism. But this is not all. These various sets of apparatus are the *cause* of the phenomena just now stated. Feeling is a nervous product; passion, a visceral aid; intellect, a cerebral secretion; and the *ego*, a general property of living matter."

For a society composed of beings thus constituted, Volney's Catechism, and Destutt de Tracy's Commentaries on Montesquieu, formed an appropriate legislative code; but how long could a society of *Encyclopédistes* last? That was another question. The First Consul took upon himself to solve the difficulty, by refusing the sanction of his genius and of his power to the Utopian schemes which originated with the Voltairean school of philosophers. If the attacks directed against Christianity were marked by a violence amounting generally to downright rabidity, we must acknowledge, *per contra*, that the Ultramontanist reaction, which unavoidably took place at the beginning of the Restoration, ran into excesses of another description. MM. de Bonald, Joseph de Maistre, and de Lamennais exposed the absurdities of materialist infidelity; but with all their talent, their logic, and their eloquence, they did not succeed in bolstering up Jesuitism.

The notices of Count Siméon, Sismondi, Charles Comte, Ancillon, Bignon, Rossi, Cabanis, Droz, originally delivered, as well as their predecessors, in the shape of discourses at the public sittings of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, have been added by M. Mignet, since the first edition of this work. Want of space prevents us from doing more than merely express our admiration of the lucidity and power with which these several *morceaux* are written. We might apply to the author the compliment he paid one day to M. Flourens, and say most sincerely that in *éloge*-literature he has equalled Fontenelle, Thomas, d'Alembert, and Cuvier. The Life of Franklin came out a few years ago as a pamphlet, when Socialist doctrines had reached their climax of popularity.

The *Journal des Débats* for June 28th, 1853, contained a panegyric on Theodore Jouffroy, which was rather sharply, but justly, criticized at

the time of its appearance. M. Mignet, we are afraid, is too much inclined to consider the *Institut de France* as a proper focus of opposition against the Government. He cannot forget the warfare he conducted in the *National* thirty years since, and which ended with the Revolution of 1830. But, between ourselves, the less said of what was then called *la Jeune France*, the better. Jouffroy, notwithstanding all his talent as a writer, is a teacher for whom we can feel no sympathy: he was the representative of a generation of men who had all the scepticism of the *Anteuil coterie*, without their indomitable energy,—men tossed to and fro by every wind of doctrine, oscillating between Saint-Simonism, Fourierism, and Hegelianism; and of whom Alfred de Musset has so aptly exclaimed:—

*“L’hypocrisie est morte,—on ne croit plus aux prêtres;
Mais la vertu se meurt,—on ne croit plus à Dieu.”*

Such lives should be held up to us as warnings, not as patterns for imitation.

Mémoires d’Alexandre Dumas. Première Série, Quinze Vols.;
Seconde Série, Vols. I.–V. Bruxelles: Méline.
Mémoires d’un Bourgeois de Paris. Par le Docteur L. Véron.
Vols. I., II. Paris: Gabriel de Gonet.

THE nineteenth century has only just accomplished half its career, and we find it already settling its accounts with posterity. Whether a feeling of vanity prompts MM. Alexandre Dumas and Véron to make their confessions to the public, or that they are actually moved by the praiseworthy desire of assuming their share of the common responsibility, it would be difficult to determine: at all events, Number One protrudes itself just now with more than usual boldness before the reading world, and every *homme de lettres*, casting his looks back upon the events of the last fifty years, confidently exclaims, on behalf of *each* of the authors, “*Quorum pars magna fui!*”

There is, we freely acknowledge, much truth in this; the period comprised between 1800 and 1852 has been the golden age of the “Fourth Estate;” and our French “brethren of the quill” have had a long opportunity of showing their abilities as political rulers. We do not wish to explain how they betrayed the trust confided to them,—how they brought about their own ruin,—how they degraded the press to the vilest purposes; but when, as early as 1842, M. Alphonse Karr wrote the following sentences, he was only saying aloud what was in every one’s mind:—

“The press (observe, only *tua res agitur*, French Journalism) is a power which may be compared to a fungus; for it is self-produced.

“The press is a fungus which sprang up one morning from the *detritus* of all the other powers.

“The press has devoured every thing else.

“The liberty of the press has fattened on the substance of every other liberty.

“It is bursting from indigestion and plethora.”

Such circumstances, however, are precisely those which render the recent works of Alexandre Dumas and of Dr. Véron highly interesting; and when M. Villemain has completed his Autobiography, when the promised Memoirs of MM. Guizot and Lamennais and of Madame Sand

appear, we shall be able to judge pretty correctly the political and literary history of France since the Restoration.

M. Véron's volumes seem carefully written; they contain particulars, hitherto unknown, respecting some leading characters of the day; and the moral sentiments in which the Doctor habitually indulges are good, although rather solemn, considering that they proceed from the pen of a quondam-director of the opera. The best part of the work is, we should say, still to come.

Alexandre Dumas maintains his reputation as the *Scudéry* of the nineteenth century,—

“*Dont la fertile plume*

Peut tous les mois sans peine enfanter un volume.”

His Memoirs are assuming a most formidable shape; and, the twentieth instalment bringing us only down to the year 1832, we may expect that the sum total will be what is called, in algebraical language, “an impossible quantity.” Still, these biographical reminiscences deserve to be read. The chapters on Victor Hugo, Charles Nodier, Rabbe, Lamennais, are excellent: the account of the revolution of 1830 is dashed off in a spirited manner.

Our experience of men and things does not go so far back as A.D. 1800; but whilst perusing the works noticed in this article, we could not help remarking how many *grands hommes* there mentioned have outlived an apparently well-earned reputation. Geniuses who were to change the constitution of society,—if still belonging to our sublunary world,—have sobered down into model Conservatives; *femmes incomprises* are reconciled to the happiness of the fire-side; and hirsute critics, who pronounced the funeral oration of *ce polisson de Racine*, would most certainly recommend to you a few weeks' stay at a lunatic asylum, if you were to preach in a *feuilleton* the literary doctrines they were wont to advocate thirty years ago. The Memoirs of Alexandre Dumas have some of the features of a vast necropolis; and we have found enshrined in those catacombs several worthies respecting whom the wonder is that they ever emerged from oblivion.

Les Guêpes: Mœurs Contemporaines. Par M. Alphonse Karr.
Quatre Vols. Paris: Victor Lecou.

WE do not intend, in our reviews of French literature, to omit the lighter productions which are still poured forth with undiminished energy. The Balzac school of novels, the works of Eugène Sue, and the earlier rights-of-women effusions of George Sand, have been handled by other critics: they are now judged as pictures of a society whose distinguishing feature was refined corruption. We feel inclined neither to revert to Frederic Soulié's *Mémoires du Diable*, nor to search into the metaphysical refinements of *La Peau de Chagrin*; but keenness of observation is not always allied with grossness, and novelists do not invariably select for their heroes the stars of the “Newgate Calendar.” Madame Ancelot's *Gabrielle*, and Madame Emile de Girardin's *Lorgnon*, are sketches we can safely recommend to our readers. Emile Souvestre's sombre descriptions betray the author's honest indignation at the hollowness of our boasted conventionalisms; and M. Louis Reybaud is a satirist the accuracy of whose views few will venture to dispute.

Amongst the modern French writers entitled to attention as faithful delineators of men and manners, M. Alphonse Karr holds a conspicuous rank. Under the oddest appellations, and an uncommon display of eccentricity, he has published a goodly shelf-full of novels, which, remarkable as they are for imagination and style, seem still more so as effusions of the most brilliant wit. *Les Guêpes* originally appeared in monthly numbers or volumes, containing bitter, but not offensive, criticisms on all the follies and absurdities of the day. Issued for the first time more than ten years ago, they immediately obtained great popularity, and, as is usual in such cases, conjured up a host of imitators. M. Léon Gozlan's *Nouvelles à la Main*, however, and *le bibliophile* Jacob's *Papillons Noirs*, were soon forgotten; whilst M. Karr's "Wasps" went on stinging in every direction with renewed energy. We have selected this work for peculiar notice, because it exhibits the chief features of the author's talent; and we think that a judicious selection of paragraphs taken from *Les Guêpes*, and from M. Karr's novels, would produce a volume worthy of being placed by the side of La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*.

The Tent and the Altar : or, Sketches of Patriarchal Life. By the Rev. J. Cumming, D.D., F.R.S. London : Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

The Comforter : or, Thoughts on the Influences of the Holy Spirit. By the Rev. J. Cumming, D.D. London : Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

The Great Sacrifice : or, The Gospel according to Leviticus. By the Rev. J. Cumming, D.D. London : J. F. Shaw. 1854.

Signs of the Times : or, The Moslem and his End, the Christian and his Hope. By the Rev. J. Cumming, D.D. London : Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

THERE is a degree of literary productiveness, which almost of itself evinces genius. Apart from their intrinsic merits, we have always admired the fulness and fertility of the Puritan Divines, who never knew when to lay down the pen, while the love of God and the wants of men both prompted and supplied the theme. Even their dullest productions frequently testify to prodigious merit. Works which it is now a labour of patience to read, it was then a mere labour of love to indite; and to the composition of those heaviest folios was brought an amount of zeal and diligence, of knowledge and ingenuity, of warmth of heart and strength of purpose, which is the chief *substratum* of all genuine greatness, and without which the life of genius is the broken dream of one who "dies, and makes no sign." The fastidious essayist or poet may occasionally save his own much-cherished fame by a different proceeding; but these men had higher views of life and literature, and, exerting the sinews of their minds, acquitted themselves like men, to serve their generation. Their talents were not selfishly employed to adorn a solitary name, but given to consolidate the social and religious greatness of their country. The hope of present usefulness inspired them more than fame; but their fruit was not so limited: they laboured, and every generation of their countrymen has entered into their labours.

The great productiveness of Dr. Cumming has reminded us of this famous class of writers; but it is only justice to say, that our author will sustain the comparison on the higher grounds of sincerity and usefulness; in other points there is necessarily more of difference. If he does not reach their occasional flights, at least he avoids their besetting faults. If his reflections are not often so weighty or original, neither is he frequently guilty of their tediousness or obscurity. To recommend the precious truths of religion, he brings both novel and familiar graces. There is a fertility of ideas, a readiness of expression, and a freshness of manner in his discourses, which are very pleasing to a large majority both of hearers and of readers. He does not hesitate to make art and science, and every branch of literature and knowledge, tributary to his theme. To illustrate God's word, he goes freely to God's works. To impress a human heart with saving truth, he does not disdain to use the language of human genius. A fact, a verse, or a pleasing metaphor, is welcome, and employed with great adroitness. He does not disdain the best of arguments because they are old, nor the most appropriate of analogies because they are humble. Every beauty of religion has been recognised and set forth over and over again; but there is, therefore, only the more room for choice among these innumerable good things. The originality is in the selection, the grouping, the application, the spirit that animates the whole appeal: and the works of Dr. Cumming evince that this originality is his in a remarkable degree. His continued popularity is to be attributed to these undoubted merits; and in view of the general soundness and practical tendency of his teaching, we cannot but think this popularity the sign, as well as the source, of a large religious influence.

The volumes above enumerated are marked by the author's usual qualities. The first three are especially to be commended for their devout spirit and practical tendency. The last is not, we think, so unexceptionable. One who undertakes a mission so popular, and therefore so important, as that of Dr. Cumming, should avoid the danger of either limiting or abusing his influence, by giving currency to questionable interpretations of prophecy and history. It is clear that he who runs may write as well as read; but the *signs of the times* are not so definite as to be thus easily construed.

A Portraiture of the late Rev. William Jay, of Bath. An Outline of his Mind, Character, and Pulpit Eloquence: with Notes of his Conversations, and an Estimate of his Writings and Usefulness. By the Rev. Thomas Wallace. London: Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

MR. JAY was no ordinary man. Eminent for the gifts both of nature and of grace, he was further distinguished by their lengthened and successful exercise. He was, moreover, the property of the Church Catholic. Living only for usefulness, he was ready to serve every sect. His departure is mourned by all; for he instructed and delighted all by his ministry, and will, for many years to come, by his writings. His influence was great, and salutary as it was extensive; and this rather by the use and direction of his talents, than by their measure. Mr. Jay did not aim primarily at meeting the public taste,

but at serving his generation according to the will of God ; but had he aimed at it, he could not have more exactly hit his mark in the style of addressing the public ear. His works will long be read, especially in the closet ; and this is real usefulness ; and those in *Cæsar's* palace show their wisdom in adopting at least a few books that have not received the *imprimatur* of titled ecclesiastics ; and even these find their account in keeping a few Dissenters within reach ; and, in both cases, Mr. Jay among the rest.

Doubtless we shall have many volumes of sermons, opinions, and reminiscences of the Pastor of Argyle Chapel. Any records of so eminent a man must be expected to interest the public mind ; but every thing that an eminent man has said ought not to be recorded, and kept ready to be brought out in a book as soon as he shall depart this life. We object to the practice ; and we think Mr. Jay's friends will not be satisfied with the present specimen. It is disfigured by the insertion of many things which are not worthy of preservation, and in a style that no one can recognise as Mr. Jay's. Due pains are taken to exalt him in our estimation, but the praise is powerless from want of discrimination, and from being over-done ; for it almost exhausts the English vocabulary of adjectives and adverbs, which are strung together as boys string birds' eggs. The same things are also often repeated. Many things attributed to Mr. Jay, being broken off from their connexion, exhibit his character, at the least, imperfectly, and sometimes, we think, disadvantageously : and many of the remarks on his character and writings are jejune and common-place.

A Brief Memoir of the late Rev. W. Howels, Minister of Long-Acre Chapel, London. By the Rev. E. Morgan, M.A. London : Partridge, Oakey, and Co.

AN admirable piece of biography, clearly setting forth the history and character of its subject, and teaching the most important lessons, especially to Ministers. Mr. Howels is well remembered as an Episcopal Minister, who for seventeen years preached the Gospel in Long-Acre chapel, with legitimate popularity and great success. His early life was attended with so much affliction and weakness, that he was not able to complete that University course of study which he pursued for some time with characteristic ardour ; but the deficiency was more than made up by the energy of his mind, the inventiveness of his genius, and his devotedness to his work. He was brought to the acknowledgment of the truth, while at Oxford, under the ministry of the Rev. J. Howard Hinton, a Baptist Minister ; and this circumstance naturally led to a lasting friendship, and tended, no doubt, to enhance Christian catholicity of feeling. Mr. Howels consecrated all his powers to the service of Christ. He was a vigorous thinker ; and although his sermons seldom exhibited, throughout, the same sustained power, yet they were all distinguished by passages of great originality and beauty. He excelled as a controversialist ; but minor subjects of dispute did not form the staple of his ministry. He was fearless in opposing error, especially Irvingism, Socinianism, and Popery ; and never scrupled to call things by their right names. As a Pastor, he was wise, discriminating, affectionate, and faithful. His last affliction was brief, and his death unexpected ; but the scene was most charac-

teristic of the man,—full of thought, full of faith, full of feeling: it was beautiful, impressive, glorious.

The volume exhibits a large impression of Calvinistic sentiments, somewhat dogmatically stated, and sometimes, we think, too briefly to express the writer's meaning, and, generally, begging the whole question. We have neither disposition nor space for controversy, or there are many fair occasions; for example, p. 158, where Mr. Howels draws an unwarranted distinction between the conduct of God as a Sovereign and as a Judge, in the supposed absolute election of some to eternal life. If it be "unjust" in God as a Judge to do any thing, the same thing must be "unjust" in God as a Sovereign; for infinite perfection belongs to him in the one character as truly as in the other. And is not this extravagant? "The righteousness of Christ hath driven sin to all the distance of infinity and eternity from the believer. *He is as separate from sin as the Saviour himself*; he partakes in all the glory of Christ, like as a wife in all the honours of her husband." —P. 257. Unless some occult sense is couched in this language, an explanation would reduce all to mere rhetoric: the "sinless perfection" attributed to, but not held by, Arminians, would appear a moderate sentiment in comparison.

But we have no quarrel with the Editor. Mr. Howels' was a beautiful Christian character, and his excellent biographer has done justice to his subject, and given us a convenient, instructive, and edifying book; and we respect the motives which have led him to delay it so long. If the Church-of-England and the Dissenting pulpits were all filled with men of Mr. Howels' spirit, Christianity would soon have a splendid triumph.

The Works of Oliver Goldsmith. Edited by Peter Cunningham. In Four Vols. London: John Murray. 1854.

The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. By Edward Gibbon, Esq. With Notes by Dean Milman and M. Guizot. Edited, with additional Notes, by William Smith, LL.D. In Eight Vols. Vols. I. and II. London: John Murray. 1854.

We should consider our functions very imperfectly fulfilled, did we omit occasionally to introduce to the notice of our readers, by way of recommendation or caution, such new editions of standard works as we may consider valuable or otherwise. There is constantly rising around us a fresh *stratum* of readers, whose bookshelves require to be furnished, and who need the aid of greater experience than their own, to enable them to act prudently in this matter. There are few things more characteristic of the taste and judgment of men than their libraries. One will be bulky, expensive, and yet of little worth; another, compact, well-chosen, and of permanent value. The cost, too, is a material point, and one which, since it is relative, requires the balancing of various considerations. The lowest-priced book is not always the cheapest, and the more costly ones may yet be the greatest bargain.

It would be impertinent to speak upon the merits of the two standard works, new editions of which we now announce. The Muse of History has never reached a loftier strain than in the pages of

Gibbon. The beauty of his style, the fulness and accuracy of his information, and the remarkable lucidness of his arrangement, will ever cause it to rank amongst the greatest efforts of the human mind in its own department, notwithstanding the damning stain of the cold, sneering, anti-Christian spirit of certain well-known chapters. Thus it is the more needful that it should be edited by a man acute and learned enough to supply artful omissions, correct false inferences, and neutralize the sarcasm which sometimes lies couched in an epithet.

With respect to the writings of the humorous and genial Goldsmith, —whom Dr. Johnson, in allusion to his wonderful insight into human nature, and ludicrous ignorance of human affairs, designated “an inspired idiot,”—there is ample scope for good editing, in regard to the purity of the text, and the elucidation of obscure allusions to contemporary events. Who would not wish to have “The Deserted Village,” “The Vicar of Wakefield,” and the “Essays,” presented to future ages in all the perfection to be obtained by the most sedulous and sympathizing care?

The editions now offered by Mr. Murray, are every way worthy of the patronage of those who would have convenient size, elegant typography, and careful supervision, combined with a moderate price. The series, of which the above form a part, will be the best and cheapest hitherto presented to the public; and we trust their circulation will be commensurate with their deserts.

Dr. Smith and Mr. Cunningham are, perhaps, the most suitable men living, to fulfil judiciously their respective tasks; the one from his well-known familiarity with classical history, the other from his acquaintance with the minute literary history of the last century.

Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life: designed particularly for the Consideration of those who are seeking Assurance of Faith and Perfect Love. By Thomas C. Upham. Ninth Edition. Liverpool: Edward Howell.

THIS is the reprint of an American book. Mr. Upham, we believe, is an Independent Minister, of estimable character, and good talents. There is a peculiarity about this work that may be worth noticing;—it is written entirely in the spirit, and embraces the doctrinal views, of Wesleyan Methodism. How Mr. Upham came to emerge from the doctrines of his school into Evangelical Arminianism, we cannot tell. We presume, however, that the author refers to this point in his short and modest Preface, when he says, “There are reasons, of a personal nature, why I should not have written. There are other reasons, which none can appreciate but myself, which seemed to me imperatively to require it.” We can easily understand these two classes of “reasons.” The “personal” side of the matter would arise out of the fire which the announcement of these opinions would kindle amongst the author’s religious connexions; and the “imperative” obligation referred to, would be a conviction of conscious duty to God,—fidelity to the truth. How far Mr. Upham’s auguries have been realized, we have no means of knowing; but have heard that his book has made no small stir of several kinds amongst his friends. That it has done good, we can have no doubt; for this must attend its perusal, wherever

read; and, moreover, that it will have produced no small "*commotion*" in the Calvinistic Churches of the States, and especially amongst the Ministers, who, whatever party they belong to, are always the last to suspect any flaw in their system, and the last to give in when the discovery is made.

Be this as it may, we can very heartily recommend this work to the attention and perusal of our readers. It is not polemic, but eminently practical; its spirit is in perfect harmony with its subject,—pure, charitable, and earnest; its style is clear, and its reasoning cogent and forcible; and, above all, the whole scheme and ideal of the author is purely scriptural. To our Methodist friends, the design of the author, as stated by himself, namely, that it is intended for those who are "seeking assurance of faith and perfect love," will, of itself, be a powerful recommendation. We can assure them, they will meet with no disappointment. The main object is never lost sight of;—the spiritual life, holiness to the Lord, and perfect love, all attained through faith in the redemption of Christ, and ratified and sealed by the Holy Spirit, constitute its teaching from beginning to end. Mr. Upham is no enthusiast. His subject is interspersed with most valuable and important directions in many matters of inward conflict, trials of faith, and practical duty. Those who desire to "make their calling and election sure," may advantageously place this book, on the "*Interior or Hidden Life*," by the side of their choicest guides, and consult it daily for their spiritual edification.

The Incarnate Son of God: or, The History of the Life and Ministry of the Redeemer. By the Rev. Henry W. Williams. London: Mason. 1853.

WE ought sooner to have noticed this valuable little volume, which we strongly recommend to our readers, and especially to the heads of families, for the use of intelligent young persons. Greswell's "*Harmony*" is, with very few exceptions, followed in the arrangement; and a large amount of valuable criticism and illustration is furnished in reference to the facts and doctrines of the evangelical history. The style is well suited to a narrative intended to prove and illustrate a doctrine,—clear, elevated, and conclusive; and although still more frequent occasion might have been taken formally to employ the facts of the history to *prove* that Jesus is the incarnate Son of God, to show that the facts necessarily imply the Divinity of Christ, yet but one conviction can arise,—that God was manifest in the flesh. Mr. Williams has done good service by his publication.

Lectures on Architecture and Painting, delivered at Edinburgh, November, 1853. By John Ruskin. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 1854.

THE name of Mr. Ruskin is probably familiar to all our readers, as that of the most eloquent and original art-critic of the present day. But his chief works are both costly and elaborate, and so not likely to have fallen in the way, or to have engaged the attention, of many who may yet desire to see a brief statement of doctrines so widely admired, and yet so strongly challenged. The present volume is well adapted to

meet this want. It consists of a brief and practical summary of Mr. Ruskin's teaching, both in architecture and painting; and it affords glimpses, at least, of that profound insight and religious reverence which distinguish this author from all his predecessors in the walks of æsthetic criticism.

Mr. Ruskin's architectural "dogmas," or "heresies," as they are variously considered, are distinctly re-affirmed in this volume. That there may be no room for misconception, wilful or otherwise, he puts them into categorical form under the six following heads:—

"I. That Gothic or Romanesque construction is nobler than Greek construction.

"II. That ornamentation is the principal part of architecture.

"III. That ornamentation should be visible.

"IV. That ornamentation should be natural.

"V. That ornamentation should be thoughtful.

"VI. And that, therefore, Gothic ornamentation is nobler than Greek ornamentation, and Gothic architecture the only architecture which should now be built."

These propositions, bold and uncompromising as they are, are briefly, but ably, maintained by the author. In their naked assertion they may seem too bold and unwarranted; but the whole body of Mr. Ruskin's writings are a consistent and luminous commentary on these doctrines. We believe the day is not very distant when they will largely affect—if they do not thoroughly transform—the public and domestic architecture of this country.

Mr. Ruskin's third "Lecture" is occupied with "Turner, and his Works." On that interesting subject we must not at present enter: but we should not omit to say, that the lecturer's admiration is not lessened, but rather "grows by what it feeds on." The fourth "Lecture" is devoted to "Pre-Raphaelitism," and welcomes the rising school of artists with encouragement, all the more flattering as it is so evidently honest and intelligent.

We should not hesitate to recommend the writings of Mr. Ruskin to the perusal of our readers, even if his views had met with yet stronger opposition from professional authority. Deliberate confutation has never been offered to those views; but even granting, for the moment, that some deduction should be made from the negative and denunciatory part of his decisions,—that, for example, a writer as able as himself might redeem Greek architecture from the degradation it has suffered at his hands, and even lift it to rivalry, in abstract merit at the least, with his favourite and incomparable Gothic,—there is still such a large proportion of positive and undeniable truth in his volume, such an affluence and mastery of beautiful details, and, above all, such a keen recognition of principles dividing at once the false from the true, that they must always have the finest relish for minds unprejudiced and catholic. If ever any author vindicated his own claims to respectful attention, and then intrenched himself in the generous, but reasonable, confidence of his readers, that author is Mr. Ruskin. With all the force of Carlyle, and even a greater command of powerful language, his writings are distinguished by far more directness of purpose, of practical good sense, and profound moral truth. The simplest cannot mistake, while the strongest are not able

to resist him. There is no need of the knowledge of a connoisseur to feel convinced that his judgments in art are, for the most part, irreversible; nor of the accurate lore of the naturalist to recognise his fine appreciation of the features of nature. It is easy to decry this man, and say he is a rhapsodist. Dulness will quote his very eloquence against him, and thus pitifully evade his arguments. But his matchless knowledge of art, and his patient study of nature, are evident in every line of his writings, even more so than that commanding and vehement quality which sometimes gathers up these materials, and hurls them in a hurricane of scorn upon the head of feebleness and falsehood. He is never dogmatic till he has earned the right to be so; he gives no judgment till he has summed up all the evidence. It is not of ignorance, any more than of incompetence, that one shall easily convict this writer. In controversy, few can be so formidable, while yet submitting to the just restraints of truth and candour. His antagonist must be armed at all points; and even through the linked and twisted mail his subtle weapon will insert itself with terrible effect.

We can promise our readers an intellectual and moral feast in the perusal of this volume; and if they should be disposed to pursue any part of the subject under such a guide, we would recommend "*The Seven Lamps of Architecture*" as next in order. To those to whom these works are already familiar, of course our commendation will appear superfluous; but they who come to them for the first time, will learn to view art and nature and humanity with new feelings of delight; will feel their sympathies enlarged, and their enjoyments multiplied; above all, they will see, more clearly than they ever did before, that every fresh inquiry into the fields of nature and the principles of art serves to widen and confirm the evidence of natural and revealed religion. We may add, the marvellous imagery and perfect morals of the Bible receive no small elucidation from the researches of Mr. Ruskin.

The Repentance of Nineveh. A Metrical Homily on the Mission of Jonah. By Ephraem Syrus. Also, Exhortation to Repentance, and some smaller Pieces. Translated from the original Syriac, with an Introduction and Notes. By the Rev. Henry Burgess, Ph.D., &c. London: Blackader and Co. 1853.

WE hail this second volume of translations from Ephraem Syrus; and we agree with the translator, that they will deepen the impressions produced by the minor pieces contained in the former volume. The "*Repentance of Nineveh*" is the longest and most important of Ephraem's "*Exegetical Discourses*." It appears to have been designed for use on occasions of humiliation and prayer, and particularly for the frequently-recurring occasions which were known in the Syrian Churches as the "*fast of the Ninevites*." And it conveys a very lively impression of the powers of his mind as well as of his piety, and of his thorough insight into the subject of which it treats, or of which, rather, it is a representation. Like the rest of the metrical homilies, it was composed for popular audiences; but it is wrought out upon artistic principles, and, but for the title under which it appears in his

Works, might be called a "poem" rather than a "homily." And it is with reference to this circumstance in particular, as Dr. Burgess shows, that the "almost entire absence of Christian ideas and associations may be accounted for,"—whether "satisfactorily" or not, some may be disposed to question.

The "Exhortation to Repentance" is in keeping with the "Repentance of Nineveh," and has the advantage of containing more direct reference to Christ as the Physician of souls. It may also be remarked, by the way, that it contains intimations that Ephraem believed in the doctrine of *free-will*,—as in the following lines:—

"Who will bestow on a captive
The gift which is presented to me,
That, if he pleases, he may continue in bondage,
Or, if he wishes it, he may go free?
Yet God places in thy hands
These two things, over which thou hast power,—
Either to be wounded with thy consent,
Or to be healed with thy free concurrence."

In this piece, as in the preceding, there is evidence of a deep acquaintance with the innermost workings of a penitent spirit: and it appears to have been for this reason that this and other of the "Exhortations" were among the favourite readings of John Wesley, particularly in the earlier part of his religious career. Under date of Nov. 12th, 1736, he says, "I read to the people" (at Frederica) "one of the 'Exhortations' of Ephraem Syrus,—the most awakening writer, I think, of all the ancients." And, again, under date of Ash-Wednesday, 1747,—"I spent some hours in reading the 'Exhortations' of Ephraem Syrus. Surely, never did any man, since David, give us such a picture of 'a broken and contrite heart.'"

Dr. Burgess has greatly served the interests of Syriac literature by these translations and the "Notes" appended to them, as well as by the valuable historical and philological matter contained in the two "Introductions." It is to be hoped that he will continue to push his inquiries yet farther in the field which he has chosen; and that in due time we shall have, as the result, not only a better acquaintance with what is good in the writings of Ephraem, but also an improvement in Syriac Grammars and Lexicons, such as may tell to advantage on biblical criticism.

Night and the Soul. A Dramatic Poem. By J. Stanyan Bigg. London: Groombridge and Sons. 1854.

THIS is another poem of the school of "Balder," marked by the same extravagancies and inanities: sky without landscape,—colour without form,—sack intolerable and bread infinitesimal. Says Goethe, prince of modern critics, "I have no opinion of poems snatched out of the air." Say these young men, "We will weave our attenuated songs of nothing else: the air shall be our warp, and the moon-beam our woof; and you, orthodox believers in the creed of art, shall be astonished at the magnificent results." And, indeed, if the value of poetry be estimated by the amount of the reader's astonishment, their point is partly gained. The truth, however, is, that "Festus"—the first and best production of this school—had length and fulness and

redundance quite sufficient; every repetition of that author's manner is increasingly faint and fatiguing; its starry imagery and abnormal beauties lose every thing by iteration; and when the sense of surprise is lost, we are forced to observe how little there is to admire, and how much less to approve.

Notes and Narratives of a Six Years' Mission, principally among the Dens of London. By R. W. Vanderkiste, late London City Missionary. London, 1854.

WE are glad to see a cheap edition of this interesting narrative. It is full of instructive and suggestive details, relative to the physical and moral evils which fester in the most neglected parts of this great metropolis. The first glimpse into these polluted haunts is naturally discouraging; but when we reflect upon the good resulting from the efforts of even a single Missionary, and the stimulus which these revelations are calculated to give to individual Christian effort, we are led to hail the solitary pioneers of a most important work. Mr. Vanderkiste pursued his labours in the proper spirit, and brought at once the genuine truths of the Gospel to bear upon the evils which he encountered; for experience teaches, that nothing is so well adapted to reclaim the lowest outcasts of ignorance and vice, as the immediate exhibition of Divine truth,—even the highest which we have to offer,—the redemption of a lost world by Jesus Christ.

The Revelation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, historically and critically interpreted, &c. By the Rev. Philip Gell, M.A., late Rural Dean of the District of Derby. Two Vols. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1854.

THE eagerness with which investigations into the true interpretation of Scripture prophecy is now carried on, is a marked feature of the times. Though it may be attended with some danger, it is nevertheless, when framed in a spirit of reverent submission to the Word of God, a favourable omen. Time was, when the glorious visions with which John was favoured in Patmos were almost ignored; and one portion of the sacred record, on account of the obscurity of some of its parts, failed to yield those lessons and excite those hopes, which it was designed to give.

Mr. Gell adopts the general views so ably maintained by the Rev. E. B. Elliot, in his "*Horæ Apocalyptice*," with some modifications and original speculations of his own. His opinions are illustrated by ample references to history; and the entire work is more interesting than we have found to be the case with many on the same subject.

Evenings in my Tent; or, Wanderings in Balad Ejjareed. Illustrative of the Moral and Social Condition of the African Sahara. By the Rev. N. Davis, F.R.S., S.A. Two Vols. Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co. 1854.

THIS work has at least the advantage of referring to a portion of the globe, of which little is known. There are many reasons why Englishmen should feel interested in Africa; and we gladly avail ourselves of every addition to our scanty knowledge of its geography and climate, as well as of the customs and manners of its inhabitants.

Our author had resided several years on the shores of North Africa, when an opportunity occurred of visiting the tribes living in the interior of the African Sahara, in company with Sidy Mohammed Bey, the heir-apparent to the throne of Tunis.

In the course of Mr. Davis's narrative, we obtain curious glimpses into the social, moral, and physical condition of the people; but we could have wished the information had been systematized under appropriate divisions. The account of the ruins of Carthage is particularly interesting. Our limits forbid extracts; we must, therefore, refer such as feel an interest in the subject to the work itself. They will find some valuable suggestions as to the best mode of bringing Christian truth to operate upon the myriads of Africa.

Invisibles, Realities; Demonstrated in the Holy Life and Triumphant Death of Mr. John Janeway, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. By James Janeway, Minister of the Gospel. With an Introduction. By the Rev. S. Romilly Hall. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; and John Mason. 1854.

A MORE interesting and profitable Memoir than that of Janeway, it would not be easy to point out. Distinguished for correct and evangelical thought, for rich experience of divine truth, and devoted regard to the honour of Christ and the glory of his kingdom, we esteem it singularly fitted to edify and encourage the Lord's people. The life of Janeway was as beautiful in its experimental and practical holiness, as his death was triumphant and glorious. Altogether it is a most precious gem of religious biography.

The introduction that accompanies the present reprint is appropriate and seasonable. The writer, with great felicity of language, clearness of scriptural doctrine, and piety of spirit, traces the formation and development of an intelligent and glowing religion, as exhibited in the life and death of this eminent saint. We scarcely know a book better fitted for usefulness than this, or one more suitable as a present to young people, and especially to those who desire to be qualified for efficient service in the Church of Christ. It has our hearty approval, and our best wishes that it may be extensively circulated.

A Popular Account of the Ancient Egyptians. Revised and abridged from the larger Work. By Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. Illustrated with 500 Woodcuts. London: John Murray. 1854.

THE former well-known work of the learned author was too expensive for the generality of persons. Its merit was acknowledged on all hands, and its costliness was a subject of much regret. Mr. Murray and the author have now met the case, by this issue of the chief part of the original work in an elegant and compact form, and at a moderate price. Although called an abridgment, it is most complete in its information, and, indeed, in some respects, is superior to its predecessor, since it contains information derived during a recent visit to Egypt. The Egyptian is followed from the cradle to the mummy-pit, and is depicted in all his domestic and public avocations. Seeing that

archæology is now become a popular study,—thanks to the labours of Layard, Rawlinson, and others,—and that the remains of ancient Egypt have thrown great light upon the Assyrian monuments, we prognosticate a large sale for these volumes. We know of no work so amply illustrated.

Christ Glorified, in the Life, Experience, and Character of Joseph B. Shrewsbury. Written by his Father. Third Edition. London: Mason. 1854.

Christianity in Earnest, as exemplified in the Life and Labours of the Rev. Hodgson Casson. By A. Steel. Second Edition. London: Needham. 1854.

WE are glad to see new editions of these interesting Memoirs called for. Mr. Casson was distinguished by his zeal and usefulness. The brief, but remarkable, career of Mr. Shrewsbury furnishes an example of early maturity in divine grace still more rare and attractive. The last-mentioned little work may be particularly recommended to the young; yet it has lessons and consolations for the most advanced believer. It is admirably suited for the Christian; yet, if the sceptic could be induced to heed it, we perhaps could offer no stronger testimony to the divine origin of our religion.

The War with Russia, Imperative and Righteous. A Sermon Preached in Brunswick Chapel, Leeds, on the Day of National Humiliation. By the Rev. John H. James. London: John Mason. 1854.

THIS is a Sermon well suited to the times. In sentiment it is calm, philosophical, and Christian; and in style, clear, racy, and vigorous. Whilst the author deprecates war *per se*, he succeeds in proving that there are circumstances which render it righteous and politic for a great nation to engage in *defensive* war.

Select Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of Leila Ada. By Osborn W. Heighway, Author of "Leila Ada," &c. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1854.

THIS is a sequel to the life of a most interesting Jewish convert. The graces and refinements of wealth and intellect are rendered more fascinating by being blended with the beauties of holiness. We have seldom read a more affecting record of deep personal piety; and we sincerely hope that its circulation, especially among well-educated young ladies, will be extensive.

The Friendships of the Bible. By Amicus. London: Partridge, Oakey, and Co. 1853.

The Biography of Samson, Illustrated and Applied. By the Rev. John Bruce, D.D., Minister of Free St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas. 1854.

THESE little works are creditable specimens of Scripture narrative illustrated and enforced. They breathe a spirit of unaffected evangelical piety. The former contains some pleasing engravings.

INDEX.

America, the past and future of, 257—territorial growth of the United States, 259—physical advantages, 260—increase of population, 260—the first colonists Protestants, 261—Divine interposition in her early history, 262—English and American parallels, 265—dangers to which America is exposed from emigration, 267; from slavery, 271; from Romanism, 273; and from infidelity, 275—America's strength, 275.

Anatomical Science, its history and progress, 412—temples of health, 413—Hippocrates, 414—quoted, 415, 416—Euryphon, 417—Plato, 417—Aristotle, 418—Theophrastus and Erasistratus, 422—Herophilus, 423—medical schools of Alexandria, 423—the Elder Pliny, 423—Galen, 424—value of his writings, 427—a dark period, 427—the Arabian Physicians, 429—another dark period, 429—medical schools of France and Italy, 429—Vesalius, 430—Fallopian, Eustachius, and Servetus, 431—Harvey and his great discovery, 432—other important discoveries, 433—Professor Willis, 435—Kepler, and the eye, 435—microscopic investigations, 436—Leuwenhoeck, 437—comparative anatomy at the close of the seventeenth century, 438—worthies of that age, 438.

Aristotle, extent of his knowledge of anatomy, 418—quoted, 421.

Arminianism, evangelical, characteristics of, 209.

Arnold, Matthew, "Poems" of, noticed, 257.

Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, junction of the, 172—various plans of intercommunication, 173—the Mexican project, 174—the Nicaraguan route, 175—the Panama canal, 175—visionary project of a ship canal, 175—Panama Railway Company, 177—the Atrato route, and M. Humboldt, 179—obstacles to its realization, 180—superiority of the Atrato route, 182—inter-oceanic railway and navigation, 184.

"*Balder*, a Poem," reviewed, 238.

Barclay, Robert, his views of the Church, 469.

Barrett, Rev. A., his "Ministry and Polity of the Christian Church," reviewed, 459.

Baur, sceptical theories of, 15, 66, *note*.

Brief Literary Notices:—Oliphant's Russian Shores of the Black Sea, and Brooks's Russians of the South, 277—Medway's Life and Writings of Dr. Pye Smith, 280—May Fair to Marathou, 282—Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du Lun-*

di, 282—Cousin's *Madame de Longueville*, 283—Sayous' *Histoire de la Littérature Française*, 284—Dr. Chalybäus's Historical Development of Speculative Philosophy, 285—Sketches from Sacred History, 287—Finlay's History of the Byzantine Empire, 287—Harbaugh's *Will we Know our Friends in Heaven?* 288—Landon's Imaginary Conversations, and Last Fruit off an Old Tree, 289—Thodey's Life in Death, 291—Smith's Gentile Nations, 291—Leisure Hour, 299—Farrar's Ecclesiastical Dictionary, 292—Hufeland's Art of Prolonging Life, 293—Dr. Young's Complete Works, 295—Flagg's Venice, 295—Struggles for Life, 296—Macaulay's Speeches, 566—Webb's Sensibility of Separate Souls, 569—Leatham's Discovery, 570—Massey's Ballad of Babe Christabel, 571—Maraland's Musings of a Spirit, Morbida, and Parkes's Summer Sketches, 572—Head's Results of Redemption, 572—Miller's My Schools and Schoolmasters, 574—Mignet's Notices et Portraits, 575—Mémoires d'Alexandre Dumas, and Véron's Mémoires d'un Bourgeois de Paris, 577—Karr's Les Guêpes, 578—Cumming's Tent and the Altar, Comforter, Great Sacrifice, and Signs of the Times, 579—Wallace's Portraiture of William Jay, 580—Morgan's Memoir of the Rev. W. Howels, 581—Cunningham's Works of Oliver Goldsmith, and Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, by Milman, Guizot, and Smith, 582—Upham's Interior or Hidden Life, 583—Williams's Incarnate Son of God, 584—Ruskin's Lectures on Architecture and Painting, 584—Ephraem Syrus's Repentance of Nineveh, 586—Bigg's Night and the Soul, 587—Vanderkiste's Six Years' Mission among the Dens of London, 588—Gell's Revelation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 588—Davis's Evenings in my Tent, 588—Hall's Invisibles, Realities, 589—Wilkinson's Ancient Egyptians, 589—Shrewsbury's Christ Glorified, and Steel's Christianity in Earnest, 590—James's War with Russia, 590—Heighway's Select Extracts from the Diary and Correspondence of Leila Ada, 590—Amicus's Friendships of the Bible, and Bruce's Biography of Samson, 590.

Bunting, Rev. Dr., preaching of, 363.

California, described, 96.

Campbell, Dr., his "Pulpit Eloquence" quoted, 369, *note*.

- Chalmers*, Dr., mental traits of, 191—manner in the pulpit, 232—change effected by, in pulpit ministrations, 355
- Chaucer*, Poetry of, 238
- Christian*, origin of the appellation, 77
- Christianity*, early difficulties of, 69
- Church of England*, modern pulpit ministrations in, 351
- Church* principles and polity, 459—highest meaning of "Church," 460—the term as used in Scripture, 462—definition of Archdeacon Wilberforce, 465—Romanist and Tractarian theories, 466—one-sided definitions, 469—external polity of the Church, 471—Christ's principles of Church polity, 472—permanent local Bishops, 475—precedents not legislative enactments, 477—Romiah and Tractarian affinities, 479—Council at Jerusalem, 481—persons composing it, 482—appointment of Pastors, 485—letter of Cyprian, 486—cases of discipline considered, 488—Wesleyan Church polity, 493—lay participation in Church affairs, 493; in discipline, 495—Mr. Steward's "Principles of Church Government," 498
- Congregationalists*, modern pulpit ministrations among, 357
- Conybeare* and Howson, Rev. Messrs., their "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," reviewed, 63
- Cortez*, notices of, 542, 547
- Cowper*, his description of a Preacher, 371
- Cumming*, Dr., defects of, as a writer and speaker, 369—works of, reviewed, 579
- De Saulcy*, M., quoted, 165—researches of, in Palestine, 167
- Dryden*, poetry of, 238
- Ellis*, Mr., his work on Madagascar quoted, 41, 43
- Emigration*, progress and influence of, in America, 267
- England* under Henry VIII., 501—transitional periods, 502—style of education, 504—public schools, 507—low tone of clerical character, 509—Henry's jealousy of the Reformation, 511—unsettled state of religious opinions, 513—Grafton and Coverdale's Bible, 515—suppression of monasteries, 517—counterfeit relics, 519—abatement of old superstitions, 521—Lady Mary, 523—sports of the King, 524—submissiveness of the Parliament, 525—a contested election, 526—defective administration of justice, 527—domestic life, 529—correspondence of Lord Lisle, 530—widows, 531—minors, 533—lack of literature, 534—general summary, 535
- Extemporaneous* oratory, advantages of, 233
- Faith*, the perfection of reason, 216
- France*, colonization of Madagascar by, 48
- Galen*, extent of his knowledge of anatomy, 424—value of his writings, 427
- German* theologians, notices respecting, 203. See *Thierack*.
- Gunnison*, Lieut., quoted on Mormonism, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 116, 120
- Hall*, Robert, mental traits of, 191
- Hamilton*, Dr. James, defects of, as a writer and speaker, 369
- Hannah*, Dr., quoted, on personal piety in Ministers, 373
- Harvey*, great discovery of, 432
- Henry VIII.* See *England*.
- Heresies*, combated in the New Testament, 5, 17, 24
- Hippocrates*, extent of his knowledge of anatomy, 414—quoted, 415, 416
- Hooker*, quoted, 478
- Intuition*, remarks on, 199
- James*, Rev. J. A., his "Earnest Ministry" quoted, 354, 360, 361
- Jay*, Rev. W., tribute to the memory of, 358—Wallace's Portraiture of, 580
- Kidder*, D. P., quoted on Mormonism, 102, 103, 104, 105, 108, 116, 120
- Landor*, W. Savage, poetry of, 243, 289
- Law*, John, and the Mississippi scheme, 398
- Lawson*, Mr., of Bath, meteorological researches of, 128
- Litton*, his "Church of Christ," reviewed, 459
- Longfellow*, Professor, poetry of, reviewed, 450
- Louis Philippe*, the late, sketch of his history, 408. See *Orleans*.
- Lowell*, J. R., poetry of, reviewed, 446
- Lynch*, Lieut., quoted, 161, 163
- Macaulay*, Right Hon. T. B., Speeches of, reviewed, 566
- M'Neile*, of Liverpool, characteristics of, as a preacher, 351, *note*
- Madagascar*, its geographical position and extent, 39—origin of the name, 39—predominant races, 41—religion, 42—mental qualities, 43—population, 44—form of government, 44—customs and manners, 45—civil arts and commerce, 46—language, 47—early history, 47—French attempts at colonization, 48—becomes a British dependency, 52—Radama, 53—abolition of the slave-trade, 53—establishment of a mission, 53—its influence, 54—death of Radama and succession of Queen Ranaivalona, 55—persecution of Christians by the Queen, 55, 59—design upon Ramanalaha defeated, 56—policy of the Queen, 57—neutrality of the British Government, 58—appeal of the native Christians, 58—the Queen resigns the Government to her son, 59—renewed encouragement to Missionaries, 60—mission of Mr. Ellis, 61—commercial prospects, 62—duties of the British Government, 62—communication from Mr. Ellis, 63
- Matte-Brun*, quoted, 47, *note*
- Melville*, of London, characteristics of, as a Preacher, 351, *note*
- Meteorology*, its progress and practical applications, 127—had its origin in astrology, 128—Morin's six articles, 129—

- establishment of the first Meteorological Society, 130—the Society of the Palatinate and its Transactions, 131—the system organized by Quetelet, 132—terrestrial magnetism, 133—aurora borealis, 136—activity and extent of meteorological observations, 137—Professor Daniel's "Researches," 138—the province of the science, 139—influence of atmospheric changes on life, 143—influence of cycles on supply of food, 145—periodic sun-spots and meteors, 147—connexion of magnetic and volcanic agencies, 148—meteorology, in connexion with geography and astronomy, should be a part of education, 149
- Milton*, as a polemic and a poet, 214—poetry of, 242, 244, 252
- Mormonism* and the Mormons, 95—California, the location of the Mormons, 96—discovery of the "Book of Mormon," 98—alleged evidences of authenticity, 100—Smith's duplicity, 102—true origin of the "Book of Mormon," 104—pretended translations, 106—organization, and mission to the Indians, 107—mercantile speculations, 108—disasters, 109—settlement of the sect at Nauvoo, 110—murder of the "Prophet," 111—specimens of Mormon "morality," 112—the "Prophet's" successor, 113—rapid increase, 114—notions of the Trinity, 115; of faith, 116; of baptism, 117—pretended miracles, 118—discipline and polity, 120—"spiritual wives," 122—demoralizing tendency, 123—probable correctives, 125
- New Granada*, the gate of South America, 536—prospects of future progress, 537—Indian races, 539—Santa Anna, 540—religion in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, 541—Yucatan, 543—population and language, 545—products and manufactures, 547—Chamber of Legislation, 549—new Constitution, 550—Gonzales, 551—position of New Granada towards South America, 552—Bogota, 553—products in its vicinity, 555—British Colony, 557—standing army, 558—low state of morals, 559—climate, 559—motives to settlers, 560—field for Protestant Missions, 564
- Newton*, Dr., tribute to his memory, 363, note
- Nicolas*, of Russia, characterized, 340. See *Russia*.
- Orleans*, the Valois and Bourbon Dukes of, 374—Philip, the first Duke, 374—Louis, 375—Dunois, the Bastard, 377—doings of the Duke of Burgundy, 378—Charles, 380—Isabella, his wife, 382—merits of Charles as a poet, 383—specimen of his poetry, 384—Louis XII., the fourth Duke, 384—Mary Tudor, 385—Henry and Charles, 387—Prince Gaston, 388—Philip of Anjou, 391—Henrietta, his wife, 392—Charlotte Elizabeth, his second wife, 394—death of Philip, 395—Philip the "Regent," 396—John Law, and the Mississippi scheme, 398—a French Archbishop, 399—easy morality of Rome, 401—Louis Philippe, 403—another Louis Philippe, 404—Philippe Egalité, 406—Louis Philippe, ex-King of the French, 408—the last Duke, 411—summary of the Dukes, 411
- Owen*, Dr. John, quoted on the Church, 464
- Owen*, Professor, quoted, 420
- Owen*, Rev. John, mental traits of, 191
- Palestine*, recent discoveries in, 150—its position, 151—Palestine as connected with Scripture, 152—should be the chief point of scientific interest, 153—results of modern inquiry, 155—biblical geography, 157—researches of Dr. Robinson, 157—identification of Pella, 159—Palestine described, 160—the Dead Sea and its vicinity, 161—topographical significance of Scripture phrases, 165—discovery of the "Five Cities" by M. De Sanley, 167—strictures on his claim, 167—the Bible, an independent authority of the highest kind, 172
- Paul*, St., Life and Epistles of, 63—character of the Apostle, 63—remarkable epoch of his appearance, 66—political and civil institutions of this period, 71—geography and topography of his labours, 73—his childhood and youth, 75—his death, 78—origin of the appellation "Christian," 77—spiritual gifts of the primitive Church, 79—primitive Church—order, 80—factions at Corinth, 82—false teachers at Colosse, 85—chronology of Paul's Life, 88—authenticity of the pastoral Epistles, 92—Mr. Conybeare's translation of the Epistles, 94
- Peter the Great*, despotism of, 317
- Pizarro*, notices of, 538
- Plato*, extent of his knowledge of Anatomy, 417
- Pliny the Elder*, Natural History of, 423
- Poe*, Edgar, poetry of, reviewed, 453
- Poetry*, modern, its genius and tendencies, 238—the charm of poetry, 239—prevalent errors on the subject, 240—essentials of poetry, 242—Henry Taylor and Walter Landor, 243—Tennyson, 244—egotism of modern poetry, 245—specimens of this, 246—"Life-Drama" of Mr. Smith characterized, 247—"Balder," 250—blemishes and beauties of the work, 251—its moral deficiencies, 255—Matthew Arnold's "Poems," 257
- Poets*, recent American, 440—criticism and poetry, 441—the subjective element, 443—Wordsworth and Keats, 443—genesis of American poetry, 445—James Russell Lowell, 446—poetical empiricism of the day, 447—poetic character of Mr. Lowell, 449—Professor Longfellow, 450—his "Golden Legend,"

- 450—Edgar Poe, 453—characteristics of his genius, 454—
Poland, notices of, 812, 844—dismemberment of, by Catherine of Russia, 821
Pratt, Orson, quoted on Mormonism, 116
Presbyterians, modern pulpit ministrations of, 355
Pulpit, the modern British, 349—importance of the pulpit, 349—the Church of England, 351—the Presbyterians, 355—the Congregationalists, 357—the Wesleyans, 861—end of the ministry, 365—reasons of pulpit failure, 365
Puritanism, and its uses, 194
Raphael, painting of, 239
Reason, insufficiency of, in matters of revelation, 211—its sufficiency tested by experience, 215—faith the perfection of, 216
Robinson, Dr., researches of, in Palestine, 157
Rogers, H., quoted, on perspicuity in writing or speaking, 367
Romanism in America, 278
Rome, easy morality of, 401
Russia, place of, in Christian civilization, 297—Rome and Christianity, 298—gradual advance of Christian civilization over Central and Northern Europe, 300—the Merovingian period, 300—the Carolingian period, 801—evangelization of Europe, 802—conversion of Bohemia and Hungary, 806; of Lithuania, 807—the Middle Ages a training period, 809—inferiority of the Russian character, 810—Poland, 812—original state of the Sarmatians, 813—religious supremacy of the Czar, 814—despotism of Peter the Great, 817—ambition of the Russians, 819—exploits of Catherine, 821—religious tendencies of Alexander, 823—his fickle character, 825—accession of Nicholas, 826—his despotism, 828—Czar-worship, 829, 840—territorial aggrandizements, 831—Prince Menschikoff's embassy, 833—Napoleon's fifteen years' war, 834—character of the Greek Church, 835—condition of the serfs, 837—nature of the Czar's power, 839—relation of the Russians to the other Slavonians, 841—military strength of Russia, 843—the two nations of the future, 845—antagonism of England and Russia, 846
Shakespeare, poetry of, 239—truthfulness of, 381
Slavery, American, peculiarities of, 271
Smith, A., Poems of, reviewed, 238
Smith, Dr. J. P., biographic notice of, 280—tribute to his memory, 857
South, Dr., quoted on preaching, 370
Spiritual gifts of the primitive Church, 79
Stanley, Rev. A. P., strictures on his "Apostolic Age," 29, 84
Steward, Rev. G., his "Principles of Church Government" reviewed, 459
Taylor, Henry, poetry of, 243, 257
Taylor, Isaac, strictures on his remarks on Methodism, 196
Tennyson, poetry of, 244
Theology, harmony of, with science, 206
Thiersch as a theologian and a critic, 1—review of the discussion that called forth his writings, 1—his first work, 3—its object, 4—its beauties and defects, 10—his Prelections on Catholicism and Protestantism characterized, 12—his Irvingism, 14, 83—his refutation of Baur's sceptical theory, 15—his vindication of the Fathers unsatisfactory, 20—his "Church in the Apostolic Age," 22—defends the Pentecostal miracle, 25—his chronology of the apostolic age, 27—strictures on Stanley's "Apostolic Age," 29—absurdities in Thiersch's chronology, 30—his great defects as a critic, 32—views of ecclesiastical organization and officers, 34—Protestantism opposed to Rationalism and Materialism, 37—eminent services of Thiersch, 37
Tractarianism in the Church of England, 353
Vinet, Professor, quoted on preaching, 366; on the language of the Bible, 371
Wallace, Mr., quoted on New Granada, 544, 545, 554
Wardlaw, Dr., tribute to his memory, 358
Watson, Richard, his character and writings, 185—his intellectual character developed by the religious element, 186—his early history, 188—comparison with his contemporaries, 191—universality of his mind, 193—his "Theological Institutes," 197, 209—his perceptive or intuitive faculty, 199—was a philosopher, 201; and a Christian philosopher, 205—insufficiency of reason in matters of revelation, 211—his Institutes quoted on this point, 211—his character as a polemic, 213—his reasoning powers, 214—importance of his writings to Methodism, 220—his power of imagination, 221—union of Christianity and refined taste, 223—illustrative extracts, 225—his mode of conducting Divine service, 229—style and manner of preaching, 230—his figure and appearance, 234—his sensitiveness, 235—his incessant and exhausting services, 236
Wesley, and his coadjutors, splendid examples of preaching, 362
Wesleyan Methodism, not a cramped Christianity, 196—epitome of its Church polity, 498
Wilberforce, Archdeacon, his "Incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ," and "Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist," reviewed, 459
Wolsey, Cardinal, sketch of, 510. See *England*.
Young, Dr., poetry of, 255—"Complete Works" of, 295—quoted, 890
Yucatan. See *New Granada*.

1875

1876

1877

1878

1879

1880

UNIV. OF MICH.

SFP 21 1908

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 06786 3814

